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SOUTH AFRICA
under
JOHN III, 1521-1557

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SOUTH AFRICA UNDER KING MANUEL, Cape Town, 1946.

SOUTH AFRICA under JOHN III, 1521-1557

by

SIDNEY R. WELCH, D.D., J.P.



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P R E F A C E .

In this volume occasional comparisons will be found between events as well as persons of King John's reign and those of modern times. This is no personal caprice. It has been forced upon me by reading the numerous works in English and French which deal with this period. So many writers have engaged in the task of pointing out how far superior later centuries are to that of John III, that it has become a litany of depreciation. To give a list of these writers, or to quote their statements in full, would increase the length of the Notes without any compensating advantage. I have thought it best to deal with their views by making a comparison of my own, where I feel it justified. In every such case I have in mind definite assertions of other historians with which I cannot agree. An English philosopher of the seventeenth century, Sir Thomas Browne, warns us not to think that "vices in one age are not vices in another, or that virtues, which are under the everlasting seal of right reason, may be stamped (i.e., coined) by (public) opinion." Too many national historians have written as if what is vice in one nation is virtue in another. The early historians of the Portuguese empire were untainted with this idea of a manifest destiny of their own nation based on its unique virtues. They saw only unique opportunities. Their histories painted the actual life of the nation in all its strength and weakness. I shall be fortunate if I have followed in the footsteps of their method.

CAPE TOWN,
30th June, 1948.

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CHAPTER I.

THE NEW KING OF SOUTH AFRICA.

If THE Slangkop Lighthouse of the Cape Peninsula had existed. in the year 1522, the watchman on duty on the sixteenth of May would have descried far out to sea one of the ships most famous in the history of mankind. It was the *Vitoria* of only 85 tons, battling with the enormous waves churned up by the North-Wester and struggling fiercely whilst doubling the Cape of Good Hope. Its sails were lowered because of the irresistible blasts, its timbers were wrenched and leaking, and the cold was intense. With four other ships under the command of Ferdinand Magellan, the *Vitoria* had left Sanlucar in Spain on the twentieth of September, 1519. They had discovered the long-sought entrance to the Pacific Ocean from the Atlantic and named it the Straits of Magellan, they had claimed the spices of the Moluccas for Spain, they had left the bones of their admiral in Borneo, and now the *Vitoria* alone was beginning the last lap of the momentous journey home. Thus they were to circumnavigate the globe for the first time in history.¹ On the other side of Cape Agulhas they had been struggling with sails lowered for nine weeks before they succeeded in doubling the Cape of Good Hope.

The Italian Antonio Pigafetta, who was on board, tells us how the worn and weary travellers who had been at sea since the week before Christmas, longed for a short rest at Mozambique or Madagascar or the Cape Peninsula; but that would have been to risk capture by Portuguese cruisers, and thus to deprive Spain of the credit of this unique exploit. Most of them "voted to press on to Spain, living or dead,"² and to risk the perils of the Stormy Cape because they cared more for their honour than for their lives."

At the island of Santiago off Cape Verde hunger and thirst drove them to send a skiff ashore. But this was interned by the Portuguese, and the *Vitoria*, profiting by a favourable wind, spread full sails, reaching the mouth of the Guadalquivir where Sanlucar stands, on the seventh of September, 1522. Only eighteen men survived out of 265 who had started out on this adventure. But the cargo of spices that they brought home paid all the expenses of the journey, and left a large margin of profit

for the King (who in the interval had been elected emperor as Charles V) of Spain, the financial supporter of this daring enterprise.

Spain went wild with delight; and all Seville accompanied the returned heroes as they went in procession to the Cathedral, to thank God for their record success. The Emperor himself was prouder of this exploit than of many military victories. It came at a moment when his political fortunes were at a critical stage: restoring his prestige and bracing his courage.

The Venetian ambassador in Valladolid, Gasparo Contarini,³ expressed the opinion of most competent observers when he wrote to the Signoria that war was now inevitable between Spain and Portugal, as Portugal claimed the rich Moluccas just invaded by these ships of Spain. War, however, did not take place. Some of the best trained politicians of that day had not yet gauged the new factor that now faced the chancellories of Europe, namely, the character of the new Portuguese king.

King Manuel had felt very bitter towards this expedition, because its leader Magellan was one of his courtiers who had deserted to the service of Spain, and convinced the King of Spain that the Moluccas were within the Spanish sphere, as defined in the Treaty of Tordesilhas. But Manuel and Magellan died within a few weeks of each other, one in Lisbon and the other in Borneo. The new King of Portugal, John III, was strongly opposed in principle to the use of war as an instrument of national policy. This conviction was to have far-reaching consequences in South-East Africa, as well as in Europe.

It was felt at once in easing the tension over the Moluccas. King John mobilised geographers, sailors and politicians, so as to find some peaceable means of saving the rights of Portugal. He was assured by the Portuguese Pilot, Sebastian Simoes, that agreement was possible, if they based the discussions on the nautical maps, setting aside the globes which were defective and contradictory. After the failure of several committees of arbitration,⁴ King John adopted the brilliant idea of marrying his sister, Dona Isabel, to Charles V, and the marriage took place in 1526.

This tactful princess helped to bring about a settlement which was embodied in the treaty of Saragossa, finally ratified at Lisbon in 1530.⁵ In consideration of the sum of 350,000 ducats of gold paid to Spain, the Moluccas were recognised as being within Portugal's sphere of influence, and the respective trade boundaries of the two empires in the whole group of these spice islands were more clearly defined. Spain was certainly

the first to occupy these islands, as the Portuguese had settled no further east than Malacca. It was agreed that, if more definite measurements of the line of demarcation of Alexander VI should reveal that the Moluccas were within the sphere of Spain, the line should be amended to that extent. Meantime, the question of right was waived, and all practical difficulties settled by a cash transaction. Peace with honour was the watchword of the new master of Portuguese Africa, and the large sum paid was considered cheap as the price of peace. Though there was no money just then in the Royal Treasury, the King was able to pay his first instalment of the price of peace by loans free of interest from seven Portuguese noblemen.

In Africa, north and south, this signified a notable change of policy from that of Manuel's reign. In his last years father and son had begun to differ in many matters. This was natural enough when we remember that John was in his twentieth year at his accession, a period when the staidest youth is apt to be fired with new plans. In Manuel's council of state (his cabinet, really) there had always been a strong minority which held that military and naval action should be reduced to the minimum necessary to safeguard Portuguese trade in the East. Gaspar Pereira,⁶ secretary for India in Albuquerque's time, may be said to have founded this party. At first he had impressed King Manuel himself with a proposal that Goa itself should be abandoned, in order to hold India more securely because more peaceably. In the end Manuel supported Albuquerque's forward policy, when he became convinced that a majority of his council was in favour of it.

Prince John, on the other hand, joined the party of economy in government, although he was always prepared to pay a big price for peace. These principles were no doubt reinforced by the natural resentment which John felt when his father's third marriage took place, with Dona Leonor of Spain, who was only four years older than John himself. Many regretted with Bishop Osorio⁷ that Manuel should have risked the dissensions and expense that the country must incur at the coming of a young, beautiful and clever Queen at this stage; and there is some reason to believe that before this she had caught the fancy of Prince John himself. King John's policy was the result of sincere personal conviction, but circumstances like this made it easier for him to identify himself with the minority in the King's council. His intimates therefore knew what to expect when he came to the throne.

For his policy of retrenchment and appeasement he has been roundly abused by some patriotic writers. "He not only declined to extend the conquests of Portugal," writes Faria e Castro,⁸ "but conceived the erroneous idea that he could preserve the empire of Portugal by reducing its commitments." Militarists, like Sir Richard Burton, have lamented that in this reign Portugal "ceased to rise, which in empire means that she began to fall."⁹ But though the military or territorial power of the country did not increase, it continued to rise in all those nobler aspects that make an empire truly great.

King John could hardly have been deaf to the legitimate complaints of Spain and France against the Tordesilhas settlement.¹⁰ They pressed for its reconsideration; because a small land like Portugal could neither colonise effectively one half of the globe, nor could she preach the Gospel efficiently to so many populous countries that desired it. French pirates began to take the law into their own hands in the first year of John's reign by plundering the ship of D. Nuno Manuel at the Cape Verde islands; but even the French King and advisers were restive,¹¹ and reluctant to punish the filibusters against whose operations John da Silveira was sent to protest in Paris during the second year of John's reign.

They contended that the law of nature gave other civilised peoples a right to share in these tasks according to the measure of their ability. This right John did not admit in those regions where Portugal had already achieved a privileged position in keeping with the current principles of international law, but he saw the political wisdom of not irritating other nations by an unnecessary display of military force.

Thus, one of the first royal decrees issued in this reign forbade the erection of any new fortresses in the colonies without the "King's express permission; and if there were any ordered by his father which had not yet been put in hand, they were not to be built. The first Indian fleet brought these instructions to D. Duarte de Meneses, the Governor-General at Goa. It was simply a reversion to the policy of the first Viceroy, Francisco de Almeida, as against the policy of his successor Albuquerque. No one knew better than King John how Albuquerque had often erected these forts by means of an heroic bluff in the face of overwhelming odds and numbers, and that this could only continue at a prohibitive cost. In one fight at Ormuz, Barros¹² says that, to capture a well for the use of the garrison, more good Portuguese blood was shed than there was water in the well.

The multiplication of fortresses only divided the striking power of the Portuguese army, and consequently weakened it, writes Almeida.¹³ "As long as Your Highness is strong at sea India is yours." All that was wanted on shore was one secure harbour on each coast, as a station and refitting place for the ships.¹⁴ Goa in India and Mozambique on the opposite African coast must be held by the utmost force, if necessary; but any other places on both coasts must depend mainly on the goodwill of the inhabitants. On the African coast the Arabs were not as formidable as their martial qualities might appear to make them, because they had no political cohesion. Each ruler, whether sultan or imauim or sheikh or seyyid, was a law unto himself, and was in constant danger of being supplanted by a rival. For these reasons John proposed to raise from the dead the naval policy of Francis de Almeida, whose bones had long lain on the shores of Table Bay.

Madagascar was the first place where the new regime took shape. It had been Manuel's intention to make a settlement there in the port of Matatana, one of the few indentations on the extensive coasts of the Island of Saint Lawrence, as they called Madagascar. To this favoured spot two ships had been despatched in 1521 under Sebastian de Sousa and John de Faria, with Manuel's instructions to build a fortress that would protect settlers from the restless tribes which lived inland. But a storm drove the ships apart.¹⁵

Sousa arrived first; but he could do nothing, as most of the materials of the fort and all the artisans were in the other ship. After waiting as long as he dared in view of the season, he sailed for Mozambique to seek protection during the winter, hoping that later in India he would receive men and materials to complete his commission. On the way to India he met Faria's ship, which reached Madagascar ten days after the departure of Sousa. They sailed into Goa together on the twentieth of August, 1522, only to hear that the new King had countermanded the whole expedition.

Of the first fleet (three ships in all) that left Lisbon in the reign of John III, two were obliged to winter at Mozambique, whilst one got through to Goa with the news of King John's accession. The commandant of Mozambique suggested that the best way to keep the men healthy in their enforced idleness was to keep them at sea. He had been receiving complaints from loyal sheikhs in Pemba and Zanzibar, that Querimba had refused to pay its annual tribute to the King, egged on by the ever hostile Mombasa. So he proposed to call them all to order.

One of the two captains, Peter de Castro, agreed to join in the expedition with some volunteer fidalgos from the other ship. With the additional aid of Arabs from Zanzibar, they carried the island by a hand-to-hand fight. On Querimba they seized all the booty they could find in payment of arrears of tribute; but they lost a good deal of it by overloading one of the ships, which listed and tipped the casks of loot into the sea. After a series of further misfortunes at Malindi, Captain Peter de Castro lost his ship on the bar at Goa, it being old and battered.

In the first months of the reign of John III an event occurred which resounded throughout the civilised world, and has its link with the doings in South Africa then. Among the embassies that came to Lisbon from foreign courts to congratulate King John upon his accession was one sent by the Dutch Cardinal Adrian, Bishop of Tortosa, who was then governing Spain during the absence of the Emperor Charles V. Whilst these envoys were presenting the Cardinal's letters, Lisbon was electrified by the news that Adrian himself had been elected Pope. Leo X, son of the richest banker in Europe, had died within a few weeks of King Manuel; and now the cardinals in Rome had chosen the son of a poor Dutch farmer of Utrecht to succeed him.

As a boy, his talents had attracted the attention of the church authorities, and he became parish priest of Goedereede, in South Holland. Having passed through the schools of Zwolle and Deventer, as well as the university of Louvain, he was appointed tutor to Prince Charles, now Charles V. Then Adrian Florenssohn¹⁶ was made chancellor of the university of Louvain, bishop of Tortosa, cardinal and regent of Spain. But his Christian piety did not allow his sound judgment to be dazzled about the nature of such achievements. On his elevation to the papacy, he wrote to his oldest friend, the mayor of Utrecht, Oem van Wyngarden: "This honour brings me no gladness, and I dread taking upon me such a burden. I would much rather serve God in my provostship at Utrecht than as bishop, cardinal or pope. But who am I to withstand the call of the Lord?"

Nor was he spoiled by the homage of kings. The leading sovereigns of Europe now vied with one another for the honour of conducting the new Pope from Spain to Rome. King John asked the Spanish envoys to remind their master that his liners that rounded the Cape of Good Hope were notoriously the finest ships in the world. A fleet of them would be at the new Pope's disposal at any moment. His person would be safe under the

care of Portuguese captains from the attacks of Turkish pirates who infested the Mediterranean. Even the winter storms of the Mediterranean had no terrors for Portuguese pilots who were accustomed to overcome the greater dangers of the Cape of Storms. But in spite of the Pope's personal desire to accept this alluring offer, he felt obliged to refuse it, lest other touchy sovereigns should resent the closer relations with Portugal. He was determined to be impartial in those rivalries of prestige between kings, presidents and politicians, which are always the bane of the peoples they govern and of the Church. King John had sent his fleet under the old governor of Mozambique, Edward de Lemos da Trofa, when he learned that the Pope had already left for Rome by land.

At any rate, King John was able to send the Pope a singular gift which was received with real pleasure.¹⁷ It was the relic of the True Cross that the ambassador of Prester John had brought as a token of friendship to King Manuel. From the silver casket in which it had come from Abyssinia, Manuel had ordered it to be transferred into an elaborate reliquary, designed and wrought by his best goldsmiths. Such a gift, precious for its sacred associations, its artistic value and its suggestion of links with the ends of the earth, was a joy to the Pope and to the donor. Both began to reign with a grateful reminder of the unique work that their predecessors had achieved in the regions beyond the oceans. That work John III promised to broaden and perfect in Africa, Asia and America.

The conviction was rooted in his mind that his country had a mission of leadership towards these continents. Great as was the empire that he had inherited, its centre and brain was Portugal. A long contact with the best minds of the kingdom had impressed him with the incomparable value of the Portuguese tradition.

His contemporary biographer, the poet Francis d'Andrade,¹⁸ tells us that John evinced this conviction even in his dress. He never relinquished the custom, begun when he was prince, of wearing Portuguese fashions at all public ceremonies. Others would sometimes wear costumes of Spain or Flanders or France at weddings or tournaments arranged to do honour to foreign guests. But he always thought to honour his company most by maintaining the ways of his fathers, who had made Portugal great. Coming after those who had made Portugal mighty, he hoped to make her mightier, but mainly with the sword of the spirit in his hand.

Enthusiastic devotees of the word democracy have frequently dismissed the splendid record of King John's colonial policy by labelling it a system of absolutism. Words are such uncertain counters in political intercourse to-day, that it is always safest to make sure of what we mean by them, and what they represent in given circumstances.

In this case we may perhaps indicate the danger best if we note that Pericles, who was fifteen times elected General of the Athenian democracy, would have gasped if he were told that England of to-day or North America were considered democracies. That government by cabinet which is their common characteristic he would certainly call tyranny, as he called the benevolent system of Pisistratus which he destroyed. He would point out how in oligarchic Sparta the officers of the State were elected by the votes of the citizens, but once elected they went their own unencumbered way for a long time. The fundamental idea of the noblest form of Greek democracy was that the whole people should check every act of the State, great or small.

No modern writer has succeeded in defining clearly the meaning of democracy¹⁹ in real life. But Thucydides has placed in the mouth of Pericles a description²⁰ of what ancient Greece thought its fruits to be in the heyday of its youth. "There is nothing exclusive about our public life, and a spirit of reverence pervades our public acts. We are kept from wrong-doing by respect for authority and the laws; and relaxations from toil are provided by regular games and sacrifices throughout the year. At home the style of our life is refined, and we cultivate the mind without loss of manliness. Wealth we employ not for talk and ostentation, but wherever there is real profit in its use. With us poverty is no disgrace, but only indolence in not avoiding it. Even those of us who are engaged in business have a tolerably good knowledge of politics." When he wrote *we* he meant about one-tenth of the population, the rest being slaves or helots who had no civic rights.

No great democracy has ever been controlled in its policies by the people, and least of all those that were also empires. But the Portuguese empire under John III certainly did display those popular benefits which the Greek historian claims that the democratic system of Pericles obtained for the people of Athens. Whether we are to call such a system democratic or oligarchical or a tyranny, is a question well relegated to the hair-splitting philosophers. If, however, we are prepared to accept the definition of Pericles,²¹ the Portugal of John III was a democracy because it existed not for the benefit of the few, but of the many. Unlike

Pericles, when John III spoke of the people, he meant no privileged tenth of the population, but all classes, including the Indians, Malays and native Americans.

But King John had one inestimable advantage over Pericles. Respect for law and order in Portugal was based on a more secure foundation than anything possible in the old Athens. When questions of religion were determined by the votes of the assembly of the people, Pericles learned to his cost how dangerously law and his authority could be undermined by political opponents, who though they considered the whole paraphernalia of the Greek gods to be a degrading superstition, yet fired a section of the people with the cry that the oracles of Apollo were being despised by their rulers. Religion was in danger!

In Portugal at this time there was a settled respect for the authority of the King, based not on any outworn ideology or Greek fables, but on a living Christian faith and a fine tradition of worthy kingcraft. Because the nobility, clergy and the populace had common aims, they accepted a common discipline in the ordering of the State, culminating in the King but not his personal prerogative. The Portuguese did not think of loyalty to the King as a mere empty grimace, the mere bowing before a chief who had no power to govern, as often happens in modern democracies.

They recognised government and obedience as correlatives which had the sanction of God in the natural law, confirmed with clearer and more moving sanctions by Christ in the New Law. This prompt and unselfish loyalty of the Portuguese to their leaders who represented the King, was the envy and despair of their Muslim enemies in the East. But the Portuguese did not recognise any divine right to govern wrong, even in their kings.

Hence the frankness with which all classes criticised acts of government and of all their rulers without exception. King John neither resented criticism nor surrendered to it by a mere counting of heads. When he refused to accede to the clamour of the mob for his marriage to Queen Leonor, he no doubt recalled another crowd at Corinth²² that once shouted "Great is Diana of the Ephesians!", though most of them knew nothing about her share in the riot. "Kings are like whitewashed walls," writes Luiz de Sousa, "where even the lowest of the mob venture to scrawl with coals of rash judgment."²³

How little John was disturbed by personal criticism can be seen from a letter of the Duke of Braganza, written on his return from a campaign in Morocco. He asks the Secretary of State, the Count of Castanheira, "whether the King is still really as fond of finery as the people say he is."²⁴ Braganza knew that

the King would see this letter, and must have felt that it would not prejudice the granting of the important requests that he was making of the King. "It is the way with us Portuguese to be dissatisfied, no matter what the King does for us," he adds. To grumble was their ancient privilege; but to obey, their recognised duty when the King observed the constitutional forms of national law.

King Manuel had taken care that his son learned the traditions of Portuguese law and order.²⁵ When the baby prince was only twelve months old, he was presented to the Cortes or Parliament, so that the people might approve of him as heir by swearing allegiance. His first tutor was that Dr. Diogo Ortiz de Vilhegas who had been chief scientific adviser to John II in the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope. As soon as he was twelve years old Manuel gave him an establishment of his own, under the control of some of the ablest men in the kingdom and with the companionship of the most promising youths of his own age. From among these John III chose some of the wisest of his councillors.

But in dealing with his Council he did not display that pathetic faith in numbers which has brought disaster so often to our legislative assemblies, where it has become a proverb that twenty men will sometimes sponsor foolish decisions which no one of them would undertake on his own responsibility alone. In council John III was accustomed to give weight to the quality of the reasons advanced and to the special experience of each of the members. Once when a delicate dispute was pending with the Emperor, John took the advice of the Count de Vimioso against all the rest of the Council, because his arguments seemed the best, and he had gained years of experience in the Spanish court.²⁶

The extant letters of Duke James of Braganza are a living proof of the amount of strong language that the King would stand from a man whose experience was as valuable as his temper was bad. The Duke was urging John to abandon his policy of patience with the King of France, whose corsairs were plundering all the Indian ships they could catch between the Cape of Good Hope and Madeira. "Your Highness will probably file my letter where so many other proposals rejected by your Council are to be found. But if your advisers will follow the hare that I have started from cover, I can promise them good sport."²⁷

Though John III did not accept the proposal to defy the French King, he did carry out Braganza's suggestion of a special

embassy to the Emperor to secure united action. John's attitude towards his councillors was a pleasing contrast with that of his contemporary Henry VIII of England, who three years later murdered the noblest councillor that any king ever had, because he would not shape his conscience to match Henry's whims. "It was the blackest crime that ever has been perpetrated in England under the forms of law," writes Chief Justice Lord Campbell.²⁸ The murder of Sir Thomas More was characteristic of King Henry's second phase. It required the connivance of a servile Parliament which the Portugal of that day would never have tolerated.

In the atmosphere of internal peace which King John and his Council created, the work of consolidating the empire in South Africa, India, the Malay Islands and Brazil, went on steadily. Only by a rare spirit of national unity at home could this immense conglomeration of variegated interests abroad have been effectively guided by a common policy. Mechanical unity has sometimes been achieved for a while by ruthless men, who have contrived to secure an instrument of overwhelming force, either military or economic. But the spiritual unity of the Portuguese then owed much to the personality of their King, whose gift of making the best men free associates in forwarding his plans amounted to genius.

His method was noted immediately upon his succession. His father displayed a similar gift; but after his third marriage a coolness arose between him and some leading noblemen, among them his son and successor. Fortunately, this phase lasted only three years. When John succeeded to the throne, the gossips made sure that all the captains of the old brigade would go. They were surprised to find that among the experienced councillors whom John retained were two who had been most active in promoting his father's third marriage: the Count de Vila Nova and Alvaro da Costa.²⁹ People began to see the truth that the King's brother, Prince Luis, put into one of his crisp sayings: "Any man may ask His Highness for what he wants, but each of us will get only what he ought to get, all things considered in the public interest."³⁰ The general confidence in the King's sense of fair play and singleness of purpose gave him immense personal authority. To be in the King's bad books was enough to make any normal man feel himself a traitor.

Of the four parts of the Portuguese empire, Brazil was then the least spectacular in results, though it was destined to be the greatest triumph of the colonising aptitude of Portugal. Four things rendered progress slow here at first: the greater

difficulty of exacting from the civilian emigrants, both nobles and farmers, the kind of discipline that soldiers and sailors were inured to in other parts of the empire; the barbarous and elusive native Americans with whom they had to deal; the constant raids of French pirates; and the lack of quick returns, as long as the avenues of exploitation were mainly agricultural, which was the case in Brazil during this reign.

If the Portuguese had possessed superhuman foresight, which is not granted to mortal men, they would have found also at the Cape of Good Hope in ample measure the opportunities that the King sought for his people in America. What they sought can be inferred from the diary of Pero Lopes de Sousa,²¹ who tells us how the Brazilian emigrants set to work in 1530. "The Chief Captain divided the people into two villages on our arrival and appointed officers. Courts of law and divine worship were set up, arrangements made for the celebration of marriages, the various arts provided for, and every man master in his own home. Means were established for settling individual complaints, and for all the other amenities of a safe and sociable life." A programme like this goes far to explain the difference between the nature of the empire in Brazil and elsewhere. These newcomers were looking for homes, and not chiefly for wealth, and they laid deeply and well the foundations of the great nation of Brazil. It would be idle, however, to ignore another important fact: that the voyage to Brazil was shorter and less perilous than to any other part of the Portuguese empire, and therefore more suitable for whole families.

The Zambesi coast, Guinea, India and the Malay Islands were the gold mines of the empire, and they built it up just as the Witwatersrand helped to give a fresh impetus in prosperity to South Africa and the British Empire in later days. But it is clear from the King's acts that he looked upon India and the East as dwindling assets, the loss of which Portugal could well survive. Most of North Africa he was inclined to write off as a bad debt. The various parts of the empire of the East could be made profitable to all his subjects, Portuguese and colonials, by careful administration unless they were overwhelmed by those strokes of fortune that men cannot parry.

The immense distance of this eastern empire from the main centre of government makes this reign a masterpiece of successful imperialism which has few parallels in any epoch. One hundred years were to pass before the French or Dutch or English were to attempt anything comparable to the regular system which John III consolidated. Only in 1652 did the Dutch settle in

Table Bay with a governor appointed by a commercial company. Only in 1666 was the agent of the East India Company at Madras created the first governor by the King of England. And only in 1670 did De la Haye sail from La Rochelle as governor of all India and representative of Louis XIV. King John III was an early pioneer in this magnificently bold experiment, whose only equal was the Spanish King and Emperor, Charles V.

Of course, there were men on the spot in the colonies, like the historian Gaspar Corrêa,³³ then in India, who thought that the King was too lenient with civil servants who defaulted. "If the King would only order some governor of India to be beheaded on the quay at Goa," Corrêa imagined that the terror thus inspired would put an end to injustices of all kinds, murders, violences and adulteries. But the King was too well acquainted with human nature in all classes to dream that the millennium could be evoked by such simple magic. He is more often accused of being too severe in such matters. That he was accustomed to demand the strictest integrity from his representatives everywhere,³⁴ we shall see in the course of this history.

The learned Alexander Herculano, in his fanatical zeal for the type of Liberalism which was fashionable at the end of the nineteenth century, declares dogmatically that John III was "a fanatic in religion, a man of evil character and inept", and that his administration helped to ruin Portugal.³⁵ But even Sir Richard Burton, who disliked John's later friends the Jesuits as much as any of their enemies, was compelled to admit that this was the golden era of Portugal's fortunes.³⁶ The King's religion certainly played a vital part in his activities; but no pious Christian could be less of a zealot, and no Liberal more imbued with a spirit of broad humanity.

How deep his sense of personal religion was, can be read even in the business letters of the circle in which he moved. One of several instances occurred when Dona Violante, the Chancellor Castanheira's eldest daughter, died in her prime. Letters of condolence from the King and Queen breathe an atmosphere of natural Christian piety. The most typical is that from the King's brother, Prince Luis.³⁷

"I see that no human wisdom can cure so great a sorrow as yours. Only the grace of God and the Comforter Spirit can console you, and to Him I commend you in all confidence. Hence words and reasonings are futile. This only will I ask you to remember, that you are not alone in so cruel an event. Many share your grief, and I am one of them, not merely one of many, but one of the few that feel it most acutely. This is not the time

to ask you to send me any message. I can give you no other counsel but to recite one *Pater Noster* with your heart; and to recall to mind, that precious as Violante is to you her father, she has cost more to Him who has called her to Himself. May He keep you ever in His holy care." The statesmen who could write like that to one another amid affairs of State took their religion to heart.

But King John did not lack sympathy with those who failed to appreciate these higher things of the spirit of Christ. Thus in 1537, when the Sultan of Gujarat had become a firm ally of Portugal, John wished to send him a token of friendship, and ordered his agent in Antwerp to choose some suitable tapestries. Two of the richest tapestries in the warehouse of Bartholomew Marchioni contained pictures of the Pope with some cardinals and prophets of the Old Testament. "That certainly will not do if we are to give pleasure to a Muslim king," wrote John³⁸ in reply to his agent, "I would like you to substitute pictures of the story of Aeneas of Troy."

The Portuguese empire of the Indian Ocean was singular in this, that it was not at this time a territorial empire like that of America in Brazil. It was a trade empire or a colossal trade organisation, not, however, governed by a trading corporation, but by the King as head of the country. Fortresses and ships were the means of making this trade secure and peaceful. The King of Portugal was merely the suzerain of the local rulers, whose authority he supported as long as they were loyal friends. The Arab sheikhs or imams of Malindi, Mombasa, Mozambique, Sofala, the Zambesi and the islands were left in full possession of their command over their own people, if they did not impede the trade of the Portuguese or deny the overlordship of Lisbon. The nomadic Bantu were directly subject neither to the Portuguese, nor to the Arabs, and were constantly at war with one another, murdering their own chiefs.

Fortunately for Portugal, the King clung to the excellent medieval idea³⁹ that the State, and also the self-governing city, existed to provide a fitting sustenance and welfare with work for every citizen. The mercantilist State, now about to sprout elsewhere in Europe, was to aim at profits for the governing class, as a source of power politics. The wealth of Portuguese India financed no wars in Europe among rival commercial empires. From the rulers of the East the demand was for fair trade, mutually beneficial. In Portugal itself the wealth was widely distributed among a people steadily rising in comfort and in the arts. Indeed, the chronicler Francis d'Andrade thought

that the only danger threatening Portugal at the beginning of this reign was the comfort and contentment that obtained everywhere in the kingdom. Foreign customs and new luxuries were calculated to weaken the spiritual sources of the "solid and genuine sense of honour" of the old Portugal.

Individual governors were not always faithful to the directions of Lisbon, and sometimes acted in defiance of them to the detriment and discredit of Portugal; but there can be no doubt about the principles of John III. They were summed up by the famous Spaniard, Francis Suares (1548-1617), who died in Lisbon, when he wrote⁴⁰ that the State should aim at "the natural happiness of the perfect or self-sufficient human community; and the happiness of individuals as they are members of such a community, that they may live therein peacefully and justly, with a sufficiency of good for the preservation and comfort of their bodily life, and with so much moral rectitude as is necessary for this external peace and happiness." The last part of this sentence does not entail any cynical indifference to the integral code of morals. It merely limits the action of the State in moral matters, leaving the full care of them to the spiritual methods of the Church.

Hence we rub our eyes when a distinguished Liberal writer⁴¹ informs us that for a thousand years in Europe, from Saint Augustine to Machiavelli, political thinking was just a department of theology. Political thinking in King John's day regarded freedom as the aim of the State, not its delusive tool; and political thinking entailed political action, not being the surrender of the whole man, body and soul, to the temporary masters of the State.

"Science is the very soul of a society, for science is reason; it alone will serve that progress which is inseparable from the respect for humanity and freedom." So wrote Renan,⁴² whose credulity was boundless when science was mentioned; but the twentieth century has seen science prostituted as the handmaiden of men's worst passions, and we have been recalled to reason. It was a higher soul than Renan's that the Portuguese fidalgos had in mind when they declared proudly in the sixteenth century that a nobleman would sacrifice everything for king and country except his soul. They meant what they said, and that was an almost obsolete habit in the political science of the nineteenth century, which had become an organ of power propaganda.

All classes in Portugal trusted the judgment of John III. The people trusted him, because they saw how solicitous he was for their welfare;⁴³ the upper classes because they shared with their sovereign a long tradition of political thinking, based upon

the human wisdom of ancient Rome and the divine wisdom of the Gospel of Christ. If they lacked the amenities of our best sanitary systems, they escaped the foul reek of our corrupted international relations. They were able to discover a method of rational intercourse even with the Muslim communities of our coast, from the Cape of Good Hope to the Red Sea.

One great service that Portugal was now rendering to all Europe was of a nature that nobody could foresee distinctly at that time. Even the Pope did not divine it. This we gather from a conversation that Pope Pius IV had with the saintly Archbishop of Braga in 1560.⁴⁴ Bartholomew dos Martyres, as he was called, attended the later meetings of the Council of Trent and made a great impression there. When dining once with the Pope in the Vatican, this Portuguese prelate was gratified to hear the high praise which Pius IV bestowed upon the Portuguese people and their King.

Four things make Portugal unique in Europe, said the Pope. She was the first nation of Europe to receive the Christian faith;⁴⁵ having received it, she never departed from it; no people has ever carried the Gospel so far afield; and the Portuguese alone have never been known to take up arms against their legitimate king.

With our advantage of being able to look back upon four hundred years of the world's history, we are in a position to add a fifth laurel to Portugal's crown. By coming so early into Eastern waters, and holding back the tide of the Turkish and other Muslim invaders, she made possible the entry of the civilising influence of other Christian nations in this area, when they were sufficiently equipped to advance.

"It is quite conceivable," writes Sir E. Denison Ross,⁴⁶ "that if one of the Turkish fleets had succeeded in driving the Portuguese out of their fortresses on the Indian coast, the establishment of the Christian Powers in India might have been indefinitely postponed." To this result the reign of John III made an invaluable contribution, which we shall examine in so far as it touched the shores of South Africa. What the Portuguese then knew of South Africa they divided into Monomotapa, the Zambesi Rivers and the land of the Cape of Good Hope. Practically this meant all Africa south of the equator.

CHAPTER II.

THE CONVOY SYSTEM ON THE CAPE ROUTE.

PORTUGAL'S COMMAND of the Indian Ocean and of the South Atlantic had been effectively consolidated by the beginning of the reign of John III. This is best illustrated by a lively conversation which took place at Valladolid at the end of the year 1522⁴⁷ between the Venetian ambassador, Gasparo Contarini, and Sebastian Cabot, then in the service of Henry VIII of England. Sebastian had been born in Venice, brought up in England, and educated by his father, John Cabot; but he would have preferred to serve the Signoria, if this government of Venice would examine his proposals in strict secrecy and give him a chance to carry them out.

Much as Contarini respected the nautical knowledge and general ability of the Cabots, he did not believe in this plan of restoring the prosperity of Venice by a north-west passage to the Spice Islands. "Of course," the ambassador added, "possibility is much more unbounded than man often imagines." Yet he would not recommend the plan, but with a shrug of the shoulders he told the Signoria that no harm could be done by giving an audience to Sebastian Cabot. Where, however, Contarini and Cabot were in complete agreement was that nothing could be done to contest Portugal's command of the two oceans.

Even if the Turk allowed Venetian ships to be built in the Red Sea, and timber were available in that neighbourhood, "the fortresses and fleets of Portugal could prevent any trade from being carried on." The seaways on both sides of the Cape of Good Hope were perfectly safe for all ships that carried the flag or the licence of the King of Portugal.

The one danger spot was in the North Atlantic, in the stretch of seas between the Azores Islands and the Canaries. Under cover of these islands French pirates (sometimes men of title, but not of honour) often lay in wait, to pounce upon the buffeted ships and weary crews at the end of their long journey from Calicut by way of the Cape of Good Hope. The rich cargoes of spices and gold were a lure that the Norman and Breton sailors could not resist; and La Rochelle, Rouen and Dieppe became the chief nests of these sea robbers.

King John himself has recorded⁴⁸ the fact that in the first ten years of his reign three hundred ships, mostly small craft for local trade, were thus ambushed within sight of home, and that their total value was one million cruzados. This was shabby treatment on the part of a nation with which Portugal was at peace, wrote the King. "As most of these ships were engaged in fighting the common enemy of Christendom," he adds, "this circumstance might well have served as a safe conduct in the eyes of Frenchmen." Francis I, who soon became the chief supporter of the Turk in Europe, was hardly amenable to arguments of this nature.

Fortunately, John III had the skill to employ other arguments of a kind more likely to influence the Valois king. The political position of the King of Portugal, between such bitter rivals as the Emperor and the French King, was one of rare difficulty. John III wisely refused those gains he might have made by taking sides in war with either of the rivals. But events in 1525 gave him an opportunity of fresh negotiations.

At the battle of Pavia the German Emperor had not only defeated but captured the French King. One of the least galling conditions of the unwisely severe treaty of peace⁴⁹ was a ransom for the liberation of the two young princes of France, who were detained as hostages for their father. This was one of the few stipulations that Francis made any attempt to fulfil. In 1529 he approached the Portuguese King for a loan of four hundred thousand cruzados to help him in this task.

The French King now offered to arbitrate in regard to those claims which John III had been making against the French pirates and their instigators during the last eight years. John consented to lend one hundred thousand cruzados, payable in bills of exchange at the two fairs of Lyons "next Easter and on the feast of Saint Michael"; and the rest of the sum asked was to be paid out of the very much larger sums which would be due to him when the arbitrators should give judgment in reparation of the piracies committed against the fleets of Portugal.⁵⁰ This was certainly a well-chosen expedient for stimulating the somewhat sluggish sense of justice possessed by the French King.

From the very beginning of this controversy the acute mind of John III grasped the important fact that this question of French attacks upon Portuguese shipping had three distinct aspects. There was the general question of Portugal's supreme rights of trade in the lands which her sailors had discovered, and within the sphere of influence of the undiscovered lands of the same areas. There were the openly piratical attacks upon

Portuguese ships for mere plunder; and there were the covertly piratical attacks under letters of marque, sometimes forged. King John was too wide awake in diplomacy to allow these complicated issues to be mixed up with one another.

• His instructions to his ambassadors in Paris often warned them to avoid the first question altogether. The French King had once remarked sarcastically that in the original charter of the earth given to Adam he found no record of the exclusion of Frenchmen from a fair share of the world.⁵¹ The Portuguese might have replied that Gaul was not even mentioned in the Book of Genesis, but they were not looking for victories in debate. They knew that they had on their side the only argument which is finally decisive in international law, even in the twentieth century: an incomparable fleet and a sufficient army.

International law indeed, especially to-day, hardly deserves the name of law in the nobler Roman sense, meaning a code of rational orders for the common good promulgated by the competent authority.⁵² Wherever the vital interests of the most powerful nations are not involved, reason easily prevails in international agreements. Where these interests are involved, law becomes a declaration of the view which the strongest consider reasonable because in keeping with their urgent or extravagant needs. John III and Francis I differed entirely in their interpretation of the nature of the freedom of the seas. But the hands of the French were fully occupied in the quarrel with the Emperor. Even if Francis had been unencumbered in Europe, it is doubtful whether he could have directly contested the strong position of Portugal in the Indian Ocean. By mutual consent, therefore, the question was left in abeyance.⁵³

But the systematic plundering of Portuguese ships by French robbers was a clearer grievance. Like hungry vultures, many Norman and Breton rovers swept down upon the cargoes of spices, Brazil wood,⁵⁴ and even fruit and fish from the Algarve coast of Portugal. Filibustering on the sea was an ancient trade of the French sailors on this coast; and Rui de Pina⁵⁵ chronicles the fact that in 1457 King Alfonso V had to charter a cruising fleet of eighteen large ships under Admiral Rui de Mello, in order to check the activities of these greedy captains. Their appetite grew with Portugal's wealth on the seas. Their regular operations now extended from Cape Saint Vincent through Teneriffe to Cape Verde, in order to capture the Spanish ships from America as well. Whilst the Kings of Portugal and France were friends, their people were at war on the high seas. This peace of a sort was entirely due to the exemplary patience of King

John, and was not shared by the Emperor Charles V, whose wars with France were almost chronic.

Not all the Portuguese captains were able to deal as promptly and effectively with their assailants as Edward Pacheco Pereira with the master thief of the French, Mandregon, in King Manuel's reign.⁵⁶ Pacheco was a genius; and the other captains attacked generally suffered a certain percentage of loss in defending their cargoes. George Nunes drew up a list of claims against the French King in Latin,⁵⁷ which shows how numerous the attacks were between 1521 and 1527, though relatively few succeeded.

In 1527 one of these raiders from Dieppe pushed around the Cape of Good Hope as far as Diu in India. The captain and pilot was Stephen Dias Brigas,⁵⁸ a Portuguese who had been compelled to flee from his native land for pranks which set the police on his track. His whole crew of forty were Frenchmen, and the owners of the ship were French investors. But the Muslim commander of Diu, Malik Saca, lured these men ashore with a promise of a safe conduct for trading purposes. He arrested the whole ship's company on landing, and sent them bound to Sultan Bahadur at Champanel, a fortified town of Gujarat. Brigas was killed, but some of the crew saved their lives by becoming nominal Mohammedans. There is also evidence of the wreck of another French ship on the coast of Madagascar about this time.⁵⁹

But King John was more concerned with the increasing toll of ships from India and the Gold Coast that were falling victims to the pirates of the North Atlantic. In 1527 he sent through John Silveira a strong remonstrance against these proceedings. The French replied⁶⁰ that in these Portuguese ships they seized only the property of Spaniards, Flemings and Englishmen, with whom they were at war. In collusion with the French Admiral and his officials (said the Portuguese), the French prize courts extorted by torture confessions from the Portuguese captains, stating that they carried enemy property. At that period all such property was contraband of war.

In despair King John turned to a veteran diplomatist, Jacome Monteiro,⁶¹ who had been one of King Manuel's ambassadors at Paris. Monteiro was in retirement on a farm in the hills, but replied promptly that it was a hopeless business. King Francis and his friends must have long ago divided the booty, and they were people who never surrendered what they had once acquired. To sue them in the French courts would be a

waste of money. This piracy of the French sailors suited admirably the plans of their warlike and reckless King, as he needed cash for his contests with England and Italy. This feeble but firm voice from the farm in the mountains of Braga confirmed John's own experiences, but the new turn of affairs, brought about by the defeat of the French King at Pavia and his need of a ransom, enabled him to place the whole controversy on more hopeful grounds.

King John was determined not to allow a final breach with the French, because he was one of those rare politicians who believed sincerely that war did not pay. Any debt that could only be collected by force of arms in Europe he preferred to wipe off as a bad debt. Moreover, the French jurists had not contested the principle that it was piracy to attack the Portuguese in these waters of the North Atlantic, but they maintained that in the instances alleged the Portuguese flag was being abused by nations at war with France.

In the days of King Manuel, Jacome Monteiro had obtained restitution of nearly all the gold⁶³ taken from Portuguese ships by French pirates. This was during the reign of Louis XII. With Francis I, policy governed his sense of justice. When he was negotiating the marriage of his daughter to the rich Portuguese King, and the omens seemed favourable, he hastened to hand back two ships in his harbours which were captured by the pirates. But when his daughter Charlotte died, and his hopes vanished, he took no further trouble to restrain the seamen of Brest, Dieppe and La Rochelle.⁶⁴

But this guilty acquiescence in the raids of sea captains like Jean Fleury, Jean Ango and Silvester Billes, became a positive menace when the French King gave letters of marque to Ango on the twenty-seventh of June, 1530. Ango was a startling symptom of the lawlessness that then prevailed in France on account of the weakness of the central government, distracted by foreign wars, the ambitions of the French princes and the dissensions consequent upon the infiltration of Lutheran ideas through Metz from Germany. Ango was governor of Dieppe, a privy counsellor, collector of customs, contractor for the royal fleet; and as a side-line he organised piracy on a large scale, sometimes taking a hand himself by superintending these operations at sea.⁶⁵

Accounts differ about the incident that led to the grant of letters of marque.⁶⁶ The French declared that Ango's squadron was captured on the high seas by a Portuguese galleon, and brought to Lisbon. But the Lisbon court decided that Ango

was caught operating in the Portuguese waters of Brazil, within sight of the colonists there; and that his ship had been legally arrested by Portuguese cruisers on the coast. King John pointed out that the prize court at Lisbon had heard both sides of the story before giving judgment, whereas the French King had only heard the interested evidence of Anglo and his subordinates. As a gesture of appeasement, however, John III not only remitted the death sentence pronounced by the Portuguese court, but set the whole crew free. They returned home without any gratitude for the clemency shown them. Now they were authorised by their king to take up their nefarious trade armed with letters of marque.

This brought the whole question into a new legal area, where it could be discussed on principles of international law that were generally admitted. The ships which sailed with letters of marque were a species of privateers.⁶⁷ But the privateers properly so called were naval freelances who took part in a war that was being waged by other nations. When private owners of ships were thus authorised by one of the belligerents to join in the war, and when they took a course of their own independent of the admiral who commissioned them, they were called privateers. But if they took commissions from both sides, they were reckoned as plain pirates, and got short shrift when captured.

Letters of marque, however, were usually given in time of peace. Without breaking the general peace, any sovereign could grant an aggrieved subject the right to attack the ships of a nation from which he had suffered wrong, either in his goods or his honour. But the amount of the damage suffered or the nature of the insult had to be stated in the letters; and the reprisals could not legally exceed the amount recorded as suitable retaliation. This limitation is of the very essence of the law. The low-Latin word *marca* means a boundary,⁶⁸ and the letters conferred the right to cross the boundary of the ordinary law for a limited purpose only. But, like all measures of war, public or private, the letter of marque was liable to great abuse.

It was the abuse of this royal writ on the part of the French that John had complained about as far back as 1526. The complaint was formally made some years later in his reply to the first request of the French King for a large loan. Being then in great straits for money, Francis instructed his ambassador, Pierre de Lagarde, to promise that he was ready to discuss a full code of rules to settle the relations of the ships of their nations at sea. John grasped the offer eagerly. He pointed out that he had never given letters of marque to any of his subjects, though

they often clamoured for them when robbed by French ships. But he asked Francis to agree to three practical principles as foundations of a stable peace: if he issued letters of marque, they must be strictly limited in amount; no Portuguese ship should be attacked unless found helping the enemies of France, or pirating; no French ships must trade with Guinea, South Africa, India, Brazil or the islands whose legal possession by Portugal had even been confirmed by papal bulls.⁶⁹ When, however, the cash requested by Francis for his ransom was not forthcoming at once, Lagarde showed no further interest in naval peace.

But in April, 1531, John pressed his proposals again, because through these aggressions "my kingdom has suffered more in a short time than in any war of the past." This time, however, he sent his most trusted minister of State, Anthony d'Ataide, as a special envoy to Paris in order to clear up the dangerous situation that had arisen since Ango was granted letters of marque in 1530.⁷⁰ In 1528 Francis had threatened to give such letters to five Breton merchants, who claimed damages against Portuguese ships; but John showed that even if the Breton allegations were well founded,⁷¹ there was a balance of damages in favour of the Portuguese. Now, however, the letters had been actually signed for Ango's use; and prompt action was imperative if this bitter quarrel between tradespeople was not to be transformed into a war between kings who had always been friends.

These are the insignificant sparks, wrote King John, that lead to appalling conflagrations. "But kings cannot escape responsibility before God by screening themselves behind decisions of their Council of State, as the final decision rests upon the conscience of the King."⁷² The King is the chief servant of God in the State, and to God he shall render a strict account of that stewardship.

John therefore suggested arbitration on two points: whether the reprisals were justly permitted in terms of international law; and, if so, whether the amount sanctioned was fair. Here Ataide received valuable support in Paris from the Rector of the University, Dr. Diogo de Gouveia, who was a Portuguese. Even this influential lawyer and the support of the two French queens⁷³ failed to shake the poor pretence of Francis I, that his action was constitutional.

It remained only to secure delay in the execution of the letters of marque, until an alluring price could be fixed for their withdrawal. John regarded the price worth paying in order to avert the calamity of war, whilst he openly regretted that his French cousin apparently failed to realise the value of his

friendship.⁷⁴ But, putting his pride in his pocket for the sake of his people's peace, he authorised Ataide to offer Ango ten thousand francs for the surrender of his letters of marque. The royal warrant empowered Ango to secure plunder to the value of 365 thousand francs;⁷⁵ but this was clearly excessive, as the courts had assessed the total value of his shipping captured at 83 thousand francs,⁷⁶ and Portugal counterclaimed for the difference. All the prizes on both sides should be submitted to a court of arbitration.

This deal with Ango, if effected, would be only the beginning of a settlement in the eyes of John III. He sought some stable guarantees from France that these raids and reprisals would not be renewed. For this, too, he was prepared to pay any reasonable price, if he could thus only save the rich Cape cargoes upon which so much of his people's welfare depended.

A modern politician of vast experience⁷⁷ has registered his opinion that in the diplomatic contests of to-day every man has his price; and that success consists in divining the price, and paying it cheerfully in good time. Even at this time the Duke of Braganza defended the employment of palm oil by saying that ten or twelve thousand cruzados down might easily save 200 thousand in damage to Portuguese shipping. In Normandy of Valois France there was then one influential man who, as John knew, was amenable to arguments of this kind. This was Philip de Charbot, admiral and Count de Charni.⁷⁸ His was a key position in the agreement which was signed at Fontainebleau on the eleventh of July, 1531.

The main stipulations were these.⁷⁹ No French ship was to sail for the lands known to belong to the King of Portugal⁸⁰ except with a permit from that King, which must be verified and endorsed by the Admiral of France. Otherwise the Admiral was to prevent them leaving his ports. If the subjects of either king were to ask for letters of marque against the subjects of the other, these could only be granted by two commissioners appointed by France and Portugal. If they disagreed, the Pope was to be asked to nominate a judge, whose verdict would be final.⁸¹ All past letters of marque were to be revoked.

A month later Chabot received from Ataide the sum of fifty thousand francs, of which forty thousand were to be handed to Ango when he surrendered the letters of marque, as compensation. The rest was a gift to Chabot. "In paying the Admiral," wrote the King to Ataide, "his ten thousand francs,⁸² do it in the manner that will please him best." So anxious was John III to conciliate the man upon whom so much depended in the

execution of these terms! But the Admiral, having pocketed his retaining fee, does not seem to have given the full value that John expected. French ships continued to poach, somewhat less openly indeed, upon the preserves of Portugal, and to lurk amid the islands for prey.

It is likely enough that Chabot could not have done much more to restrain the Norman and Breton adventurers, even if he had exerted himself to the utmost. Legal or diplomatic considerations weighed little with them; and when they heard of the regulations in restraint of their old and vicious trade that Portugal had succeeded in persuading their King to enact, it became dangerous for a Portuguese to be seen in any of the seaport towns.⁸² Moreover, the promises of Francis I were as slippery as the tail of an eel. Admiral de Chabot de Brion himself was sentenced to banishment by the French courts for embezzlement and treason in 1540, and after a short period of reinstatement died in 1543.⁸³ But the dynasty of French pirates and speculators lived on. The markets where the plunder of Portuguese ships could quickly be disposed of were too attractive to these selfish men to admit of any scruples. Besides the French markets, there were ports in England, Scotland and Ireland in which South African gold, Indian spices and Brazil wood fetched fancy prices.

Though the letter of the law of nations protected the ships and cargoes that hailed from the Cape of Good Hope, it was nearly as difficult in those days as it is to-day in wartime, for an enemy ship to obtain justice in the prize courts of Normandy. Thus we read that in 1537 the owners of a Portuguese ship had been vainly suing the Mayor of Cork (an English official) for three years to obtain the return of a pirated cargo of theirs which he had bought.⁸⁴ In England, too, under Edward VI the brother of the Protector Somerset, Thomas Lord Seymour of Sudely, grew rich on such spoils. "As Lord High Admiral he connived at piracy, received a share of the spoils and perverted justice in the Admiralty Courts."⁸⁵

With such experiences in mind, we understand how John III was confirmed in the traditional policy of his country, which was based on a strong navy for defence in the East and on the Cape route. It now became clear that this policy needed expansion in the direction of more convoys in the North Atlantic.

King John's letters show that his greatest anxiety was always for the fleets of merchantmen that came home by way of the Cape of Good Hope. With sound political discernment, he

deduced from the reports of his administrators in Brazil,⁸⁶ that the fleets in those waters could be effectively protected by an active system of settlements. A new Portugal in America had been founded in 1530 by Martin Alfonso de Sousa, which out of its own resources gradually supplied the men, ships and munitions to protect its own commerce with the mother country. The India fleets, too, were safe as long as they were in the Indian Ocean. But after doubling the Cape of Good Hope on the way home they entered the zone of danger whose focus was in the islands of Madeira, the Azores and the Canaries.

Consequently, John's fleets of convoys concentrated upon these islands. The French were the principal assailants whom they had to fear. Spain had its separate sphere of world trade; and the only task that remained was to give the final touches to the boundary line between the spheres in Guinea, Malacca and Brazil. With the aid of experts, this was done in 1533.⁸⁷ The Dutch and Flemish ships were regarded as partners of the Portuguese, as they had the privilege of being citizens of the Spanish empire. After 1544 English ships gave little cause for anxiety to King John.⁸⁸ Up to that time William Hawkins, father of the more noted Sir John, had fitted out a few poaching expeditions from Southampton in search of ivory and gold. But in 1544 Henry VIII went to war again with France, and for English adventurers "freebooting in the Channel under letters of marque became a surer game than speculative voyages to the tropics." They could attack Spanish and Flemish ships under the pretext that as neutrals they carried French cargoes. But in general practice, English governments admitted John's claim that the African coasts outside the Mediterranean were "under his jurisdiction, even though he be not acknowledged everywhere."⁸⁹

The problem of the security of the Indian cargoes in the Atlantic so harassed the Secretary for India, Anthony d'Ataide, that he pressed the King to have the ships convoyed all the way from the Cape of Good Hope to Lisbon.⁹⁰ But, "as it may be difficult to be certain of meeting them from any distance from the islands", the King replied that the system which he had instituted was sufficient and should continue.

This was to keep a few swift and well-armed caravels on the coast of Elmina, and a stronger fleet of the same caravels with a galley based on the Azores, but patrolling all the islands. At the beginning the Azores fleet was under the command of Aires da Cunha, whom a fellow captain describes as a keen soldier and resourceful seaman,⁹¹ in character self-controlled and just.

Edward Coelho took his place on the expiry of his term of office as commandant of the Guinea coast. Both men were soon to be rewarded with the blue ribbon of the King's service, the position of *donatarios* in Brazil.⁹² The King knew his men when he assured Ataide that they were well able to take any steps required to safeguard the Indian ships in their passage through the Atlantic. John III warned the Congo king that the Frenchmen who went to that coast were not genuine and not to be trusted, and would be punished by their own king.

Even if the traitor, John Afonso, were again piloting English ships to the Malagueta coast; and even if six French ships are about to start for India, as Anthony Vaz de Lacerda has reported, Edward Coelho will be able to deal with them, wrote the King⁹³ in reply to Ataide's misgivings. Still, he was ordered to take the precaution of calling together all the best seamen in Lisbon to hear Lacerda; "but on no account must they communicate to Lacerda the advice they give you."

A few days later the King again writes to Ataide not to allow Lacerda to return to France. All this indicates another danger against which public policy has to contend in every age, the spy danger. Wherever there is rivalry in trade or politics, the spy flourishes like a mushroom in slimy loam after rain.

The King clearly suspected that Lacerda was not a disinterested stranger in these intrigues, whatever his motives may have been in partially revealing them. Someone in Lisbon was evidently in league with the Norman pirates; and the King asked Ataide to find out by guarded enquiries what John Charles de la Faitada in Lisbon knew about the way in which the French acquired their knowledge regarding the Indian sailings.⁹⁴

At this time John must have known the details of the recent trial of Anthony Fernandes in Antwerp, a New Christian who was convicted of the crime of "monopoly", or cornering the market. Among his accomplices in Lisbon we read the name of John Charles de Affaitati, which Portuguese usage had turned into De la Faitada. Another name that the King mentions with suspicion is Afonso de Sevilha, a merchant resident in Rouen who was the agent of Diogo Mendes, also a New Christian and similarly convicted in Antwerp of "monopoly" on a large scale. "This is how all the news of my fleets gets there," wrote the King to Ataide; and he instructed him to find out who Afonso's correspondents are in Lisbon.⁹⁵

Facts like these must be grasped before we can set the policy of John III towards the New Christians in the proper perspective. Both the letters and the legislation of the King make it clear

that, whilst he sought the glory and wealth of Portugal, he cared first of all for the welfare of the people.

Thus in January, 1533, when preparing the next fleet for India, he warns the Secretary for India that corn for the fleet must not be bought in Portugal, if this purchase raises the price of corn for the people, and much less if it deprives them of corn that they need ; but only if there is a surplus.⁹⁶ Contractors and captains were forbidden to take more men on the Indian ships than could be comfortably lodged.⁹⁷ He only allows the royal tax on corn to be collected when he is assured that the farmers feel able to bear it. He enacted laws forbidding middlemen to do business in the food of the people.⁹⁸ Meat, oil, bread and wine could only be sold for consumption ; and even the clergy were forbidden to resell any surplus of the bread and wine they stored for the use of the Mass. The sumptuary laws also aimed at making the breadwinner spend his earnings upon his family, and not in personal vanity. When, therefore, King John found that in Antwerp New Christians were forming spice trusts and even food trusts, he resented this both in the interests of the people and of the public exchequer. "For kings," he said, "the chief concern next to God's service is what touches the welfare of their own people."⁹⁹

He could not prevent these foreigners from breaking the laws of Flanders, but he could check their operations in Portugal. Especially when they sent their own spies or hired Portuguese spies to get the information needed for their business deals, he could do much to make their unsocial work difficult.¹⁰⁰ Hence in 1533, when he heard that Diego Mendes was being tried by the Antwerp courts for "monopoly", his brother, Francis Mendes, in Lisbon was not allowed to invest the customary sums in Portuguese ventures, until Diego should clear himself of the charges against him.

New Christians and their sons¹⁰¹ were forbidden to sail for India except by special leave of the King, which was only given to petty officers, pilots and experts. But the King reminded Ataide that when he refused permits to these people, he should do so in a way that would not hurt their feelings. Traders were in a different position. In 1534 he decreed that three speculators named Abraham Benzemerro, Jacob Rosales and Adibe, and all other Jews of their type should sell out at once and leave the country ; though later he consented to receive Benzemerro, to listen to what he had to say in his own defence. Ataide was ordered to see that no injustice was done to Rosales in his compulsory liquidation. But among the New Christians and

Jews of Portugal there were some bankers and big contractors. These the King succeeded in assimilating by intermarriage with fidalgos of the court¹⁰² and hiding their identity by the grant of titles. It was the Antwerp clique, leagued with the French, whose influence upon the Indian trade John feared most.

But all through the reign of John III the pressing enemy that menaced the economic life of Portugal was the French pirate. In the King's letters we can trace the energetic and moderate measures with which he resisted this peril. An offensive and defensive alliance with his close friend and beloved brother-in-law, the Emperor, against France would have been the impulse of a hasty politician. But his frequent exhortation to his ambassadors in the European courts was: Whatever you do, commit me to no league, alliance or confederation.¹⁰³ The unity of Christendom was to him a treasure above spices and even gold, and he refused to be a party in dividing it.

He was prepared, however, to defend the rights of his people against all comers.¹⁰⁴ Therefore he protested promptly against the sending of ten French ships, armed, to the Azores whilst negotiations were pending. As they were prowling about the island of Fayal, on the side where the Indian ships foregathered before they entered on the last and most dangerous lap of their journey home, this was a challenge and their purpose evident. Moreover, these armed vessels could not have left France without the knowledge of the King and the Admiral.

The natural reply of King John to these manoeuvres was to strengthen the convoy system, so that the convoy fleet was in sufficient force to repel any attack. Thus a powerful concentration of ships was arranged for the early part of the year 1533 in the Azores. The Indian ships could be expected there any time after the middle of April. In February George de Velho Macedo was despatched from Lisbon with two caravels. A quick sailing sloop was sent to the Malagueta coast of Guinea to countermand the orders given to Edward Coelho, that he should go to reinforce the Brazil squadron. Macedo was to follow Coelho if necessary even to Brazil, and bring him back. If Coelho was still on the west coast of Africa, "let him by all means watch for the poacher William Hawkins from Southampton", who is being piloted by John Afonso; but under no circumstances must he fail to leave for the Azores on the fifteenth of April at the latest. Coelho had spent twenty years in India, and knew all the ocean routes from Ceylon, the Cape of Good Hope and Brazil.¹⁰⁵

These naval arrangements worked out admirably. Coelho reached the Terceiras in the scheduled time, bringing four¹⁰⁶ other caravels from the west coast. With those of Macedo, he thus commanded seven. The four ships from India, captained by Anthony de Saldanha, were late, as they had been obliged^{*} to winter at Mozambique, and only arrived in July. But eleven Portuguese ships felt quite safe against ten French pirates, if an encounter took place. The margin of safety was unexpectedly broadened, when the Brazil ships appeared under the experienced captain, Martin Afonso de Sousa.¹⁰⁷ To these must be added a French galleon which Coelho had captured within the forbidden waters of Elmina. This demonstration in force asserted, more luminously than any diplomatic arguments, that Portugal was in effective possession of the trade rights that she claimed in these seas.

A few years later the King and his trusty Secretary for India devised a more economical method of protecting the Cape route. Economy in naval expenditure was all the more urgent, because Henry VIII of England was being pressed to revive the policy of Cardinal Wolsey, of joining in the poaching upon Portuguese trade through Rouen.¹⁰⁸ Wolsey had been obliged to abandon the project for a time, because he needed the money for special expenditure upon the English garrison at Calais. But now the time was ripe for taking up the idea again, wrote the English ambassador in France to the King, because the French people were dissatisfied with their King in the matter. They did not want him to come to terms with the Portuguese about it. The big sum that Francis I would receive as the price of peace could only increase the cost of spices in the French market, to the chagrin of the householder.

If the English speeded up their operations in conjunction with the French of Normandy, Portugal would need all her ships for that defensive warfare. King John saw a way of meeting the increased danger by economising ships; and this was easiest done in basing the defence of the Cape route upon local effort in the Azores. The foundation of the Portuguese settlement had been well and truly laid in the Azores, as in Madeira and the Canaries. The people were devotedly loyal to King John and their motherland, which even the men of Flemish and Dutch blood¹⁰⁹ had come to recognise as such during the course of the century of Portuguese occupation.

They willingly seconded Pero Anes do Couto, when the King sent him there in 1534 to train artillerymen on the spot,

both for the defence of their own seven islands and the garrisoning of the Indian ships. They also filled the great gaps in the crews made by the hardships of the long voyage from Mozambique. The Governor of India, Nuno da Cunha, was immediately advised that in future the spice ships should be more strongly munitioned before leaving India. In 1537 all ships making the Azores from Lisbon were ordered to take their ballast in the form of limestone and building stone, unloading it on the island of Terceira, so that a great bastion might be built for the protection of the ships lying at anchor.

Portugal's might upon the seas at this time can be gauged, if we remember that amid all these anxieties King John was able to equip a splendid fleet to assist the Emperor in wresting Tunis from the rascally but magnificent seamen, who lived on the tribute extorted in their raids upon the richest cities of the Mediterranean. Tunis was the headquarters of the two Barbarossas and other renegades, who paid lip service to the Sultan of Turkey as a pretext for plundering Europe. Portugal sent a galleon with twenty fighting caravels and 1,500 soldiers and sailors, an expedition which cost as much as the annual fleet to India.¹¹⁰ Anthony de Saldanha, just returned from India, was in command, and on board was the King's brother, Prince Luis, who was to join the Emperor's staff at Barcelona, where a review of the combined fleet took place on the twenty-sixth of April, 1535. On the twenty-first of July, the fleet of Spaniards and Portuguese destroyed this nest of pirates. As a naval feat it was superb, because the routed enemy were numerous and brave rogues who knew every trick of the sea and every nook of the Mediterranean.

When Francis I died in 1547, the convoy system became more urgent than ever, because he continued to live more shamelessly in the measures which his successor, Henry II, took against Portuguese shipping.¹¹¹ Not only did he wink at the depredations of the pirates of La Rochelle and Honfleur, but he forbade the Portuguese merchantmen to trade in the English Channel. .

Such action was the strangest of commentaries on the principle appealed to by his father in a declaration of the year 1534. To John III he then declared that the seas were by imperscriptible right open to all men. John replied that only those seas were thus free which had always been recognised as public thoroughfares, not those which Portugal alone had opened, where she had the right acquired at great cost of controlling trade. And now the young French sovereign, urgently needing money for his personal extravagances, closes one of the immemorial paths of European trade against Portugal. It was legitimate ground for war, and

some members of the Council of State in Lisbon pressed for a declaration of war. But King John contented himself with more active measures of self-defence, this time in consultation with the Emperor whose interests were similarly threatened.

• They devised a system of joint convoys where their trading ships met: the Emperor's from America and John's from India, South Africa and America.¹¹² As the French were allies of the Turks, Charles V undertook to contain the Turks in the Mediterranean, whilst John patrolled his own coasts against French attacks. In April every year the Emperor sent ten ships to the islands, and John sent three galleons and seven caravels. The Portuguese King neither blustered nor whined, but took these firm steps to safeguard the ocean traffic upon which the life of his empire depended.

The English ambassador in Brussels has left us a living picture of John III engaged in such negotiations.¹¹³ At the end of 1555 the King discussed with him the expedition to Guinea, which Queen Mary Tudor had permitted her subjects to equip. "His conversation was so gentle and courteous," writes Sir John Mason to the Queen's Council, "that I did not at first understand how resolute his policy was." Whilst he was ready to consider the question of compensation for the London merchants, who had invested money in this project in good faith, he would not permit these ships to trade in Guinea, as it would damage his own subjects. In the end Queen Mary wrote to the Portuguese King that she would prohibit these sailings, and that her husband, Philip II, would personally compensate the English contractors and shippers for any losses suffered by them.

To ensure this policy of peaceful trade, the King called from time to time for a full inventory of the ships of his kingdom, both merchant vessels and fighting galleys and caravels. This, for example, is how he writes to Anthony d'Ataide in 1536:¹¹⁴ "I should be glad to know how many ships there are in Lisbon belonging to inhabitants of the city, what the tonnage of each ship is, how many sails she carries, how many caravels there are, how big each ship is, how many belong to single owners, what the owners' names are, and the names of the shareholders in all ships. If there are persons prepared to build ships, give me their names and the kind of ships they would wish. If any are being built, let me know who is building them, what kind of ships they are and when they are likely to be completed. How many sailors are there in Lisbon, and how much artillery and other arms? Of all these matters you shall send me a detailed account in writing."

The King lived most often on his estate at Evora, and Ataide in his offices at Lisbon. But couriers passed between them every day, sometimes thrice a day. The distance was just under one hundred miles, but the King was thus able to supervise the whole naval policy of his empire. His letters show that he knew personally almost all the leaders to whom he entrusted the execution of his policy: fidalgos, admirals, captains, pilots and factors.

There was a conscious community of aims between the sovereign and the best of these men, especially the young fidalgos, which helps us to understand why they undertook so many tasks that look utterly thankless. Two examples will illustrate this imponderable bond between them. Writing to Ataide in 1533, the King says:¹¹⁵ "I wish Gonsalo Coutinho to be chief captain of the four ships that will go to India in the first convoy of this year. Tell Gonsalo that I rejoice to do him this favour, as there is no salary attached to it." The same year he writes: "As Diogo Lopes de Sousa is prevented from sailing this year for India, I desire Nuno Furtado to take his ship. Tell him that he goes without salary, as I know that he will do it to please me." This is a foreign language in our age of economic patriotism, when money talks the same forcible language in nearly every nation.

Greedy adventurers there were among those leaders and men, but the salt of that generation were the youths whom the King himself had trained at court. Patriotism and religion were inculcated as twin virtues which meant sacrifice and not merely worldly gain. The cynics said even then that the Ten Commandments did not survive the doubling of the Cape of Good Hope. But they must be discounted by the solid fact that the voyages round the Cape proceeded regularly year by year in spite of the heavy mortality among the fidalgos, whilst the King's men reaped little of the profits. These went mainly to the bankers of Antwerp and the royal exchequer, while this latter revenue was almost entirely refunded in public services.

For these men the supreme penalty was "to be erased from the King's book."¹¹⁶ This was the penalty inflicted for disobedience to orders, or for shirking a task demanded by the King's deputies overseas. If King John spoke of "my service" when he meant the public service, it was because he regarded himself as the most responsible servant of the people. No man in Portugal worked harder than the King, as the great collection of his letters and despatches testifies.

The one means of making the Cape route safe which he refused to take was that suggested by Rui Fernandes: to build

fortresses in Madagascar and in Benin on the west coast of Africa. Fernandes had been factor in Antwerp, before he became ambassador in Paris, and was infected with the huckster spirit of that money market.¹¹⁷ He wanted to show the French by arguments that the brokers would understand, that the whole of the Indian Ocean was closed to their expansion by the effective occupation of the Portuguese.

- The King's measures were wiser because more moderate. In the first place he was determined that the naval encounters between the Portuguese captains and the French pirates should not lead to war between the nations; and this he secured by arranging for the establishment of mixed prize-courts, half Portuguese and half French, to decide each case of collision according to its merits.¹¹⁸ If necessary, a neutral arbitrator would be called in whose verdict would be final. Secondly, he refused to extend the area of Portuguese occupation, as he realised better than most of his advisers that Portugal had reached the limits of her powers in warlike action. But he was never in doubt that the road to India by way of the Cape of Good Hope was one of the vital arteries of Portuguese trade. Neither Madagascar, where so many false hopes had already been dissipated, nor Benin with its murderous swamps, seemed essential for the development of his country's prosperity.

King John's letters are a revelation of his keen naval sense. For he saw that the Cape route was the most important and vulnerable of the ocean routes, upon which the existence of the new Portugal depended.

He also saw clearly the three conditions essential for the preservation of all these routes:¹¹⁹ a fighting navy strong enough to defend his trade against the strongest combination that could be marshalled to attack him, in the Atlantic, the Pacific or the Indian Ocean; such land bases as were needed to support the fleets,^{*} and no more; a reserve of ships sufficient in tonnage to meet all these purposes. Because he husbanded his ships by refusing to take sides in the wars between Spain and France, the Venetian ambassadors scoffed at him in their home despatches, as if this were a confession of his inability to stand up to any European Power.¹²⁰ But since Venice would have gained by any weakening of the Portuguese navy, perhaps this is the crowning tribute to the sagacity of King John's naval policy.

In the quarrel with France, the Emperor Charles V supported Portugal, and even exerted diplomatic pressure to bring France to reason.¹²¹ England sided with France, seeing the possibility of some profit in the situation; but Henry VIII had

no effective power that he could throw into the scale;¹²² and his two children, whose reigns completed the remaining years of John's reign, inherited an England distracted by the internal factions that Henry had inaugurated, and consequently powerless.

• Those of us who witnessed the methods of the two World Wars, the bitterest trade wars ever waged, can only look back with admiration to the courteous diplomacy with which John III supported his great navy in its life-and-death struggle for the trade of Portugal. Compare his letters to the aggressive French King with the outrageous invective of the letters of President Woodrow Wilson, as set forth in the seventh volume of Baker's collection; and then Thomas Jefferson's eulogy of the wisdom of the North American type of democrat over the wisdom of European kings will be recognised for the unhistorical rhapsody that it really is. At a time when the native Americans, now called Red Indians, were masters of New York, King John wrested substantial justice from his opponents by waging peace with the courtesy of a Christian. The security of the cargoes that came round the Cape of Good Hope to Portugal was thus firmly established during his reign.

CHAPTER III.

CAPE CARGOES OPEN THE REVOLUTION IN ECONOMICS.

AN IMPORTANT EFFECT of the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope was the dislocation of economic power that it produced in Europe. In quantity, kind and habitat the economic forces of the old Continent took a new and rapid growth, when the Indian wealth in merchandise settled down upon the Cape route. Before that, the trade activity of the European nations had been fragmentary and inorganic. "Tapping the wealth of the East by way of the narrow apertures in the Levant, it resembled in the rigidity of the limits imposed on its commercial strategy a giant fed through the chinks of a wall."¹²³ The Cape cargoes were the vanguard of the world's economic expansion. This is a convenient name for the unparalleled wealth that went to Lisbon in this reign from the Zambesi coast, Persia, India, the Malay Islands, China and Japan.

For it was during the reign of John III that Europe first became fully conscious of the economic problems that the new system of commerce involved. Among the Europeans, it was the Portuguese who first grasped the character of the economic revolution, and its effects on the national economy. Writers on economic history usually date from the later English movement the results that were visible a generation earlier in Portugal. It was a memorandum on the equipment of the Cape fleets that first raised the economic issues clearly, as they presented themselves to the King and his most trusted adviser.

Anthony d'Ataide was Treasurer-General during the whole of the reign of King John. After many years spent in devising financial expedients, he wrote thus to the King:¹²⁴ "When I think of the burden that Your Highness has to carry and the state of your finantes, to me things seem desperate at times; though I am inclined to put this down to my own pessimism rather than to the facts. To solve my doubts in the matter I have sometimes consulted old and experienced men, in order to find out whether the past differed from the present in being free from these distresses. Most of them said that things had never been so bad, but some held that equal evils of the past had been remedied. These latter, however, seemed to me to have given matters little

thought. Because for many years past there have been such changes, that neither Your Highness nor the country can cope with the new methods; and if not remedied they will become more and more dangerous."

• What were the new methods, and what remedies did Ataide suggest? He first notes that the main expenditure of the government was made in fitting out the Cape fleets, and in the administration of India and East Africa. "But in these departments you cannot economise," he adds, "in fact you must spend more." The reason was evident. In these avenues business was still expanding, so that increased expenditure meant increased revenue. The profits of this lucrative trade system provided the main income of the country.

Economies could and should be made in North Africa, wrote Ataide. The castle of Fez was the only place that deserved to be retained. The other fortresses in the north should be dismantled, as they were a source of great expenditure; and none of them paid its way as Ceuta did in the early days. Men, ships and money were wasted there, draining the country of resources that would be better employed in developing the expanding trade of India and East Africa.

Before deciding about this daring proposal, which was bitterly opposed by many soldiers and courtiers, the King consulted the municipal council of Lisbon, all sound business men.¹²⁵ Gradually and with great reluctance, he finally made up his mind that the policy suggested by Ataide was in the interest of the commonwealth. His decision was hastened by a few military setbacks in Morocco, which he was man enough not to take too seriously, as some of the fidalgos did. Pope Paul III encouraged him in 1541 by saying that these pinpricks need not disturb the judgment of a King who had such glorious victories to his credit.¹²⁶ By 1550 he had evacuated Arzila, Safim, Azamor, the castle of Gué and Alcassar Segher. He retained only enough land at Ceuta to defend the Christian settlement there, and a garrison at Tangiers strong enough to deter the Sultan of Fez from fresh adventures.

In writing to inform the Emperor Charles V of these withdrawals, King John explains that the Turks and some renegade Christians had armed the Moors so strongly with artillery, that the expense of counter-armament was not justified by any gain in maintaining the other fortresses. By giving the King permission to pull down all churches, monasteries and chapels in these places, the Pope willingly concurred in these measures of partial disarmament. Writing to Rome for this consent of the Pope,

John mentioned that the recent harvest in Portugal had been so scanty that he was compelled at great expense to import bread for the garrisons from Dantzig, Sicily and Denmark. These brave retrenchments show how the King did not shrink from giving offence to the small jingo section of the *fidalgos* and soldiers, in order to secure a condition of sound finance. With the discernment of a true statesman, he saw that the choice between Morocco and India was forced upon him. He wisely elected to continue the expansion in India, and to retrench in Morocco.¹²⁷

There was a wiser section of the *fidalgos*, experienced servants of the State, who supported the King. A former Governor of Goa, Francis Pereira Pestana, who had been captain of Mombasa, was one of them, and his reasoned opinion has been preserved in a manuscript of the British Museum.

If you retain Fez alone, he wrote in effect to the King, you will be strengthened in North Africa; as you will gather together in one spot all the Portuguese, who are poor and powerless to-day because scattered, as well as the foreign friends of Portugal. Pestana reminded the King of the example of Pope Julius II, who against the advice of slow-witted advisers had the courage to sweep away the venerable but inadequate church of Saint Peter's, and built upon its ruins the noblest church of Christendom.

In the same good cause of sound finance the King seems to have been contemplating a reduction of the allowances which he made to the nobles of the court. But here he received a timely warning from Ataide. These men earn every penny they get and a great deal more, he wrote. "They are the cheapest soldiers that were ever enlisted, especially if you consider the fine character of these men. Knights, esquires and pages of the court do such splendid work and are so indispensable, that Your Highness is saving money by employing them." He went on to say that he knew what great sums mercenary soldiers cost in other countries, and in his office as Secretary of State in Lisbon he had learned to value the unique character of the Portuguese captains.

The history of the financial success of a small country like Portugal in the gigantic enterprise of trade in three continents is a mysteriously closed book to those who forget the *fidalgos*. The small *moradia* granted to them by the King was regarded more as an honour than a salary;¹²⁸ and it betokened their duty of placing life and fortune at the disposal of their country. It entailed a rare training in the ways of a Christian gentleman

during their youth ; and it produced the captains who in Mombasa, Sofala, Mozambique and the wide campaigns of India fought the enemies of Portugal with a loyalty which knew no bounds, and wanted no cash reward. The other leading nations, except Spain, could never rely upon their expensive mercenaries, who often plundered indiscriminately the lands of their royal employers and of their enemies. In the service of the *fidalgos* the Portuguese King had an asset of priceless value, which the economists and their theories would find it hard to appraise in any balance sheet.

* But the anxiety of Anthony d'Ataide was caused mainly by the methods which the King had been forced to adopt, to get money for the equipment of the Cape fleets. There were three new sources of this ready money :¹²⁹ loans on the Antwerp Bourse in bonds signed by the agent of the King there, the sale of annuities in Portugal and the proceeds of the sale of landed titles.

Ataide recalls to the King's memory how at first everybody disapproved of the third method of raising money, because it was generally felt that these local dignities, offices of court and lords of the manor, should be the reward of merit only. Grave emergency alone seemed to justify the bestowal of them for a price. But now there was a glut in that market, as there were no more rich people without titles. The most modern States, like the medieval, have found this method an almost negligible source of income in the long run.

The sale of annuities is called by some economists a disguised form of interest. It would be more correct to call it a form of interest which the Christian conscience of that day did not condemn, because the borrower seemed to repay the money lent over a number of years. Indeed, we may say that the meaning of the word interest was gradually changing ; and the laws of the Church and of the Catholic State (which was the embodiment of the Christian conscience) began to recognise the changes. Modern economists often write as if the laws of organic development did not apply to medieval society. They tell us that the medieval world was swept away by the commercial progress of the medieval world itself. A calmer perspective can only see a gradual adaptation, led by the outstanding thinkers, to the new conditions of trade and life. The wiser theologians and canonists step by step, and with due vituperation from the slower minds of their class, noted the changes in the nature of the trade activities amid which they were appealed to as guides in the moral law.

As far back as the thirteenth century, Thomas Aquinas¹³⁰ hinted that a time might come when fresh development would justify some compensation being generally demanded for the use of money. Anything which remains permanently useful, such as a house (he writes), can be made the object of the kind of interest-bearing contract which we call rent. In regard to money he does not appeal to the authority of Aristotle, though modern economists often make this statement. He merely quotes Aristotle because he agrees with him in this case, as his argument is sound and the nature of money still remained what it was in Aristotle's day, almost entirely a medium of exchange. But Aquinas points out that even in his day exceptional circumstances would justify rent on money lent, if the lender lost by the loan. But in the spirit of medieval brotherhood and justice, he resented the attempt to extort profit from persons who needed money for food or other dire need by which it was consumed at once. Van Roey has shown^{130a} how the Catholic theologians opposed a sound and immutable principle of ethics to the ruthless claims of economics. The difficulties that arose were found in the application of the principle.

In these circumstances of need, if you are a true Christian, you are expected to lend without hope of pecuniary profit. In strict justice you are free to lend or refuse to lend, but you have no right to any gain if you do decide to lend. Not justice, but the charity of Christ, should prompt you to lend to the poor, looking for no return. What the world has lost by the neglect of these sane principles we know, after the appalling economic catastrophes which have been the result of treating economics as a science in which considerations of humanity and morals have no place. In these early days the loss of the lender in lending might be made a reason for demanding compensation, but the dire need of the borrower was not considered a just reason for fleecing him by such a demand.

As the evolution of trade gradually made it plainer that money was acquiring a rent value, the Christian lenders began to see that a new class of borrowers was arising, who were not in dire need and could afford to pay rent for money with which they traded. The lender now lost his own chance of gain by a loan. This the theologians began to call *lucrum cessans*, and it was clearly a kind of loss. It was of a kind that would hardly have been intelligible in earlier times, but it became a commonplace as the habit of investing in overseas ventures expanded.

The data of the practical question for the Christian moralist had thus changed, not because he had changed his principles, or

the Church her dogmas;¹³¹ but because the merchants and bankers were now asking about something different under the same name. What is a just interest in trade for a man who wishes to be honest? Lending was, generally speaking, no longer a process of helping the needy, but a method of helping men of substance who desired to become richer. Money had now become something different from a mere medium of exchange. It began to produce rent more abundantly than a house or a farm. In accordance with the ancient teaching of the theologians, it could now claim interest, as it no longer perished necessarily by being used. The much canvassed question now was: what rate of interest is just? By degrees, usury came to mean an extortionate rate of interest.¹³²

But old and unpleasant associations made the word interest distasteful to honourable men for a long time. Jews had always indulged in the practice of usury, despite the veto of the Book of Exodus (XXII, 25), as Christians felt no obligation to enforce the law of Moses upon the Jews. This was, in fact, an additional reason why the ugly practice should be avoided by those who professed the higher law of Christ. But at the beginning of the reign of John III, loans on interest (*padrao de juros*) from private persons in Portugal had evidently become a recognised form of raising money for government purposes, as Ataide merely regrets that these loans are now difficult to obtain in Portugal itself.

The indispensable method of obtaining capital which he indicates is that of the traffic in bills of exchange. "Since we began this style of business we have done nothing else; and without it I hardly know how the cost of the government of Your Highness could be covered," writes Anthony d'Ataide.¹³³ He was clearly unhappy about these bills on Antwerp, though in the letters that have survived he gives no specific reason for disliking the system, and only hints that the amount of the interest on loans there was excessive.

The King expressed misgivings of a different kind later, as we shall see. But neither of them grasped, what it is less difficult for us to discern in retrospect, namely, that the new method of these financial operations was calculated to deprive Portugal of a considerable portion of the profits on the cargoes that her sailors brought from India. The manipulation of the bills of exchange became a game in Antwerp, more profitable to the gamblers there than to the King of Portugal whose signature they bore.

There was a fourth source of wealth which to his credit the King refused to consider. In the name of the Chamber of

Commerce of Lisbon, the Duke of Braganza suggested that he should marry his rich and handsome step-mother. She was immensely popular, and the mob acclaimed the proposal when it leaked out. But John III, though he had greatly admired Dona Leonor of Spain before she married his deceased father, declined to contemplate a marriage which his conscience told him would be dishonourable in any man, and doubly so in a Catholic king.

In Portugal no woman was allowed to exercise the decisively evil influence in public affairs that the fleeting charms of Anne Boleyn achieved at this time in the fortunes of England, spiritual and temporal. Within the space of a few months, Henry VIII completely reversed his published and printed views about religion, because the Pope refused to connive at his attempt to obtain legal possession of this flighty woman, whom the King himself executed for the crime of incest a few years later.

A comparison of the published letters of John III and Henry VIII for the period 1521-1546 throws a bright light on the different atmospheres of the two kingdoms.¹³⁴ Both were dictatorships, as even the most modern of democratic governments are in matters of foreign policy; but especially in times of crisis, when parliaments are easy to transform into dictatorships of a class or some powerful interest. All the leading nations of the world have been dictatorships for most of the twentieth century. But John III was the benevolent dictator who never needed to dragoon his own people, because they saw clearly how hard he strove to serve them.

This desire to serve is often expressed when John discusses with Anthony d'Ataide the means of raising money for administration. In approving items of the budget, this phrase recurs frequently in replies to the Chief Secretary of State: "on condition that this does not place too great a burden on the shoulders of the people". Here he was following the fine example of his father, King Manuel, who in signing the first public bond on his own security stated that he did so in order to avoid placing the burden of taxation on the people.¹³⁵

John III was to a great extent his own Treasurer-General, as he exercised a vigilant though friendly control over the operations of his Secretary of State in Lisbon. The royal instructions were that as soon as the spice ships from the Cape of Good Hope had been safely convoyed from the Azores or Madeira to Lisbon, offers of purchase should be invited from the merchants.

As far back as 1512 Afonso de Albuquerque told King Manuel that the trade of India could only benefit Portugal,¹³⁶ if it was supported by capital and merchandise supplied from

Portugal itself. If raw materials such as quicksilver and copper, as well as essential goods like clothes and arms, were sent from home, the need of borrowing money for trade in India and East Africa would be very small. "Then Your Highness will see what wonderful fruits will be harvested annually from this tree, if well cultivated, watered and protected."

King John paid more attention to these wise lines of policy than King Manuel had done. Manuel still had to contend with some influential persons who believed that the whole adventure of overseas trade was a mistake. The Count de Vimioso may be taken as typical of this class. When he saw the first shipload of spices that Vasco da Gama brought home, he pointed out that these had been purchased with solid gold coin and gorgeous brocades. "It seems to me," he remarked drily, "that it is the Indians who have discovered us, not we them." He held that the Indians, Arabs and Kafirs had got the best of this game of barter. Manuel at least succeeded in disproving that contention by leaving his kingdom prosperous and contented, the envy of the larger States of Europe. Both Portugal and the Eastern races had gained in their trade partnership.

King John inherited the anxious task of finding the trading capital of the annual fleets for the East,¹⁸⁷ and of equipping both men and ships for the annual voyage there. For the ordinary purposes of government, the income was derived from four sources: the sugar crops of Madeira and the produce of the other islands, the gold and other exports of the west coast of Africa from its headquarters at Elmina, the ordinary taxes and the profits of the royal estates.

There was indeed another occasional source of ready money which merits mention. The King's wealthier subjects would sometimes make him considerable loans free of interest. His friend the Bishop of Viseu once lent him ten thousand cruzados in an emergency. Many came to his assistance in the same way in 1535, when he was preparing the large special armada to join the Emperor's expedition against Tunis and the Barbary pirates. To each of the noblemen who lent him money free of interest on that occasion he sent a letter of thanks. The fidalgos thought this an enterprise worthy of financial sacrifice. They felt no similar enthusiasm for mere trade adventures in pepper, cinnamon, cloves and drugs. For faith and fatherland they were ready to risk their lives and all their money, but a chance of profit on overseas investment did not allure most of them. Portuguese land and labour gave them their incomes, and they felt in honour bound to spend them for the defence of Portugal.

The King showed his sense of the realities of the financial situation by warning Ataide often that he should refrain from borrowing abroad, as long as he could get a fair price from the merchants of Lisbon for the Cape cargoes. The bidder whom he trusted most was Luke Giraldi, a naturalised Florentine who had built one of the finest homes in Lisbon, and had himself made two voyages around the Cape of Good Hope in his own ships.¹³⁸

But John had too much experience in public affairs to place his administration altogether at the mercy of merchants. Traders of any kind would not keep foremost in their minds the welfare of the people, as the King felt it his duty to do. In 1537 we find him supplying his State Secretary with confidential information from Venice and Flanders about the enhanced prices of spices in those markets, as no ships whatever had arrived from Venice that quarter. With these price-lists in hand, Ataide was to invite Giraldi to make a higher bid for the year's cargoes by a fixed date. Otherwise, the whole consignment was to be sent to Antwerp, where better prices reigned at that moment. "Don't press Luke Giraldi to buy," wrote the practical King, "because he might guess what we want." The King adds that Giraldi is holding out, because he hopes that a long delay will compel them to sell their year's produce more cheaply in the Seville market. Merchants were useful servants of the State, but dangerous masters.

The King fully realised the danger of selling in any foreign market, and most of all in Antwerp, "because of the high rates of exchange there," as he himself has recorded.¹³⁹ In 1537 he was paying interest and bank charges to the moneylenders there to the tune of 120 thousand cruzados, or about fifty thousand pounds sterling. If we take the average rate of interest on his good security to be ten per cent., this meant that the public debt of Portugal then amounted to half a million pounds, not a crushing burden in view of the enterprise and prospects of her sons. But the King's constant aim, often expressed in his letters, was to pay off the capital borrowed as soon as possible. It was a sound instinct that prompted him to free his country from the servitude of the foreign bondholder.¹⁴⁰

But he found no easy method of escape. Ready money was sometimes needed for the current expenses of the outgoing fleet, before the cargoes of the previous year had been realised in cash. Lisbon merchants and bankers could not always be induced to make definite offers for the whole of these cargoes, even when they were landed in the city. In such cases the King was forced to go to Antwerp, where speculators abounded, and where an

immediate sale or an immediate bond of some sort could always be arranged with such a desirable borrower as the rich King of Portugal.

The Portuguese and Spaniards had done more than any other nation to give Antwerp, the capital of the Netherlands, the unique position of prosperity that it occupied during the first half of the sixteenth century.¹⁴¹ Lisbon was the emporium of Eastern luxuries, and Seville the emporium of Spanish gold and other produce from America; but their activities brought to Antwerp the German and Italian bankers who eased the distribution of all this wealth throughout Europe by their financial operations. "It became the pivot of a great European movement of exchange for northern and southern produce, at the same time the port for the Flemish and Brabant textiles and for the Liège and Hainaut metals." Under the fostering care of their Spanish sovereigns, Charles V and Philip II, the Netherlanders became a prosperous and cultured people, and Antwerp with its one hundred thousand inhabitants one of the great towns of Europe.

The religious differences had not yet begun to influence seriously the trade or politics of Antwerp. Lutheranism was mostly an underground movement, and Calvinism only began to penetrate from Geneva a few years before the death of John III.¹⁴² The prosperity of Antwerp was the apple of the Emperor's eye. So sensitive was Charles V to any threat to it, that in 1534 he prevailed upon the Pope to hold back his interdict against England, after Henry VIII had bullied Parliament into sanctioning his marriage with Anne Boleyn, though the outraged wife was the Emperor's aunt. Charles feared the inevitable loss of English trade in Antwerp, even though this trade was small compared to that of Spain and Portugal. Cifuentes, the Spanish ambassador in Rome, urged the Pope to censure only Henry VIII, as an interdict on all England would react disastrously upon the Low Countries.¹⁴³

In the financial difficulties that faced John III he sometimes felt that the Pope might have helped him to avoid so many journeys to the money market of Antwerp. This filial complaint he expressed in sending Ataide as special envoy to Charles V. Tell the Emperor, writes John,¹⁴⁴ to use his influence with the Pope on my behalf. I have spent a fortune, and many of my subjects their lives and fortunes in fighting Moors, infidels and other enemies of the Church. I do not expect financial help from the Pope himself, but I deserve permission to use the tithes which he imposes on the clergy and which I greatly need. "At

the moment when the affairs of Christendom are in such a bad way, I would rather suffer anything than disobey the Pope." But in 1537, when this memorandum was penned, King John was reducing his expenditure so drastically, that he was unable for the moment to provide a dowry for his much beloved and clever sister, Dona Maria. "This is a time," he wrote to the Emperor, "when even our sisters must sacrifice their jewels in the cause of the public welfare."

Anthony d'Ataide was the type of honest minister who did not hesitate to tell his King frankly what he thought of his financial methods. In a report of the year 1542¹⁴⁵ he criticises the large expenditure upon the University, as he held that they already had too many students and too few soldiers. The completion of Manuel's gorgeous pile of Belem was doubtless necessary, but the convent of Thomar was too sumptuous, and the recent additions to the royal palace at Almeirim were unnecessary. "The large sums that Your Highness has spent on agriculture, on reclaiming marshes, on opening up new lands for farming and by remitting the taxes on corn have been well spent; because thus you have provided a living for your people." But he points out that the King was often lavish in adding money grants as rewards for good service, where honours or decorations would have been ample. In Brazil he held that money was being wasted; and that much could be saved if the heads of different departments would again meet regularly under the King's chairmanship, "as Your Highness used to do some years ago. Since you are the greatest public servant of the country, you will soon see through anyone who is not telling the truth."

This last tribute to the King was well deserved. He carefully scrutinised every State contract and bond. His factor in Antwerp was merely a commercial agent, and took no part officially in the gambling on the stock exchange,¹⁴⁶ which was now emerging in that prosperous centre. If some factors became rich, whilst their sovereigns remained poor, as Ataide complained in 1537, this did not always mean that they defrauded the national revenue, but that they indulged in speculation on their private account. The Portuguese King, however, would have none of this financial juggling in margins and deposits, which he considered unworthy of a Christian prince.¹⁴⁷

King John's honesty proved the best policy for Portugal in 1540. In that year an unscrupulous financier from Lucca, Gaspar Ducci, nearly ruined the Portuguese factor, Manuel Cerne, by manipulating a scarcity of currency.¹⁴⁸ The Portuguese Crown was not involved; and was thus more fortunate than the English

a few years later, when Sir Thomas Gresham found it implicated in serious currency difficulties,¹⁴⁹ from which it only escaped by the marriage of Queen Mary with Philip II. By pooling the cash resources of the two countries, England was able to draw ready money from Spain, and saved its financial credit in Antwerp. The boom engineered by Ducci was the first of the great juggles with the welfare of the peoples, which became the commonplaces of modern capitalism.

It served also as a grave warning to King John of the financial dangers that awaited his representatives, and the credit of his kingdom, among the avaricious engrossers of the great Flemish city. He only went into that market for a straightforward loan in time of urgent need, but his agent had no authority to involve him in new-fangled operations about futures and arbitrage. At length, the exorbitant rates of interest that were coming into vogue and the uncertainty of obtaining currency at any fixed value, determined John III to withdraw from these contests, bag and baggage. Only a blinding avarice could prompt men to make private profit out of the traffic in the lifeblood of the nations. He would protect his people as best he could by leaving the inhuman market, and controlling his own finances in Lisbon.

In 1545 he made a strenuous effort to clear off his debts in Antwerp by presenting a greatly reduced budget to the Parliament at Santarem, by selling the governorship of Santarem and by disposing of the whole of the Cape cargoes for that year in Lisbon, so as to avoid the expense of shipping it to Flanders.¹⁵⁰ In 1546 he turned over to the mint a windfall of 300,000 golden *pardaos* (about £100,000), which the principal Muslim King of the Deccan had sent as a personal present in care of the returning Governor-General of India.¹⁵¹ It was a welcome reinforcement of the nation's credit.

But all these measures were mere palliatives, and every year's experience drove home more convincingly the lesson that Portugal's agents must be withdrawn from the breeding-ground of extravagance at Antwerp. The King therefore invited Ataide, who was now Count de Castanheira, to meet him at the country house of Rui Mendes de Vasconcellos in a picturesque spot, Figueiro dos Vinhos, near the chestnut woods of Castanheira, where the Count's own villa was situated. "I have grave matters to discuss with you, and I beg you to come at once," he wrote on the fifteenth of June, 1548.¹⁵²

Their decision was conveyed to Lourenço Pires de Tavora, who had just returned from Mozambique, where his brother

was governor, and was going to Antwerp as ambassador. On arrival at his destination he sent home the factor, John Rebello, with his whole staff in July, 1549.¹⁵³ Whenever we read of Portuguese factors in Antwerp after this, they are merely trade agents sent on a special mission, and not permanent officials. It was still necessary to buy clothes of fine texture, artillery, manufactured goods, and sometimes even corn, in that industrial centre. But the terminus of the Cape cargoes was now definitely in Lisbon.

A royal proclamation of the twenty-ninth of November, 1549, announced that the doors of India House would be open to all comers who wished to bid for the Indian and Malay spices, as soon as the armadas arrived from the Cape of Good Hope. This was a gallant attempt to counteract the growing tendency to concentrate the distribution of the spice trade in Antwerp. Seville, Lyons, Frankfort and Venice had been gradually losing even the minor share of that trade which they once possessed.

The Flemish subjects of the King of Spain with their deep purses were forming syndicates which were private monopolies, threatening to overwhelm the State monopoly of Portugal. John III hoped that he would be able to avert this menacing hegemony by forcing them to send their agents to Lisbon, where he could exercise some moderating influence, and preserve the economic freedom of his people. He discerned the advantages of a rational autocracy. It would clearly profit his enterprising subjects little to go half-way round the world, in order to bring wealth to Europe, if foreigners were to enjoy the lion's share of the gains by tricks of currency and certificates of dividends. Instead of doubling the Cape of Good Hope and risking their lives, as his subjects were doing, these smug foreigners just doubled their demand for interest; and thus they hoped to conquer the Zambesi coast, India and the Malay Islands without leaving home.

Of course, the King did not expect to succeed in this policy with a stroke of the pen, nor to dispense altogether with the aid of the merchants and bankers of Flanders. A letter of the year 1551 shows how he realised the dangers of these operations and sought the best advice as to the manner of counteracting them.¹⁵⁴

"I have commissioned Belchior Barreto to go to Antwerp," he writes to Castanheira, "in order to settle my obligations at the first fair of Easter. But beforehand I wish him to discuss the matter fully with you. He is convinced that it is best to take a fresh bond at Lisbon, as you have been accustomed to do, rather than at Antwerp. André Soares has given me the prices of the

Antwerp market, as John Gomes has forwarded them in accordance with your instructions, and they show that the exchange is in my favour. If this should continue and reach 64 by the October fair, my bills in Lisbon should be cashed and payment made in Flanders in sterling, as usual." It was the firmer application of a principle that the King had laid down fourteen years earlier: the more pepper we sell at India House, the less money we shall have to borrow.

This solitary survival of the King's letters on this subject shows that he was as much alive to the new tricks of the cosmopolitan money-lenders as Sir Thomas Gresham, who was at Antwerp at this time, being the factor of Edward VI and of Queen Mary Tudor. The English ambassador in Brussels, Sir John Mason,¹⁵⁵ warned the Queen's Council not to meddle with a dishonourable bargain offered by a broker of certain merchants of Antwerp. Contrary to nature and God's law, he writes, merchants are prouder than princes, and are able to extort money to humour ambitious or revengeful kings. Mason had in mind what seemed to him the meaningless wars of the Emperor,¹⁵⁶ the King of France and many minor princes, as well as the wasteful expenditure of the later years of Henry VIII and the systematic plundering of public funds in England under the boy King, Edward VI. But the loans of John III were honestly expended in the service of his people; and his overseas trade, which these loans financed, was helping to avert the scourge of Europe, the uncouth Muslim aggressor.

Sir Thomas Gresham has left us a vivid account of the atmosphere of greed which reigned in the new Antwerp. It was the lurid dawn of what is curiously called the Classical Period of economics, the art of money-making without entangling considerations of ethics, humanity or religion. Early in his career Gresham had warned the advisers of Edward VI that currency was being deliberately manipulated at Antwerp and that England must suffer unless her agents are trained for at least eight years in that city, in order to understand the meaning of these fluctuations.¹⁵⁷

The English factors must learn to disguise their sovereign's need of money, pretend not to want it urgently, and wait as long as possible for spontaneous offers. By this policy, he claimed that the "proudest merchants on the Bourse prayed me both by mouth and letters to England to take their money". At this period Gresham was evidently speculating on his private account; as he became extremely rich, whilst the English Crown was still in a precarious condition for cash. Campaigns of whispering

and carefully prepared rumours increased the difficulties of the princes and the profits of the counting-houses, with the result that "one day there is plenty of money and another day none".

The methods that John III adopted in 1548 to counter this juggling with exchanges at Antwerp were substantially those outlined by Queen Mary Tudor in 1554, and more fully expounded the year after King John's death in a letter of Sir Thomas Gresham to Queen Elizabeth.¹⁵⁸ Exchanges must be controlled by compelling foreign merchants to deal in Lisbon, where the rates of discounting bills can be regulated in the interest of Portugal; foreign currency must be devalued in the home market; and foreign merchants, especially those in league with the New Christians, must have their privileges curtailed. Castanheira had long before warned King John of the danger picturesquely described by Gresham: "Exchange is the thing that eats out all princes, if it be not thoroughly looked into."

But the King of Portugal was in a more favourable position for borrowing than any other sovereign in Christendom. His solid credit rested upon the annual cargoes of valuable merchandise that doubled the Cape of Good Hope, with a regularity as great as that of the far less valuable shipments of wool from England. True, there were losses. Up to the end of 1551 the cash value of ships sunk and cargoes destroyed amounted to four *contos* of *cruzados*.¹⁵⁹ Much of this, however, was covered by insurance policies.

Next year King John was able to consolidate and meet all his debts by borrowing three *contos* of gold at ten per cent. When we remember that the Emperor always had to pay sixteen per cent., and the English Crown between twelve and fourteen, this was a genuine tribute on the part of the money-lenders to the sound state of Portuguese national finance. In 1555 Sir John Mason reported with evident admiration¹⁶⁰ that "the Portuguese fleet of twenty sail arrived at Antwerp four days ago laden with spices and other merchandise, besides it is said a good quantity of money." That at the same time the King was using the money market of Seville against Antwerp to some effect, can be gathered from a decree of Philip II of April, 1556, forbidding anyone in Portugal to borrow on bonds of Castile. Philip had evidently discovered that Portugal was doing too well in these transactions.¹⁶¹ This was a year before the death of the Portuguese King.

That year, 1557, was fateful also in the history of Antwerp. The government of the Netherlands had borrowed such large sums from the City, that the latter began to sink irrevocably

under the excessive credits it had given. Even an expert like the German banker, Anton Fugger, did not recognise the first faint signs of the process. The way was being prepared, slowly but surely, for the supremacy of Amsterdam, which was achieved in 1602 by the foundation of the Dutch East India Company.¹⁶¹ Amsterdam was already an important town with a dominant position in the Baltic. A serious weakness in Antwerp's status lay in the fact that its trade was largely in the hands of colonies of foreigners.

But King John had made skilful use of the Cape cargoes to hold his own for Portugal against undue pressure from the economic strength of the lands of his royal kinsmen, Charles V and Philip II. Charles especially had given the Netherlands peace and administrative order, and with these a growing spirit of unity and patriotism, making Antwerp the pivot of the seventeen provinces, whilst preparing the conditions of an independent Netherlands State.¹⁶² In these adverse circumstances King John had maintained the economic freedom of his country, based on solvency. That this lasted to the end of his reign is seen from a report to the Doge and Senate despatched by James Soranzo a few months before John's death. "The French merchants have received letters from Valladolid," says this Venetian ambassador, "informing them that the King of Portugal had agreed to pay two millions of gold due to the merchants within the next three years, and that he had given them the assignments."¹⁶³

The Portuguese structure of trade in Antwerp was well consolidated before the New Christians and Jews began to take an interest in it. Their operations came to light during the reign of John III, and they were mainly money dealings. The King was first stung into active measures against them as a community when he discovered that they had acquired a practical monopoly of the Cape cargoes in Antwerp, and were in financial league with the Turks at Saloniki. All this leaked out when the Portuguese *marrano*, Diogo Mendes, was indicted for the crime of cornering the pepper market in July, 1532.

Evidence taken before the *Vierschaer*,¹⁶⁴ the criminal court of Antwerp, revealed a wide network of financial operations dangerous to Portugal, the Empire and the Church. Mendes was a New Christian who began trading with India by means of his own ships in the days of Afonso de Albuquerque. In 1512 he migrated to Antwerp. His profits were such by 1525 that, in partnership with John Charles degli Affaitati, an Italian with wide connections in Portugal, he was able to present an ultimatum to John III.¹⁶⁵ "Either you sell the whole cargoes of the Cape

fleets to us at our price, or you will be compelled to sell them in driplets and at a great loss." A few years later Mendes shared in a large loan that the German firm of the Hochstetters made to the Emperor himself.

It was now proved that Mendes was in regular correspondence with Portuguese *marranos* who had fled some years before to Saloniki, and who had grown rich in the financial support of the Grand Turk. At this time Saloniki was the greatest emporium of the trade of the Saracen empire. King John would remember how it was one of the first homes of the Christian faith in Europe, whereas now its ancient churches were mosques and its noble Greek and Roman buildings seats of the cruel Turkish system, which his soldiers and sailors had driven out of the Indian Ocean. He was determined that the Muslim should not recover by bills of exchange what they had lost by the manly ordeal of battle.

Even that was not the whole story. Mendes and the Saloniki circle were proved to have financed the measures which Duarte da Paz was taking to defeat the King's policy in Rome in regard to the New Christians. They went so far as to form a local committee to promote the emigration of Portuguese *marranos* with their money into Turkish territory. Moreover, they were using the rising differences between Christians to further their international operations in finance.

Though professing to be Catholics, Diogo Mendes and his friends aided the small party of Lutherans in many ways. As far back as 1521 they collected a fund for translating the works of Luther into Spanish, and smuggled them into Spain. The Margrave of Antwerp, acting with all the promptitude of a censor under our modern Defence of the Realm Acts, confiscated what he could find, and had them burned, dealing indeed with only a few hundred books where to-day we destroy myriads. All this time the home libraries of Diogo Mendes, Gabriel de Negro, Emmanuel Serano, Luis Peres and other *marranos* were found to be models of Catholic orthodoxy, when a search for clues was made there with warrants of the Scotland Yard type by the local police. Their only interest in Lutheranism was as a lever of international politics and finance.¹⁶⁶

But in regard to trade monopolies, the Lutherans, being mainly of the poorer class, were more hostile than the rich and cultured rulers of the Catholic city of Antwerp. Martin Luther saw the social danger of monopolies, as all earnest men did; but he wished in his vehement way to uproot the wheat with the weeds, the whole Cape trade with the monopolies.¹⁶⁷ "The foreign

trade (he wrote) that brings wares from Calicut, India and so forth, such as spices and costly fabrics of silk and cloth of gold, which serve only for display and are of no use, but merely suck the money out of our country and people, would not be allowed had we a government and real rulers."

Both John III and Charles V recognised the evil, but they took a more moderate and intelligent line in controlling it. They saw that uncontrolled monopolies would leave them only political power in their own kingdoms, which would become economic chattels of an unscrupulous power of world-wide ramifications, sitting in the imperial city of Antwerp. On the other hand, they realised that the expanding trade from overseas was in many ways a blessing to their people, and the manifest destiny of Europe. How to preserve these gains, whilst curbing the personal greed of speculators which "tends to infinity", as Aquinas phrased it, was the delicate problem which they faced with a full sense of their responsibility. The play of selfish interests, which we have since blandly called free trade, could not be permitted to decide the prices of the people's utilities.

The whole issue was brought before the courts of the empire in the trial of Diogo Mendes and his circle. The money and influence of these men secured for them, as it would to-day, the full protection of every device and exception that the law allowed and that clever advocates could commend to the judges. In the course of a series of trials, of which Mendes's was the first, the situation was made clearer.

The Provincial Council of Brabant put in a plea that, whilst monopoly was a breach of the general law of the Empire, it was legal in Antwerp by virtue of a special imperial privilege, being the basis of its exceptional prosperity. John III sent a distinguished embassy¹⁶⁸ to claim that, if the estates of Mendes were confiscated, his debt to Portugal of 200,000 ducats for spices delivered should be treated as a first charge upon the estate. The Fugger Bank also pleaded that, if the operations which they had conducted with Mendes in good faith were annulled, they would be unable to pay back to the Emperor the loan of 200,000 florins.

The verdict of the court remains as a tribute to the equity of the judges and the legislative wisdom of Charles V. The special right claimed by the city of Antwerp was admitted as proved, and Mendes consequently absolved from the penalties of monopoly. But he was fined 40,000 florins for dubious connections with the Turkish enemy, and transactions calculated to assist Turkish finances, a misdemeanour which modern governments would treat as high treason entailing the sentence of death. He

and his associates, forming about one-third of the Portuguese colony of Antwerp, were also convicted of promoting emigration to Turkey.

The Emperor became exasperated when these facts were established in open court, and on the thirtieth of May, 1550, he expelled from Antwerp all New Christians who had settled there since 1543. But by this time the Italian bankers were making great headway in Antwerp, so much so that they ousted by their keen methods even the New Christians of earlier origin. The monopoly therefore remained, but passed largely into Italian hands. Many of the *marranos* sought and found new fields in Amsterdam.

Thus the danger from the Turks on the financial front, which King John feared, was removed.¹⁶⁹ He was now able to exploit more tranquilly the proceeds of the Cape cargoes in the interest of the people, and for their protection. These are the motives that recur, like a refrain, throughout his letters and in the collection of his excellent laws.¹⁷⁰

The danger zones that King John described at Antwerp centred around the use of interest-capital and permission money in foreign hands. Whilst he saw clearly enough that capital was necessary for his large enterprises overseas and for the welfare of his people, he felt that it must be controlled by those who had the welfare of the people at heart, and not by strangers. The coinage should be stable and pure, not subject to manipulation from outside through the fluctuating value of exchange currency, which was what they called permission¹⁷¹ money; and many wise laws were enacted to check this abuse.¹⁷²

John III had learned from the Church that the Gospel of Christ was not a mere outlying province of the public affairs of a Christian State, but a vital and central factor of its activities; as the service of the people was the most important aspect of the King's service of God.¹⁷³ Later developments in economics entrenched a different dogma as the basis of economic science. This science became an instrument of economic imperialism; and it so conquered most of Europe, that there seemed no alternative to full submission to its behests, as defined by "business men and the devil" of private greed.¹⁷⁴

King John's financial policy has been condemned by the priests and canonists of the Classical School whose high priest is Adam Smith, the Machiavelli of economics. But after three centuries of experience of their basic dogma, and amid the havoc wrought by the rival imperialisms built upon it, the world has at length perceived that there are alternatives to it; and that the

twin dogma of its inevitability is a fetish that men have worshipped too long. Portugal of to-day has adopted one of these alternatives in her admirable Corporative System. Its keynote is social duty rather than an unsocial freedom of the money-lender. In adopting it, the country has reverted from the servitude of stock-exchange capital to the fine Portuguese tradition of John III.

The success of John's policy was noted by a contemporary Englishman of independent mind. This was Dr. Thomas Wilson, one of the first generation of Protestants in that country. He had travelled on the European continent in his early days, and was employed by Queen Elizabeth on a diplomatic mission there, ten years after the death of King John. Thus he was a competent judge of the immediate effects of the King's financial measures. "This I must say," he wrote, "that I have not seen better justice done nor laws better executed in any place in Christendom than in Portugal."¹⁷⁵

Dr. Wilson observes how in Portugal usury is curbed by law, "and how the civil law doth deal severely with offenders, especially such as are hurtful in their trades to the public benefit of the King's people." He reports also how officers of the Crown, magistrates and lawyers were checked, lest they should grow rich at the expense of the people. The works of contemporary Portuguese chroniclers are full of examples of these healthy controls.

The severe treatment of Nuno da Cunha is one of the most striking of these examples.¹⁷⁶ He was a friend of the King from childhood, a *fidalgo* of high lineage, and he had completed a meritorious term of nine years as Governor-General of India. But he was brought home a prisoner to answer charges, which proved unfounded, that he had feathered his own nest at the expense of the Treasury. King John would never have endorsed the pessimistic view of Voltaire about the impossibility of honesty in the government of the State.¹⁷⁷ Voltaire's misgivings may have been justified in the type of society which he adorned, but that age was not yet. Perhaps, indeed, John III was fighting a rear-guard action for the old ideals. His severity in this matter even towards his personal friends shows that he believed both in these ideals and in the general integrity of his officials.

Further proof of his public spirit is seen in his methods of spending the proceeds of the Cape cargoes. Financially, they were the mainstay of the immense machinery of his empire that had grown up. But he would have rejected the later fond imagination of Adam Smith, that out of economic self-interest there always emerges somehow the operation of a providential

plan. King John III possessed a less hazy method of discerning the aims of Providence. This was to apply his dividends directly and consciously to the material and cultural profit of his people. He took no chances, in so far as he could plan, of having the purposes of Providence spoiled by the self-interest of middlemen.

During this reign the kingdom was a hive of industry. The Flemish humanist who was called Nicolao Clenardo in Portugal, has a forceful description of the neglect of agriculture in the southern extremity of the Algarve, facing Africa, where he lived. But this was more probably due to the lack of labour than to the indolence for which he blames the people. This lack of labour for the least favoured parts of the land was the price that the homeland had to pay for so much energy expended in lands beyond the sea. At the time it was a price worth paying.¹⁷⁸

Only by such sacrifices of manhood could Portugal have defeated in the East the Islamic conquerors of Constantinople, and prevented them from overwhelming both Christian civilisation in Europe and the Hindu majority of India. To America King John contributed by similar sacrifices a priceless gift of culture in founding Brazil. Brazil is as great a triumph of Portuguese civilisation as North America is of French and British culture.

The King spent lavishly and without hope of cash returns in transplanting to America the excellent laws of his country, its language, agriculture, free municipal institutions and religion. To inaugurate this second Portugal overseas he sent some of the best men he knew as *donatarios*.¹⁷⁹ No jealous feeling of royal prerogative prevented him from delegating to these men his full authority, so that they might govern the country efficiently, and root the new settlement in the soil. By grants of land settlers were encouraged to develop and defend the country. The only department which the King reserved entirely for himself was the burden of paying for the religious establishment, which in the latter part of his reign he confided mainly to the Jesuits. John was so far above the average of our race, that money was for him only a means of spreading the best things he knew. In authorising Thomas de Sousa, a veteran of Africa and India, to establish the capital of Brazil at Bahia on the twenty-ninth of March, 1549, and to make war if necessary, the King warns him that war alone will not fulfil his aims, but only humane appeasement when unavoidable war is over. Gold was not found in Brazil until eight years after the death of the King, and there was no income or surplus from this immense colony.

His policy can be clearly traced in the voluminous correspondence with the governors of Brazil, treasurers, judges, merchants, adventurers, bishops and Jesuits.¹⁸⁰ He was led to believe that the country lacked precious or useful metals; but he was satisfied that it was capable of providing happy homes for his industrious subjects in Portugal, where in large tracts the labour of the toiler was poorly rewarded. Thus, the foundation of the great republic of Brazil was well and truly laid by fidalgos on a basis of farmers. Peasants, fishermen and shepherds emigrated from the fields of the Minho, from the beaches of Viana and Caminha, from the mountain slopes of Beira and the sandy banks of the Cavado.

Some of these communities came from the islands of the Atlantic, and had lost none of their fertility in the process. A measure of segregation from the barbarous aborigines was ordered by the King. The wilder tribes of the interior were not to be molested, unless they interfered with the new settlers. Those who wished to become Christians were to be shepherded in settlements near the whites, but apart from them.

But the financial support of this far-seeing plan rested during the reign of John III largely upon the success of the ocean liners that doubled the Cape of Good Hope every year. The largest of these ships constructed during the reign reached eight hundred tons, but the average tonnage of the Cape liners was five or six hundred tons. Why the expense of ships then considered so large was justified, is explained by an expert in naval matters in the next century, Father Fernão de Oliveira.¹⁸¹

"The seas on that voyage demand large ships," he writes in his *Livro da Fabrica das Naus*, "because the waves on the coast of Kafraria between Mozambique and the Cape of Good Hope swallow a ship of five hundred tons, as easily as a gondola¹⁸² is overwhelmed in the narrow channel between Sacavem and Vila Franca. A big ship also defends itself better against pirates, because it has more men and more arms. The very majesty of large craft puts fear into the enemy and prevents attack."

The provision of such ships, and their complete equipment, formed the most serious of the economic tasks of King John year by year. In securing the necessary capital, he was aware of the danger of borrowing from Flanders. As long as he lived, he safeguarded the freedom of his country in this matter. Those were the days when, in the words of an English historian, "the English cockleshell (of finance) was towed by the continental leviathans."¹⁸³ But some successors of John came also to be

towed, when strong political currents reinforced the growing power of the European Bourse.

The imperialist form of capitalist monopoly was taking shape in Antwerp. John III had a keen political sense, and saw the immediate dangers for his own country; but it had not developed sufficiently for him to discern its most oppressive features. What he saw clearly was that, unless he took counter-measures, an excessive share of the profits would go to the German bankers, and even to the Turk. Those perils, which only an acute observer could detect, he endeavoured to avert, and did avert as long as he was King.

An attentive scrutiny of King John's financial operations reveals the fact that he adhered tenaciously to the sound assumption, which he had learned from the Church, that the main object of the labour of kings and peoples should not be the mere accumulation of wealth, but the satisfaction of the needs of life.¹⁸⁴ Amongst these was reckoned the needs of the supernatural life mirrored in the New Testament.

Antwerp was beginning to give the corporate support of its Bourse for a general theory and practice of life, which was exceptional and decried in the Middle Ages. In those ages the exhortations of Leon Batista Alberti to shun poverty, as the road to misery and dependence on the rich, and to save diligently in order to trade and speculate, seemed somewhat unsocial.¹⁸⁵ The brokers of the Bourse were more thorough still in the pursuit of personal wealth. They taught men by their example to regard the economic life as the preserve of the speculator. The State, the nation and the community must look after themselves. With this conception the capitalistic spirit emerged as a new unity, gradually embodied itself in an economic empire which was to dominate the nations of Europe. In fighting for Portugal's freedom from its extending tentacles, the King was fighting a great battle for human freedom as well.

Erasmus¹⁸⁶ was therefore the champion of the plain man in Europe, when he exhorted John III to control the avarice of those who were raising the prices of such essential commodities as affected the cost of living. "I hear," writes Erasmus, "that the easier it becomes to import things into Europe, the dearer they become. In the case of articles like sugar, we get them not cheaper but of inferior quality." Three years before this, Pope Clement VII had written to the King in a similar strain, saying that many people in Italy and elsewhere had begged him to use his influence, in order to obtain a reasonable reduction of prices.

Everyone had hoped that the wonderful enterprise of the Portuguese would have cheapened these goods by multiplying them.¹⁸⁷

Both the Pope and Erasmus saw that something was going wrong in Europe from the people's standpoint, but at that time no man could know what the adequate remedy was. King John did not know, though he sensed the evil accurately enough as far as his own subjects were concerned; and he did not feel responsible for the welfare of Germany and Italy, of which Clement VII and Erasmus were thinking. Few men realised then that the control of national commodities was passing out of the hands of kings into the hands of the moneyed classes, who were beginning the triumphant course of super-royal power which was never seriously contested until our own day.

It was useless for Erasmus to appeal to the Portuguese King, who was fully occupied averting the oncoming flood from his own people. But a petulant expression of Erasmus in a letter to a Dutch merchant of Antwerp, named Erasmus Schets, shows that he had his private views about the root cause of these rising and oppressive prices.¹⁸⁸

Erasmus was always in money difficulties; and he owns it himself by writing that he was like a sponge, which always gets squeezed dry, no matter how often you fill it. In his artlessness he was hoping for a substantial honorarium from John III when he gave him the advice about prices, which was contained in a preface of one of his scholarly works, to be dedicated to the King. Schets had sent from Antwerp to Freiburg, where Erasmus then was, an intelligent Portuguese youth to warn him that the King was offended with the sketch of the preface.¹⁸⁹ Nothing, therefore, was to be expected by way of reward. "What use can that Jewish crowd ever be to me?" replied the ruffled Erasmus. He was evidently referring to the colony of Portuguese merchants in Antwerp, whom he blames for this misfortune. As the Jews and New Christians among them were notoriously the chief monopolists, he is convinced that these are the persons who have spoilt his chances of a fat fee; because they resented his attack upon their unjust cornering of the spices.¹⁹⁰

It is clear that Erasmus had no inkling of the King's hard fight against these monopolists, if indeed he were capable of grasping the business details. The Pope, however, often discussed the knotty problem with the Portuguese ambassador in Rome, Michael da Silva. "Tell his Holiness," the King once replied, "that if I am to deal with these monopolists effectively, he must allow me to set up the courts of the Inquisition, the only courts that can get to the root of the mischief." The Pope,

however, feared then that that instrument might be abused, and create greater evils than monopoly. "You must bear in mind," wrote the Pope in a breve to the King, "that God has made you King, in order that you might be serviceable to all nations."¹⁹¹ That duty John III recognised, but naturally in subordination to his obligations to his own people. The sharks of the Netherlands were the chief culprits, and they were not subject to him, but to the Emperor.

When our modern economists lost their sheet-anchor of the gold standard in the years after the Treaty of Versailles, they were more helpless upon the sea of international complications in prices than the advisers of John III were in the face of the new exchange problems. He at least succeeded in keeping his country out of economic war, and left it solvent and with the soundest credit in Europe.

Complete figures are not available to enable us to tabulate the degree in which the standard of living rose in Portugal, as a result of the wealth represented by the Cape cargoes. Even if we had the figures, it would be difficult to transpose them into values of our day. Economists find it difficult enough to determine standard measures for comparing purchasing power, national dividends and consumers' surpluses among the nations of our own day. But it is quite clear that the people of Portugal were amply supplied with those goods and services that nations demand for their material welfare. The nature of these demands was, of course, more modest then than now.

The best proof of this prosperity is the contentment and internal peace that reigned in the land. It becomes even clearer when we compare it with what was happening in contemporary England. Edward VI inherited the disorganisation of the economic system wrought by the brutal hands of his father. The boy King's ministers were obliged to hire German troops, recruited at Calais, to crush rebellion in every part of England, especially in Norfolk, where sixteen thousand peasants mustered in force under Robert Ket to protest in vain against oppression.¹⁹² Such was the slaughter, that Norfolk remained almost a desert from 1549 to 1567, when Queen Elizabeth settled there the Belgian and Flemish cloth makers who fled from Alva's drastic suppression of the rebellion against Philip II.

No hint of rebellion was ever heard in Portugal. Wages were stabilised by the vigilance of the King, the prices of foodstuffs were regulated in the interest of the workers, and all dealings in the food of the people forbidden by law. There was an unlimited outlet for the energy of every ambitious man on the vast fields

of the African, Indian and American colonies. Guilds and confraternities took some care also for the efficiency and moral tone of the soldiers, sailors, artisans and unskilled workers.

The word *grei* which the Portuguese used to designate their own people was then something more than a beautiful figure of speech. It meant that the rulers were the shepherds of their people, and in this spirit the wealth brought home by the Cape fleets was administered by King John and his advisers.

To-day, when the making of trade empires has been succeeded by the era of their breaking, we are in a position to give a fair estimate of the work of King John in this matter.

John kept uppermost in his mind the human valuation of costs and utilities. He could not fully gauge the strength of the subtle immoralities in money policy that were working against him. But he felt the abuses of credit in impeding the welfare of his people, and tried to counteract them, without fully realising the force of the selfish interests of bankers and speculators. The Church divined the dangerous new system, and warned those who would listen to her voice; though the theologians were often obscure in the details of application, as this was not their chosen sphere of thought.

The value of a nation's credit and coinage was beginning to be subjected to the decisions of rival nations by juggling with gold and currency. John reacted as only an honest ruler can, but the new era of finance was no time of rest for honest rulers who thought mainly of the people.

CHAPTER IV.

VASCO DA GAMA SECOND VICEROY OF INDIA.

CHRISTOPHER ACENHEIRO, whose history of these years is a kind of diary as he printed it in 1535, tells us that the reason why Vasco da Gama was chosen for Viceroy in 1523 was, "because the King had heard of revolts in the State of India brought on by bad government."¹⁹³ The inference is evident: that the King decided that this veteran servant of the Crown was sure to govern both firmly and justly. Whatever temporary loss of prestige the King's government may have suffered, here was the man to restore it.

Acenheiro no doubt represented the popular opinion of the day in Lisbon, when he ascribed the series of disasters in India to bad government. But people forgot that there had always been revolts in India among the rival Indian races, and always would be as long as the rivals of Portuguese trade were able to make themselves felt, especially the Moors. This was the case under the great Albuquerque, who now that he was dead was being recognised as a model governor. But the misfortunes of to-day always look bigger than those of yesterday that have been forgotten or repaired.

It was weakness rather than injustice that was at the root of the overseas troubles. The King was startled when he heard that the Hidalcan had recovered the mainland of Goa, from which Portugal derived the considerable revenue of one hundred thousand *pardaos*. In Malacca Andrew Henriques had lost the fortress of Pacem after many ups and downs and a brave defence, being overwhelmed by the hordes of Malays.¹⁹⁴ Martin Afonso de Melo Coutinho was compelled to abandon his mission of erecting a fortress in China on the coast of that promising empire.

These failures of the Governor-General of India, Edward de Meneses, were a disappointment to the King. Meneses had been the terror of the Berbers in North Africa as governor of Tangiers, and his successes had prompted King Manuel to make this last nomination for India during his reign.¹⁹⁵

The Muslim of India, however, came to fear him so little that they once sailed within sight of Cochin, and fired sky-rockets against it as a sign of contempt. A sage chronicler of

these events can find no reason for this mysterious change of opinion, in the conduct of Meneses himself. The military historian also who has reviewed them, Luis Coelho de Barbuda, can only explain them by saying "that the luck of King Don Manuel was evidently on the wane." But the political enemies of Meneses, both in India and in Lisbon, made it their business to find personal reasons that would discredit him, and end his term of office at once.

"That there is such a thing as luck in the case of certain persons we all know by experience," writes Luiz de Sousa, "but that it should change with the climate is one of the most mysterious secrets of nature." Perhaps it is not so very mysterious when we remember that this change of climate meant a complete change of the races whom Meneses had to govern, as well as the difference between a military command and one where naval alertness was the chief requirement.

The King was amply justified in superseding him, as soon as it became evident that his usefulness was at an end, whatever the real reasons for the failure. In choosing Vasco da Gama to take his place, the young King evoked a symbol of all the Portuguese glories of the last twenty-five years, and a name that was feared by all the enemies of Portugal throughout the East. No better leader could be found "to free the State of India from the yoke of servitude that the Muslim were seeking to impose."

But it meant rare self-abnegation on the part of Gama himself. He was older than his years on account of the hardships endured during his two former voyages to India. He was also one of the richest noblemen in Portugal,¹⁸⁶ and had settled down at Evora to the comfortable life of a wealthy squire, being Count of Vidigueira since 1519. Having married into a noble family who were special friends of the King, he knew that the best way to serve the careers of his growing sons was to remain at home. Only a man of genuine public spirit would have accepted this task which, as the state of his health told him, was likely to be his last.

The King, too, must have suspected how precarious the life of Gama was, because he introduced now for the first time the custom of letters of succession.¹⁸⁷ These were royal decrees, countersigned by the Secretary of State for India, designating the governor's or viceroy's successor in case he died before completing his term of office. They were sent in the same fleet as the outgoing representative of the King, but were entrusted to special couriers whose names were not generally known. It was their duty to consign these letters to the Treasurer-General

of India, who placed them in a special coffer with three keys, each key being held by a different official. Sometimes as many as four designations were made in separate letters, numbered in the order in which they should be opened. All the fidalgos were invited to be present, whenever it became necessary to act upon the instructions contained in these letters.

Having a sympathetic knowledge of men, the King applied a lenitiveness to the bitter offering that he knew Vasco da Gama was making on the altar of patriotism. He gave him the office of Viceroy. No one but Francis de Almeida had been granted that dignity before, not even the great Afonso de Albuquerque. The four rulers of India who preceded Gama were simply called governors.

During King Manuel's reign no precise general regulations were laid down in regard to the powers of the person who represented the King in the East. These powers were now more carefully defined. Barros gives us a sketch of them, "so that posterity may know that our glory in these discoveries does not consist merely in the blood we shed, but in our wise government."¹⁹⁸

The man who was to govern India must be of noble blood, a Portuguese, a gentleman of good morals, with experience of command in war. To prevent any danger of court intrigue, he must swear on the Gospels that he never sought this office, and never canvassed others to get it for him. He must also swear to maintain justice, to comply with the King's instructions, not to receive any bribe or consideration for the work of his office; and to promote the King's service and servants, not his own. "Not even Saint Paul demands so many qualifications for a priest who accepts the office of bishop, as a governor of India swears to observe before he undertakes the revered office."¹⁹⁹

If all officials kept these oaths, the historian adds, there would not be so much work for the public prosecutor to do, when these men return home. Barros thought that avarice, that innate root of all evil in the hearts of men, was encouraged and condoned by the cynical proverbs that men of the world indulged in so lightly, "such as "The workhouse is full of honest fools."²⁰⁰

Popular opinion in Portugal, as in all prosperous nations from that day to this, was indulgent towards the monied man. Though it shouts loudly enough when anyone is caught in acts of dishonesty, it is apt to fawn upon the wealthy without caring much how they became rich. "What can you make of a friend (so Barros interprets the popular view) who has only military glory? We do not live in a land of gangsters,"²⁰¹ that we should

need soldier friends to protect us; but we can do with wealthy friends." Portugal had not the large margin of profit that modern imperial nations have had, which enables them to write off defalcations of this kind without fatal damage to the national economy. Hence, sterner measures were imperative then than now.

The second Viceroy was being sent to enforce such measures also. His title of Viceroy gave him no more power than the governors possessed, but it gave him a higher status of pomp and brilliancy. Vasco da Gama was the type of man who purrs with satisfaction under the warmth of royal garments, like the English Viceroy of 400 years later, Lord Curzon. This quality is one of the useful weaknesses of a Viceroy in all lands and ages. When Gama sailed²⁰² from Lisbon on the ninth of April, 1524, in the ship *Saint Catherine of Mount Sinai*, in command of a fleet of fourteen ships and three thousand men, "he had complete power of justice and revenue like the King's self over all persons who might be found beyond the Cape of Good Hope."

The splendid galleon became a miniature court. The Viceroy had a bodyguard of two hundred men in gala uniforms with gilt pikes. "He was served by waiters bearing silver maces, by a major-domo and two pages with gold neck-chains, many equerries and body servants." On his table were rich vessels of silver and coverings of brocade, whilst his cabins were hung with tapestries of Flanders. Amongst his captains were four noblemen who later became governors of India in turn. Vincent Pegado, the youthful fidalgo who served him at table on bended knee, afterwards became Secretary for India, and later still one of the most famous captains of Mozambique. Gama kept a splendid table; and every day that the weather permitted all his officers and noblemen dined with him in great state.

All this, however, was not the mere display of self-indulgence of an Oriental court, but the pleasant symbols of a noble cause for which they were prepared to bleed and die. The Vicefroy pushed on swiftly without calling at any port until they reached Mozambique on the fourteenth of August. Here a halt was necessary, in order to know how the King's cause was faring along the whole of this coast. Gama sent greetings to their faithful Arab allies of Malindi, remembering the generous hospitality of their Sheikh during his last voyage in 1502. To the Sheikh he sent an apology for not going personally to pay his respects, because his business in India was urgent; but he would continue to ensure the protection of Malindi against its Muslim rivals. This promise he fulfilled as soon as he reached India, by commissioning two

guard ships under Fernão Martins de Sousa to patrol the Malindi coast as far as the Red Sea. Three of Gama's fleet were lost amid the dangerous shoals of the Malindi coast.

But at Mozambique he was faced with news that aroused all his sternness: three women stowaways emerged from the holds of the ships. Before leaving Lisbon he had issued a proclamation that no woman was to be allowed on any of the ships, neither wife nor maid, "both for their own souls' sake and to avoid intrigues and brawls among the men." These bare-faced infractions of discipline angered him beyond words, as the severest penalties had been threatened in his proclamation. He sentenced the women to be publicly whipped when they should reach India.

At Goa the fidalgos subscribed a large sum, asking Gama to accept it as a fine instead of whipping the women; the Bishop of Goa and the Friars came to him in procession, begging mercy for the women. He replied that all this weak pity was tantamount to conspiracy against the State. He was determined to discourage the softness of fibre which was a danger to Portugal's empire. God would no doubt have mercy upon these poor women, but it was the Viceroy's duty to chastise them here below. And so he did. But when his will was opened a few months later, it was found that he had left to each of these women a sufficient income to marry honourably. If they refused to accept his legacies, the amount was to be given to the charity organisations of Goa. Vasco da Gama was unpitying with himself and others, where the public welfare was at stake, but he was a true Christian at heart.

But the Mozambique coast was the scene of another tragedy which stirred the hearts of the men even more deeply. One of the five caravels of the fleet was captained by Mosem Gaspar of Majorca, whose name and country of origin together would indicate either a New Christian or a Jew. He was on his way to take up the position of Chief Gunner of the artillery in India. These gunners were occasionally recruited at high salaries in Flanders, as Antwerp had both a foundry and a school of gunnery.²⁰³ Gaspar Corrêa tells us "that Mosem Gaspar was a man of narrow intellect who did not know how to behave towards the crew and passengers." The Portuguese sailors could endure the severity of their fidalgos, whom they respected and understood. But this man was no gentleman, and a foreigner. The exasperated master and the pilot pitched him overboard one day; and, knowing the penalties they had incurred, they took to

piracy against Arab dhows between Cape Guardafui and the island of Socotra.²⁰⁴ Early in the following year they were captured by Manuel de Macedo, whilst on his way to India. The leader of the mutiny, Aguiar, was executed at Cochin.

Meantime the Viceroy, having completed the refitting and revictualling of the ships, sailed for India. At eight o'clock on the night of the eighth of September, as they approached the Malabar coast, a startling tremor ran through all the ships. Everybody thought that they had struck hidden shoals, whilst mountainous waves were sweeping over them. At first there was a rush for the boats. Then the Viceroy's voice could be heard above the tumult: "Cheer up, men, the sea is quaking for fear of us! Fear nothing, this is just an earthquake."

The shocks lasted a quarter of an hour. Then, without any other premonition, there came a cloudburst and a deluge. When this passed their spirits revived at the appearance of a richly laden Arab merchantman, which they captured.

Some of the men recalled a prophecy that they had heard from astrologers in Europe: that in 1524, because of the conjunction of all the planets in the house of Piscis, a deluge would swamp most of the earth. True, the learned Hollander, Albert Pighe, had just published at Paris a full refutation of this horoscope.²⁰⁵ Those who still believed in it, writes Barros, "being baptised Ninivites, instead of doing penance in sackcloth and ashes, laid in a supply of biscuits." However, a more than usually dry season put an end to what the Portuguese historian calls "this fable of ignorant astrologers."²⁰⁶

The Viceroy, however, was more concerned over another storm which he feared might sweep over India, when he began to carry out the instructions of the King. After a few days' delay at Chaul he landed at Goa on the twenty-third of September, having in his pocket a grave indictment of the commandant, Francis Pereira Pestana. Pestana was a fine soldier and had the fortress in perfect trim. When he showed this proudly to Vasco da Gama, the latter bluntly expressed the hope that the other affairs of Pestana were in equally good order. But an enquiry next day revealed how the Chamber of Commerce, the Bishop, the fidalgos and the people of Goa were sick of Pereira's exactions and illegal acts. Gama dismissed him on the spot. Some months before, the leading citizens of Goa had petitioned the Bishop to take over the administration of the city from Pestana, but Dom Martinho had wisely refused. Now Henrique de Meneses was installed in Pestana's place by order of Vasco da Gama.

All the chief officers of the government were submitted to a drastic audit of accounts, and an examination of their qualifications for office as tested by their record. He issued a general warning, that in future captaincies would only be given to men who had shown that they were good soldiers; "and however low might be the rank in life of any man who gained a good reputation in the field, he would be promoted rather than a gentleman Jew."²⁰⁷ If in the fortresses he found the commandants committing injustice, whether to Christian or Moor or Hindu, he would chastise them severely. If any fidalgo sheltered wrong-doers, he would be sent in irons to the King for trial. The haste and perhaps gruffness with which Gama attacked the work of his commission was partly due, no doubt, to the painful disease which was soon to prove fatal. He was consciously running a race with death. Before the darkness came down, he wished to utilise the hours of light to urge and promote the King's business, as a last service to his country.

But the closing scene of Vasco da Gama's life took place at Cochin, where he arrived towards the end of October. Luis de Meneses, brother of the Governor-General, who was then at Ormuz on active service, went out to greet the new Viceroy, and was graciously received. The King knew that Luis had remonstrated with his brother Edward about some of his doings in India. But when Luis learned from Gama's first conversation that he was likely to profit by the severe measures contemplated against his brother, he drew back. "Nothing that hurts my brother can please me," he replied, "and if he is to be condemned I must share his blame." He guessed at once that his brother's failings had been exaggerated by enemies at the court of Lisbon.

The historian Gaspar Corrêa was on the beach at Cochin that evening, when the *Ave Maria* bell had sounded, and when Vasco da Gama sailed into port escorted by Luis de Meneses, the retiring Governor-General's brother.²⁰⁸ Corrêa had come to India as a boy eleven years before. He gives us a telling sketch of the mingled pageantry and foreboding that filled the city. The Hindu King of Cochin received Vasco da Gama in great state at the door of the Cathedral, when he came out, after having offered thanks to God for his safe journey. But the more experienced wondered that Gama should act as Viceroy before he had received the formal resignation of his predecessor.²⁰⁹ A mere paper transference of office was not the custom of India, where everything was done with due solemnity, in order to impress both Hindu and Muslim with the high dignity of this office.

Meantime, Gama was discussing matters with the old Governor's brother, and the more they talked the less they agreed. Corrêa himself records how opinion in India was veering round to the side of Count Edward de Meneses in regard to the embezzlement charges made against him: "All may be lies, like everything in this world except the love of God." After all, this ex-governor was a son of the Count of Tarouca, the most honoured counsellor of King Manuel. There were soldiers who thought him dilatory in action, a dangerous failing in India, but they never doubted his integrity.

In discussing the situation with the Viceroy, Luis discovered that the moment he suggested any consideration for the feelings of his brother, Vasco da Gama "went beyond all bounds". He became haughty in speech and manner, and Luis de Meneses, knowing the character of his King, felt that this line of conduct would not meet with the royal approval.

The climax came when Count Edward returned from Ormuz. There was no secret about the fact that he had made money there by trading with goods from India, and that he had taken gifts from the Chief Sharif, practices not dishonest in themselves. But they infuriated Vasco da Gama, and the King disapproved; both decided to give emphatic expression to their feeling that a Portuguese official should be above such mercenary dealings. It was profit enough to have the honour of serving the King and the people, as so many noblemen had already done, even with the loss of their family inheritances.

On the way home from Ormuz Count Edward de Meneses first discovered at Chaul that he had been cashiered. At the same time he seems to have heard that the Viceroy looked so ill that he was not expected to live long.²¹⁰ This news induced the Count to dawdle at Goa and elsewhere, perhaps in the forlorn hope that Gama's death might solve his difficulties with the King. *

It was about the tenth of November that the dismissed governor of India arrived in the harbour of Cochin. There he received a letter from Vasco da Gama, enclosing the King's authority for acting, telling him that he was a prisoner on parole, that he should tranship to the *Castello* now being loaded for home, and that he should not leave the ship until he had reported himself to the King at Lisbon.

Meneses signed a document of submission to these orders; because the Viceroy acted with the full powers of the King, whom no Portuguese gentleman would disobey. But he seems to have thought that the detail about the *Castello* was one upon which the Viceroy would not insist. So he went round the bay

in a dinghy, examining all the ships that were preparing to sail for home, and installed himself in the *Saint George*, as it was the one he liked best.

But Vasco da Gama was in no humour for compromise with a man whom he judged to have let the King's government down. Next day he sent two ships with guns cleared for action, which were to anchor on each side of the *Saint George*. If Count Edward refused to tranship at once to the *Castello*, the crew of the *Saint George* was to be ordered out, and this ship to be sunk with Meneses on board. "You have the knife and the cheese," was his laconic answer to the ultimatum, and he obeyed.

But nothing could silence the indignation of his brother. He protested that such severity was only justified if Count Edward had sold the King's fortresses to the Moors. "If he had done that," replied the Viceroy, "you would have nothing to talk about, because your brother's head would have been struck off without much ado." Gama repeated that he bore no enmity against his predecessor; and that if he could show the secret instructions of the King, even Luis would recognise that he had acted with much restraint. "Well, sir, you will not always be Viceroy of India. Perhaps some day I may be talking to you as you are talking to me. Meantime, I go to share my brother's lot." Without another word, he departed.²¹¹

Before going aboard the ship to join his brother, Luis de Meneses gave a farewell dinner to his fellow-officers and friends that same evening. But in the midst of it Lope Vaz de Sampaio arrived with a message from Gama. "Dom Luis was to board his ship at once, and the Viceroy was at his window to see that he did so immediately." This was a severe test of loyalty. But these men had a common code of honour, which they would not violate even in their quarrels. They feared no man and no bodily peril, but the King's orders were the life and soul of the nation. The day before Vasco da Gama said to his present prisoner: "I am your servant and the King our sovereign is your friend," and he meant it. Luis knew that he meant it, perverse as he now seemed to be.²¹² Whilst he obeyed orders, he fired a parting shot at Gama through the messenger: "Tell him that though he represents the King to-day, to-morrow someone else will have that honour."

The story of these two devoted brothers comes to an end practically on the Cape route. Count Edward had made up his mind that he would get a better hearing at home, if he gave passions time to subside. He therefore did everything that a captain can do to delay the ship on her way. When they were

sailing near the Cape of Good Hope an opportune south-easter came to his aid. This wind was usually the nightmare of the Portuguese sailor homeward bound, but now it was welcomed by the captain of the *Castello*. It drove the ship straight before the gale for a fortnight, until she came again within sight of Mozambique, and there they remained for the winter.

His brother in the other ship humoured him at first by keeping within hail of the *Castello*. But just before the big storm at the Cape Count Edward told his brother to push on to Saint Helena, and await him there. This order proved fatal for Luis. For on the west coast of Africa some French pirates overtook his ship, when it was badly battered by the storm, robbed the cargo and burned the ship with all the crew, including the captain. Count Edward de Meneses lived to return home the following year, when Vasco da Gama was dead and beginning to be forgotten, as is the rapid way of political circles. The King evidently thought that Meneses had been sufficiently punished for such faults as he committed, because he employed him again.

But after the departure Vasco da Gama began a search for the treasure which he knew that Count Edward had amassed. The Viceroy billed him for a considerable sum of the King's revenue, for which he had not yet accounted. For this the retiring Governor said he was ready to account, but to the King only in Lisbon. As nothing of value was found on the ship, there was no possibility of attaching the amount of the bill. This did not mean that the retiring Governor was a poor man. On the contrary, he left behind him in Cochin buried treasure of much value in pearls, jewellery and rich brocades. With the connivance of the Vicar-General of that town, Sebastian Pires, it had been safely concealed in a pit on the seashore. There is no reason to believe that these were ill-gotten gains, though Meneses was not prepared to leave them in the hands of his irate successor. •

But these wrangles with his equals caused Vasco da Gama more weariness than the really important work that he had come to India to do.²¹³ That was to bring the Muslim and their few Hindu allies back to a wholesome respect for the Portuguese power. He hardly recognised India at first, so insolent had the Moors become. The first few weeks they refused to believe that the Great Admiral, as they called him, had returned to India, alleging that it was just a propaganda trick to frighten them. But three weeks of active naval activity on his part left them in no doubt on this subject.

Before coming to Cochin, he made Calicut the focus of a movement to restore Portugal's prestige on the Malabar coast.

The Muslim had discovered that their mobile row-boats, if numerous enough, could defy the larger and slower boats of the Portuguese patrol. The Viceroy had brought with him from Europe a Genoese shipbuilder named Vyne, who promised him that "he would build brigantines which would catch a mosquito", and that the Malabar *paraus* would soon be outdistanced. Meantime, he collected a swift squadron for a general offensive. It destroyed forty *paraus* in a few days, and served as a warning to the pirates who had begun to prowl on this coast, as well as to the rajahs who encouraged them, partly through fear and partly for profit in sharing the booty. "The Arabs feared him," writes Barros, "not only because of what he had done to them in the past, but he seemed to guess their evil plans."

He was preparing a great fleet for the Red Sea, to be commanded by his son Stephen, when he realised that he had only a few days to live, as a carbuncle on his neck had reached its last fatal stage.

Masterful to the end, he faced the facts without wincing, and arranged that even his own death should interrupt the service of the King as little as possible. He would have adorned the heroes of Omar Khayyam "who crept silently to rest" after having "drunk their cup a round or two before". His realist philosophy left its mark for good on the future of India; and the Omar Khayyams, whether of India or Persia, were no match for the dying soldier of faith. He called to his side three of the leading officers of India: Lopo Vaz de Sampaio, who was captain of Cochin; Afonso Mexia, the Treasurer; and Vincent Pegado, the Secretary of India. Drawing up his policy for the government of India, he made them swear to continue it. Then he appointed Sampaio to act as governor until his death, when the letters patent would be opened, and it would be known who the King wished the new governor to be.

All this took place in the house of Diogo Pereira, as the Viceroy had left his quarters in the Castle, and now handed over the command to Sampaio. Diogo was the leading merchant of Cochin, who had his home near the open court in front of the Church of Saint Anthony. In this quiet spot, released from the cares of any worldly office, he prepared cheerfully for his end with the friendly ministrations of a Franciscan friar, his confessor. In his will he provided for his family, dependants and those whom, upon final reflection, he was conscious of having injured. With the spiritual comfort of the sacraments of the Church he died on Christmas Eve, a repentant Christian, but in unrepentant zeal for the true glory of Portugal.

The tragedy of a funeral could not be enacted on Christmas Day, so his death was kept secret until the next day. Then his body was laid out with all the pomp that he loved in the Church of Saint Anthony, and after the stately obsequies due to a Viceroy, buried in the principal chapel there.²¹⁴

It was exactly twenty-seven years since he had given the name of Natal (Christmas Land) to one of the present provinces of South Africa. "It pleased God to give this man so strong a spirit," writes Gaspar Corrêa, "that without any human fear he passed through many perils of death in the discovery of India." He had lived to see a rich and strong Portuguese empire in India, the Mozambique coast, Persia, Brazil and Malacca. Age and sickness had not slackened the beat of his pulses, only death could do that; and he welcomed death when he felt that his driving power had been exhausted. He had "put India into a very straight path for the proper service of the King and for the good of the people."²¹⁵

The sweeping verdict of Whiteway, that "Da Gama gave a turn²¹⁶ of merciless cruelty to the Portuguese policy, exceeding the cruelty of that age", contains an assumption about that period as baseless as the statement about the great Viceroy. A more reliable picture of that age is given by a Portuguese writer who lived at the end of the same century, and examined its records more fully. Luiz de Sousa has described for us the long wars between the Muslim of Morocco and the Portuguese there.²¹⁷

After one of the many drawn battles in the long contest between these races, the Moors burned to death a youth named John Vaz, whom they captured, smearing him first with pitch and covering him with tow. The captain of Tangiers at this time was the Count Edward de Meneses who, two years later, became Governor of India. Though the tortured boy was of Moorish origin, he had been brought up in Portugal, and knew no faith but Christianity. Yet they burned him as they always burned renegades. The captain was deeply grieved.

In spite of that, when Mulay Abraham asked to be received by Meneses in order to negotiate peace, his request was granted. The Moorish leader left his camp with a thousand cavalrymen, flying the red standard of Shashuan, and they halted at a border village named Mastos. Then, with only six mounted men, Abraham galloped to the seashore, where the Count received him, surrounded by his bodyguard. Having greeted one another, the two leaders drew apart to the square before the Church. "It was fine to watch the Count," writes the annalist, "because no

man of his time looked the perfect gentleman that he did, when armed and on horseback."

Then the pages of the Countess approached with dishes of sweetmeats and jars of water. Abraham tasted some of the sweets, at once sending a share to his own men, and they put what was left in their pouches. As, however, Mulay Abraham was parched with his long ride, he leaped from his horse and drank deeply from one of the jars. Then he drew from his purse five cruzados for each of the pages of the Countess.

Enemies who fought so strenuously, and yet treated one another so graciously, had nothing to learn from our century in the matter of humanity. They made a peace less cruel than the Treaty of Versailles, which the Liberal democracies fashioned without justice or mercy and presented to their enemies with every circumstance of deliberate insult.^{217a}

Vasco da Gama was a stern soldier both in disciplining his own men and in waging war on the enemies of Portugal, and he was therefore chosen for the sterner tasks. But he was never deliberately mean or vindictive. He can only gain by comparison with the admirals of the twentieth century, who reduced millions to starvation by blockade; with the generals who mowed down millions in trenches and dug-outs and by air bombs culminating in the atom bomb, and with politicians who were the main culprits in these deeds of horror. In the few months of Vasco da Gama's last term of office he whipped up the flagging methods of administration of his predecessor. "One's spirit revives," says the patriotic chronicler, "and rejoices in writing when one sees the transformation in government, and how the succeeding governors started out again to work and win."²¹⁸ None of the treaties ratified by John III with beaten enemies contains any clause calculated to leave a permanent sting of injustice or insult.

CHAPTER V.

MOZAMBIQUE'S TRADE AND GOVERNMENT.

OUTSIDE THE MAINLAND of India one of the four deputies of the Governor-General was the captain of Mozambique, the other three being the captains of Ormuz, Ceylon and Malacca. The captain of Mozambique therefore shared in the royal powers conferred upon the viceroys. Absolute power was not yet an intelligible idea in Portugal, although in practice it had made much headway in other parts of Europe. Hence, just as the Governor-General was obliged to consult his Council of State and his Council of the Three Estates, so the chief captain of Mozambique had to listen to the advice of his principal local officials.

The fortress of Mozambique also had a function of no small importance in naval policy. In the hands of a hostile or rival Power it would undermine the security of the whole system of Portugal's eastern trade. On the shores of the Indian Ocean she had acquired special rights of trade through the scientific ability of her sons, their bravery, seamanship and physical fitness. These rights she was determined to maintain by keeping command of the sea in these regions,²¹⁹ whilst ready to develop this trade in accordance with the existing law of nations. But trade was her main object, and warships were regarded as the guardians of lawful trade.

Mozambique was not only the principal fortress of this coast, but the principal trading station. It was as vital for the gold traffic of Sofala as the fortress of Elmina was for that of the west coast. The treasure of the latter went to the home government, that of the former to the credit of the government of India. The mines of Manica continued to send a regular supply of gold to Goa through Sofala, but it was hard earned. Nor could it compare in value with the gold and silver of America which the great galleons of Spain were bringing home every year.

Thus in 1537, for example, we find John III ordering his Treasurer-General in Lisbon to repay half of the ten thousand cruzados, "so graciously lent me by the Bishop of Viseu",²²⁰ out of the next cargo but one from the gold of Elmina. But he never counted directly on the gold from the Zambesi coast. As

the Cape of Good Hope was the beginning of the dominion of India, the revenue and expenditure of the whole coast was under the administration of the Governor-General of India.

The value of the Mozambique trade made the factor of that port a person of some importance, whilst its salary and perquisites were sufficient to attract men of standing. The factor was the King's trade agent; and he usually had with him, as assistants in his department, an accountant (*escrivão*) and a bailiff (*meirinho*). At times, no doubt when trade was dull, we find that the factor took over the office of accountant as well. Every ship also had its accountant on board. Both the Portuguese word for this ship's office and the corresponding English word "writer" are translations of the word used by the Italians, who were the founders of sea law and of bookkeeping, which already had centuries of development behind it.²²¹

The royal factor of Mozambique was obliged to render an annual account to the Treasurer of India at Goa, who in turn rendered an account of the trade of the whole dominion to the treasurer of India House in Lisbon. It was an excellent system analogous to that adopted in Spain, where the whole commerce of Spanish America was submitted annually in ledgers to the Casa de Contratación at Seville; and then audited by officials of the King.²²² The Mozambique ledgers appear to have perished almost entirely in the destruction of the archives of Goa, in the earthquake of Lisbon and in the neglect of the Mozambique archives consequent upon the many political and military disasters of the nineteenth century.

Critics of the King's policy have repeated in various forms the complaint first made by the great Albuquerque against King Manuel: that he employed more courtiers for these business posts instead of men trained in the counting houses of Flanders or Italy.²²³ But the King was saved from such a blunder both by his own intuition and by the experience of his trusted officials in Antwerp and Venice. He realised that if business training was necessary, much more was a training in character. Business circles in Antwerp were not a school of uprightness.

The subtle immoralities of international groups of money-lenders were pressing upon the freedom of Portugal, by attempting to subject the Crown to their decisions in juggling with the value of the national currency. Not only did John III resent this pressure, but he was determined to preserve the human valuation of utilities and costs, and to make trade the servant of every part of his empire, and not its master. For this purpose he needed men with business training who did not regard "business

as usual" as the supreme maxim of life. For this purpose also he found all the young men he needed in those trained at his court or in the great country families. From these schools of Christian character there went out as factors or accountants of Mozambique: Osorio de Mattos, Gaspar de Pinto, Thomas Gonsalves, Ferdinand Rodrigues, Alvaro Leitão, Matthew Jacques, John d'Andrade, Manuel de Sequeira and Salvado Carvalho.²²⁴ They were all designated in their letters of appointment as pages of the court or fidalgos, which meant that they had been trained to be men of honour.

To say that some of them failed to live up to their training is to say that they were men. But when Whiteway tells us²²⁵ that the symptoms of decay were already visible at the death of Albuquerque (1515), that public and private morality soon disappeared altogether, and that the successors of John de Castro (who died in 1548) were indolent, corrupt and superstitious for generations, that diligent English historian displays the racialism which makes it so easy to make mountains out of the moral molehills in the history of other nations than our own. Even the theory of Whiteway that moral corruption in officials necessarily leads to imperial decay will hardly bear examination in the light of too many episodes in English history such as the life of Samuel Pepys,²²⁶ one of the creators of the English Navy, and that of Lord Clive, one of the founders of the British Empire in India.

No writer has denounced more severely the evils that existed during King John's reign than the great missionary, Francis Xavier, and the King always dealt drastically with injustice when brought to his notice. The trade tricks that Xavier denounces as crimes are not different in substance from those practised with large impunity in our own day, though less criminal and harmful to the public welfare than those of to-day. "They buy up commodities with the King's money, so that by selling them they may be able to balance their accounts. By purchasing all the commodities in the port, they put people upon the necessity of buying at their price, that is, at most intolerable rates. Too often also they make men languish at the Treasury with long delays and cunning shifts, or some other captious trick, so that they may be driven to compound with those sharks of State for half their due, and let them go off with the other half." Whilst they did not trouble in the sixteenth century to coin pleasant names for fraudulent practices in trade, in one respect that world is a twin to our own, as Xavier helps us to see. "Custom is to them in the place of law; and that which they see done before

them every day, they persuade themselves may be practised without sin."²²⁷

But in indolence and superstition the Portuguese empire of the sixteenth century was a poor second to the opulent empires of the nineteenth century, in which the idle rich and the infinite variety of brainless sects flourished with a rank luxuriance hitherto unknown among the Christian nations.

The high character and courage of the nine men who governed Mozambique during the reign of John III are sufficient evidence of the virility of an empire which could thus staff a secondary post, at a time when India, Brazil and Malaya were pulsing with so many novel schemes of trade adventure and land settlement. Diogo de Sepúlveda, Lopo de Almeida, Anthony de Silveira de Meneses, Vincent Pegado, Alexius de Sousa Chichorro, John de Sepúlveda, Ferdinand de Sousa de Távora, Diogo de Mesquita and Diogo de Sousa formed a succession of alert leaders well fitted to carry on the great tradition of Portugal's empire building. When Diogo de Sousa went to India later, he offered to finance out of his own pocket the naval attack on the Turks at Suez, if public funds were lacking.^{227a}

Of the world fame of Silveira we shall hear later in detail. Perhaps Chichorro has earned a more enviable niche, for he was among the rare incorruptibles, whom high office and ample opportunities could not seduce one inch from the Christian ideals which he had learned in his youth at Lisbon. His father, Gaspar de Sousa, was superintendent of the largest hospital in Portugal, that of All Saints in Lisbon, which was founded in the year that Columbus discovered the Bahamas.²²⁸ There Alexius learned in a rare degree the quality of mercy towards the sick and aged.

He sailed for the East with Nuno da Cunha as a captain in 1538; when it became necessary to leave two hundred invalids behind at Zanzibar, the young captain was put in charge of them, no doubt on account of his experience in hospital work. After this he spent some years in India, being back again in Lisbon in 1537, when the King gave him the captaincy of Mozambique as a reward for good service.

Next year he was in Mozambique. That was the year when the lordly Viceroy Garcia de Noronha left Lisbon with nine ships, reaching Mozambique in July. One of the ships, captained by Bernard de Silveira, foundered with all hands on board; and the seas had been so wild all the way, that the sick were numerous. Couto tells us that Chichorro spent much of his private means in providing the extra accommodation needed to make the weary

travellers comfortable, as the existing hospital was too small to hold them all.

The historian Diogo de Couto is no respecter of persons, and in describing this very voyage he gives an example of that habitual severity of his which might well earn him the title of the hammer of wrongdoers. He thought that he saw why God permitted that one ship to go down. "It had on board many men condemned to death for foul crimes, and reprieved. God would not have such men to fight the battles of our Holy Faith in the East, and He Himself executed the judgment which Portugal had failed to carry out."

This characteristic makes that historian's eulogy of Alexius de Sousa all the more valuable. "What the Governor did for this fleet he did for the sick of every ship that came to Mozambique during the three years of his term of office. His chief concern always was for works of mercy, in which he spent all his salary and perquisites; so that he left Mozambique as poor as he entered it." He was afterwards sent to India as Treasurer-General.²²⁹

His immediate successor was another captain of considerable renown, Vincent Pegado; but his fame was that of a keen business man. He went out to India with Vasco da Gama in 1524, and it was an inestimable boon for this youth to have begun life in such a school. By making him Secretary of India on arrival there, Vasco da Gama indicated clearly enough that he regarded Pegado as a man of promise.

The young Secretary seems to have taken an active part in the dramatic episode of the opening of the letters of succession, after the sudden death of the next Governor Henry de Meneses in 1526. It is evident that he took sides against Lopo Vaz de Sampaio, when that nobleman assumed the office of governor, because the Captain of Malacca, who was the King's first nominee, could not arrive for months.²³⁰

The new Governor regarded Pegado as a menace to his prestige, and maintained that he had forfeited the post of Secretary of India by his conduct in taking sides. "As he was upsetting the whole country, I ordered him to embark at once in a galleon that was leaving. Thus trouble was avoided; and in any case, he had not a large retinue of servants or much luggage."²³¹ This was Sampaio's explanation to the King for having deported Pegado from Goa. It did not satisfy John III, both because he well knew the impetuosity of the Governor, and because Pegado had soon built an effective defence in cheerful activities elsewhere in India. As long as he did not meddle in

politics, Sampaio was relieved to see him exhaust his talents and energy in trade. "Because merchants must not be prevented from going where they liked, since it is their way of living; and after all they do enrich our cities."

That was the merit which led to his appointment as Governor of Mozambique in 1531. He began at once to take a line of his own by pushing trade up the Zambesi River. At the river entrance of the Mazoe valley he established a fair called Sena, and later another at Tete, which is about 260 miles from the Zambesi mouth, and nearly half a mile from the opposite bank. It is known that he drew up a set of regulations for the working of these markets, but they have been lost.²³² Alluvial gold was found in the sandy beds of the Mazoe River and of its sometimes hidden tributaries. Several reefs were tapped by the Bantu diggers, following in the footsteps of ancient miners. In the direction of Chiromo there were thick forests where the elephant abounded, and ivory was obtained in large quantities.

A letter of John III informs us that Pegado sent him a long report after he had spent twelve months in Mozambique, and the King's letter supplies the only knowledge we have of the contents of this report. Writing to Antonio d'Ataide on the eighth of March, 1533, the King says:²³³ "Pegado's report came this morning, and I mention only the most urgent matters as time is short. Do what you can to help him with supplies, looking into the ledgers of India House, so that you may know what supplies Sofala has had in recent years. Pegado tells me that the Treasurer of India has not sent him a ship this year, although I ordered this to be done every year. If the annual supplies by ship did not arrive in 1532, Pegado informs me that it would be the ruin of both Sofala and Mozambique. But he does not mention what things he needs. The climate in those parts is so deadly that even when they had provisions, there were times when there was no man left physically able to guard the walls of the fortress. I beg therefore that with the first lot of ships of this year you will send him some reinforcements in men, and all the provisions that the ships can hold. If these proposals are not feasible, tell the Chief Captain to call at Sofala and Mozambique; and each ship must give them all it can spare. So too with the soldiers: each captain shall give the men who are landed there a paysheet, showing how each one stands in the matter of salary." The letter goes on to deal at length with the question of providing more perfect sea charts for this coast, because Manuel de Lacerda had recently lost his ship by striking upon a hidden and uncharted rock.

It may seem remarkable that after fifty years of occupation on the Mozambique coast the Portuguese should have produced so little on the spot in the way of provisions. But the reasons are not far to seek. The Bantu only worked spasmodically, when they wanted to buy Indian wares, and then only in the intervals of their tribal warfare. The Arabs were not cultivators in any large way, since their needs were primitive. The farming population of Portugal found a more promising outlet for their energies in Brazil, which could be reached in a few days and had a climate like their own. There was little inducement, therefore, to raise crops or cattle on this coast.

All that the Portuguese expected of Mozambique as a rule, besides rest, were water, timber, gold and ivory. The stocks of food that were kept for the ships came mostly from Malindi or the interior or home. There was also an arsenal in which the Commandant stored the ships' tackle, medical supplies and ammunition, as well as the arms and artillery. These were the routine cares of every governor of the coast. But Pegado was a business man of outstanding ability. He reorganised the book-keeping methods of the Treasury at Mozambique, and did it so effectively that, nearly forty years later, the Viceroy Antao de Noronha, in his reforms of the administration of the government of India, made no change in the methods of Pegado. Both in the regulations of the office in Mozambique, and in those of India that concerned Mozambique, he found all that he desired. This Noronha was one of the most critical and experienced of the governors of India, so that his action is no mean testimonial to the governor of Mozambique. Pegado must have accomplished a good deal in his trade expeditions up the Zambesi, because he received the almost unique reward of having his term of office renewed, thus serving nearly eight years on this coast as governor.

This high token of approval John III granted to no other governor, though Bordalo's list²³⁴ of the governors suggests that the same honour was given to John de Sepúlveda, who succeeded Chichorro.²³⁵ This suggestion is made by omitting George Teles de Meneses who, though appointed to the expectancy in 1538, did not actually take office until 1545. It was he who sent the trade mission first to Lourenço Marques and Inhambane, and who began the consultations with the Viceroy John de Castro about building a stronger fortress, in a more suitable spot than the point of the island of Mozambique where it then was.²³⁶

A delay of twelve months then occurred, because the next two governors nominated by the King were unable to take up their appointments in time. Manuel de Mendonça died at Goa

before his ship was ready, and Martin de Castro was transferred to Elmina before he could sail for Mozambique. The Viceroy was empowered to make the next selection. In March, 1547, Ferdinand de Sousa de Távora left Goa for Mozambique, taking with him Castro's plans for the new fortress,²³⁷ and sixteen stonemasons to prepare the way for the builder,²³⁸ Francis Pires. By July, 1549, all the stones were cut and transported to the site where the new fortress was to be erected. But the completion of the plans was delayed for eleven years, as the famous architect whom the King wished to have for this gigantic task was too busy elsewhere. It was not finished until the year after King John's death.

A dramatic event which took place at Mozambique in the first months of the captaincy of John de Sepúlveda deserves mention here for the light it throws on the conditions of the civil service at this time. The youngest of Vasco da Gama's sons, Alvaro, arrived at Mozambique in the fleet of the new governor of India, Martin Afonso de Sousa. Paul da Gama had just died fighting in the Straits of Singapore, so gallantly that the Malays composed a folk song in honour of their adversary. Another brother, Christopher, was actually in the field in defence of the Abyssinians against the Arabs, and was to die in battle within a few months. But Stephen, the eldest of the brothers, was now Governor-General of India. As it was common knowledge that the incoming governor was always instructed to have a severe audit of the accounts of his predecessor, Alvaro resolved to give his brother the advantage of a few days' notice of the actual date of Sousa's arrival.

Secretly, as he thought, he hired one of the small Indian vessels called *pangaios*, and prepared to risk the dangers of crossing the Indian Ocean in such a frail barque. But somebody gave the secret away, and he was arrested.²³⁹ There was in reality nothing to fear, as when the ledgers were opened it was found that Stephen da Gama had expended fifty thousand *pardaos* of his own in the service of the King's government. But this constant vigilance of the central government was undoubtedly one of the factors that kept the Indian administration wholesome. Easy-going methods at such a distance from Lisbon would have been fatal to any effective control.

Much was done by this wise and firm control to counteract the human instability everywhere inevitable, but especially amid the devastating temptations of oriental life. But no earthly power could control the sea altogether, and it sometimes upset the most carefully prepared plans. This was eminently the case with that

part of the sea confided to the governors of Mozambique. From Cape Guardafui in Africa, to Cape Fartak in Arabia, there was what Barros calls "a throat of the sea fifty leagues long", which was vital to Portuguese trade. When the monsoons were favourable for trading raids of the Turks or Arabs towards India, the Portuguese navy would patrol this stretch of ocean with sufficient ships to remain in sight of one another. But ventures of the sea are the most uncertain in life, writes the same historian, because they are beyond our wisdom. "*One may go fishing with a golden hook, as Solomon warns us, but even then there is danger of catching no fish and losing the golden hook.*"

This is what happened to Peter de Castelbranco and Christopher de Sousa, as far back as the year 1522, when they sailed from the waters of Cape Guardafui to chastise the rebels of Querimba.²⁴⁰ These rebels were not in revolt directly against the King of Portugal, but against the Sultans of Zanzibar and Pemba. The two Portuguese captains had been detained at Mozambique on their way to India, because they arrived late for the favourable monsoon. Not wishing to remain idle at Mozambique throughout the whole winter, they sailed in the direction of the Red Sea, in order to intercept any Egyptian or Turkish ship that might be on the way to poach on the Indian markets of Portugal. But below Cape Guardafui they met a ship of Zanzibar making for Mozambique, to ask help there against the Muslim of Mombasa. A nephew of the Sheikh of Mombasa had attacked the islands of Querimba and Pemba, and the rulers of these islands had been unable to resist the attack. This was what the Portuguese learned when they hailed the Muslim ship.

By formal treaties, the Portuguese were pledged to uphold the authority of their Muslim vassals against all comers. These captains knew that King John would expect them to volunteer at once in response to such an appeal. So they steered for the principal island of the Querimba group, where they found the Arabs of Mombasa strongly entrenched. The Portuguese had two hundred men all well armed. It was a hard fight. Christopher de Sousa was wounded and in difficulties for a while, but finally the men of Mombasa were defeated. The victors refrained from destroying the town, as it belonged to their friends, but they took much booty from their enemies. Next day Castelbranco summoned representatives of all the islands of this group to meet in the local mosque, and there he impressed upon them the duty of loyalty to their sultans.

Then the Portuguese made for Malindi in the hope of a rest there. But the fierce winds drove their ship on to a stretch of the coast inhabited by wild Somali tribes, who attacked them with assegais. They were forced to attempt the perilous trip to India. As Christopher de Sousa was an exceptionally clever captain, they reached the river of Goa. But they landed in the midst of such a hurricane, that the ship went to pieces on the shore. A few men were killed, but the greater number saved as well as the valuable cargo on board.

Again in 1547 the factor of Mozambique, Gaspar de Pinto, reports that within six months two liners homeward bound and laden with spices from India were lost: one sixty miles north of Mozambique, and the other ninety miles south. Parts of the cargoes were rescued and sent back to India. The seamen did not usually quarrel with fate over such disasters, but accepted them as the discount due to human success; or, as they put it themselves, it was God's reminder that He alone really rules the waves.²⁴¹

The status of the Mozambique governors or captains, to use the more usual title, was defined in the case of each individual by a *regimento*, which was a lengthy and detailed letter bearing the King's signature. The general tenor of these letters was to confer upon these men, under the supervision of the Viceroy, the full powers of the State: political, administrative and judicial. To impress the East, they had a bodyguard of halberdiers.

When Kilwa fortress was dismantled in 1514, the captain of Sofala and Mozambique had already become the supreme authority on this coast; and the connection between the twin seats of government was regularly maintained by a cruising caravel. By degrees Mozambique asserted its natural and geographical supremacy over Sofala, and became the sole headquarters with its fortress growing in strength. The governor then ceased to reside six months in each place, and settled exclusively in Mozambique.

The dependencies north of Kilwa (Monfia, Pemba, Mombasa, Pate, Brava, Mogadishu and some smaller places) traded through the captain of Malindi, and were thus only indirectly subject to Mozambique.

The warehouse at Mozambique had a twofold function: it was a branch of the royal treasury, and it was the central storehouse of the whole coast. In it were placed for safe keeping the stocks of Indian cloth and other goods that were bartered for gold dust, tusks of elephants, ambergris and occasionally even agricultural produce. Cotton goods and beads of India were the staples of an immemorial trade largely captured from the Arabs.

This twofold aspect led to some experiments in the nature of the control exercised over the factory. The trade monopoly was sometimes worked directly by the treasury through its own officials, but more frequently it was farmed out to the governor as a personal grant. In the latter case he contracted to defray all the costs of government, and to pay a percentage (generally one per cent. on the value of the merchandise) to the royal treasury.²⁴² This system was in greater vogue at Mozambique and Ormuz than in the rest of the East.

But the modern use of the phrase "trade monopoly", with its terrible associations of world wars and food blockades, does not quite fit the mild Portuguese *estanque* of the sixteenth century. The *estanque*²⁴³ represented a much more humane institution. In regard to the people's food, no monopoly of any kind was sanctioned. That was called engrossing, and it was very properly considered a crime; though later trade-sodden centuries ceased to think of it in this light.

Even when the captains of Mozambique were granted the *estanque*, this did not include the full control of foodstuffs. If the cost of living rose so high that the people could not afford to buy food, it became the captain's duty to provide food until the King could refund the cost of the provisions out of the exchequer.

The merchandise acquired on the Mozambique coast was usually sent to Goa in what were called the barter ships, to distinguish them from the Cape liners.²⁴⁴ At Goa the goods were either disposed of in the open market or shipped to Lisbon in the annual ocean-liners, to be sold there by the council of India House. What the difficulties of this traffic were can be guessed from a few side-lights thrown upon them by contemporary records.

When John de Castro reached India in 1539 and made his first report to the King, he confessed his disappointment with the gold output of the coast of Mozambique.²⁴⁵ "Solomon's Ophir has not come up to expectations. Your Highness has too many fortresses here that absorb the gold at the rate of nearly sixty thousand cruzados a year, and there are too many small traders." Nine years before this, Jordan de Freitas had reported that there was a glut in the market of Sofala,²⁴⁶ that the officials were doing too much trade on their own account, and that the Arabs of Mombasa, Zanzibar and other islands, including Madagascar, were doing a brisk contraband trade with Cambaya. He quotes the current prices of goods in all these places to show that there was no possibility of a large revenue for the royal treasury at that moment.

In 1542 the factor of Sofala, John de Sá Pereira, started business there in exchange for a similar post in India, which he had received as a dowry of his wife. Her father had done valuable work as envoy to the Shah Ismail of Persia in 1524, and the daughter was thus rewarded for her father's services. These generous pension schemes were a noble weakness of King John, but he always stipulated that the husbands of these dowried ladies should be suitable officials for the work in hand. The Portuguese women who now began to settle in the East were a great gain to civilised life in India, to a lesser degree in East Africa, where the conditions were possible only for women of exceptional character. What the empire thus lost in trade or cash was more than justified, on the long view, in the shaping of more settled conditions of civilised life.

John de Sepúlveda, who became governor in 1541, had come from India to Mozambique in 1538,²⁴⁷ so that he had these years of local experience before assuming command. He visited Malindi, and found Mogadishu and Brava intriguing with the Turks. After punishing them and taking a stock of food for Mozambique, he found hostile Mombasa too strong to attack and remained a month in Zanzibar. "I found Sofala ruined by the civil wars of the Kafirs and sent envoys to the most powerful of the chiefs, Benomatapa. As his subjects have been in rebellion for two years, he asked us to send representatives to his country and seemed anxious to receive them."

The Bantu tribes were a source of trade disturbance not only to the Portuguese, but also to the Arabs.²⁴⁸ In 1547 both the Sultan of Malindi and his chief lieutenant, Hajji Sheikh, wrote to the Viceroy, complaining that they were being impoverished on account of the exactions of the Somalis, and asking permission to recoup their losses by sending about five ships to India with their merchandise, as there they were sure of finding a settled market. "We remember the old friendship of my father, grandfather, brother and of myself for the Portuguese. We send our congratulations on your victory over the Turks at Diu. If you need us write to us; and all of us, big and small, will go to you in March with the monsoon, leaving our possessions, wives and children, to assist you."

Whilst these letters were on the water, Ferdinand de Sousa de Távora was sailing from India with wider powers than usual as captain of Mozambique.²⁴⁹ In the ordinary way Cape Delgado was the boundary line between the jurisdictions of Mozambique and Malindi. Távora was given direct authority over Malindi as well, the right of trade to Sofala and power to appoint various

trade officials. This was because the Indian treasury owed him a considerable amount of money. In Malacca he had lent, free of interest, seven hundred *pardaos* to the factor at a critical moment, when he was setting out for the Moluccas, in order to arrest some Spanish poachers upon the Portuguese preserves in those spice islands. As a means of recovering the capital of this loan, he was allowed to trade in goods usually banned from this coast, until he had made a profit of five thousand *cruzados*. To this extent Mozambique trade was handicapped for a few years, in helping the King's government in the East during a crisis. It is the same method of pledging the credit of the empire for imperial purposes, which modern governments have used with the recklessness of despair and extended on a scale of astronomical figures. But Mozambique was well able to bear this burden. It indicates the sound elasticity of the State organism, and the benefit of a strong central government, whereby any abnormal pressure was eased and prevented from reaching the breaking point, by being partly transferred to some other part able to bear the strain.

A certain slackness in trade was visible during the year that George Cabral was Governor-General of India, due to his feeble administration, if we can believe his successor's letter to the Queen.²⁵⁰ According to this Viceroy, Afonso de Noronha, the ill effects were felt in Diu, Bassain, Ormuz, Sofala and Malacca. Smuggling was rife as never before between Sofala and Ormuz, to the detriment of the less wealthy Sofala. In order to restore the balance, Noronha sent Gaspar Luis de Veiga on a special expedition up the Zambesi River, and by letter charged the governor of Mozambique, Diogo de Mesquita (1552-1553) to lend him every possible assistance.²⁵¹

We see, as in a flash, the part that fortune has in the affairs of empires. Cabral only became Governor-General because the King's first nominee, George Teles de Meneses, was far away when Garcia de Sá died before the expiration of his term of office. Teles had been captain of Mozambique and sailed for Portugal when his successor arrived. If instead he had sailed for India, not only would India have fared better, but his knowledge of the Mozambique coast and his tried ability would have prevented this squandering of the resources of Mozambique.²⁵² Trade recovered, however, partly as a result of the new venture ordered by Noronha on the Zambesi, as we learn from the most famous of the treasurers of India. In Simon Botelho's *Tombo do Estado da India*, written in 1554, we read that the annual cargo of ivory sent to Goa in one year amounted to 150 *harts*.

What we need also to remember is that the grumbles of officials and traders are more in evidence than details of trade in the surviving documents, and are not suitable material for a full statement of the actual conditions of trade, especially when the business records have perished so lamentably. The memory, however, of two decisive facts remains to give us grounds for judging that the general position was sound. Mozambique never drew upon the King or the Viceroy for the costs of administration and maintenance of this vital fort and refreshment station; and the captaincy was reputed to be one of the plums of the public service. As a rule, it was computed to bring the holder of this office two hundred thousand *cruzados* during his tenure, whilst the much-advertised Ormuz rendered only 180 thousand, and the Malay islands only 130 thousand.²⁵³

These complicated issues help us to understand why John III and his Council could never make up their minds, whether it was most advantageous to give the trade monopoly of Mozambique to the Indian treasury with its branch in East Africa, or to the enterprise of the local governor. It was the era of experiments in the world expansion of trade, and the rulers of Portugal were learning through the ordinary human processes of trial and error. That they were really anxious to learn is clear from the frank records they have left of their honest efforts to give a square deal all round.

But John III would have repudiated the aberration of the nineteenth century, that trade and empire have laws of their own not subject to imponderables of a higher nature. This King was a conscious follower of the traditional idea of Christian imperialism, so clearly formulated by the Christian Emperor Justinian a thousand years before.²⁵⁴ "The majesty of empire must not only be adorned with military power, but armed with just laws, so that both in war and peace there may be justice in government." The legislation of the Portuguese King was framed upon this high ideal.

The Viceroy of India was charged with the duty of seeing that his subordinates at Mozambique and elsewhere carried out these laws. Periodically, the Viceroy was to examine and report, whether the governor of Mozambique interfered with the jurisdiction of the magistrates, whether his court was strictly impartial, whether he accepted presents for favours in the discharge of his office, whether he was dignified in dealing with women, whether he tried to keep the peace among the *fidalgos*, and whether he was exact in the administration of State funds and Church

funds.²⁵⁵ These are only a few of the searching heads of enquiry to which the central government in Lisbon expected full replies.

It is because these excellent regulations were seriously carried out, that Portugal has furnished so much material for the adverse propaganda of those nations that became her economic rivals later. The very worst that could be said about Portuguese administration was stated in official documents for the noble and patriotic purpose of checking the evils that grow up, as weeds do in every garden, wherever men have power and opportunity.

The first two captains appointed by John III were men whose training and antecedents were guarantees that they would set the proper pace, in the spirit of the regulations set forth on their *Regimento*. Diogo de Sepúlveda, whose period of office covers the first three years of John's reign, was not appointed by him, but left Lisbon at the beginning of the year in which King Manuel died.

But the results of one of the last appointments that Manuel made in India furnished convincing proof to his son that business experience was not enough in the higher officials to qualify for the good government of the Portuguese empire. In response to the clamour of those who shared Albuquerque's view,²⁵⁶ King Manuel sent out to Calicut in 1520 one of the most expert merchants of Lisbon, Andrew Dias, a leading light of the Chamber of Commerce there. He went out with a great flourish of trumpets to superintend the spice trade, and it was expected that he would break all previous records. The cargoes that he shipped home were indeed unprecedented in weight, and they were not drawn upon during the few remaining months of Manuel's reign. But when sent to market by King John, their quality showed that Dias had been tricked by the local Indian sharpers. The pepper had been packed green, and on the voyage lost nearly one-third of its bulk in drying by crumbling into dust.

The young King learned by such experiences that reliable knowledge was only to be acquired on the spot, and that young men were more likely to adapt themselves to the novel conditions of a foreign country. Educated youths of character and breeding would best command the respect and co-operation of all classes on the Mozambique coast, and hold high the name of Portugal. Such men were Lopo d'Almeida and Anthony de Silveira de Meneses, the first appointments of King John.

The former was a son of the Prior of Crato, one of the heads of the military order of the Knights of Saint John. Lopo was made Count of Abrantes in 1526; and his connection with this great market town of Abrantes, where the family estates

were, indicates that he had some knowledge of the internal commerce of Portugal. He sailed for Mozambique in the fleet of 1525.²⁵⁷

Silveira had sailed with Vasco da Gama the year before. He was a scion of the noble family of that name, whose head was Dom Luis, one of the two most trusted councillors of the King. Luis's fine tomb is still the chief art treasure of the chapel of Gois, where Anthony's father at this time was Lord of the Manor. Gois was a tin-mining centre whence the family revenues were largely drawn. As all these noble families were also farmers on a large scale, Anthony could have been no novice in the management of business, as then conducted.

But Anthony went overseas with the reversion only of the captaincy of Mozambique. The intention evidently was to give him the opportunity of some experience in India, before taking up his appointment in Mozambique. A temporary appointment seems to have been made at the end of 1522, "because the new government had more urgent matters to deal with."²⁵⁸

John de Mata was in charge at the end of 1523, and remained there until the arrival of Lopo de Almeida. Silveira's appointment was to take effect at the end of Almeida's term. Meanwhile, Silveira remained in India and married there Mecia, the daughter of the Governor-General, Lopo Vaz de Sampaio. Only in 1528 did he take up his duties in Mozambique. But four years after the completion of this term of office the great opportunity of his life came, when his name became a household word in Europe through the heroism and military skill during the first siege of Diu.

An important change in the legal machinery of Mozambique was made in 1548, which was some indication of the general development of social life that was taking place.²⁵⁹ In the early pioneer days the captains of Goa, Mozambique, Ormuz and Malacca had the power of inflicting capital punishment without appeal except in the cases of captains and *fidalgos*. But now a special court of appeal was established at Goa; and in all cases throughout the eastern empire where a Portuguese subject was sentenced to death, an appeal to Goa was obligatory. Even if the condemned man made no appeal, the local captain was charged to do so on his behalf. Francisco Alvares, a learned lawyer of Lisbon, was appointed the first judge of these appeals; and he was ordered to follow the statutes and usages of Lisbon, the court where he had practised all his life.

The vital importance of Mozambique arose from the fact that the rich Indian cargoes could not take the natural and

direct route to Portugal, because they were blocked by the Arab prowlers on the Red Sea, by the Turks in Egypt and by the Barbary pirates in the Mediterranean. King Manuel made strenuous efforts to find a land route across the continent of Africa, but in vain. During John's reign Mozambique was thrilled to hear that in 1528 a Portuguese had gone overland for the first time from India to Portugal without crossing Africa at all.

The hero of this feat was Anthony Tenreiro.²⁶⁰ The effort was made at the suggestion of the captain of Ormuz, Christopher de Mendoça. He wished the King to know as soon as possible that the fleet of Rais Solomon, which the Sultan of Turkey had sent to India, failed to reach its destination. Five years before this Tenreiro had gone to Persia with the ambassador, Balthazar Pessoa, who was being sent to cultivate closer relations with Shah Ismail, the ally of Portugal against the Turk. Barros tells us that Tenreiro, who was a nobleman of Coimbra, gave him all the information about Persia which Barros utilised in his lost *Geography*.

Having a knowledge of Persian and other oriental languages, Tenreiro volunteered to blaze a short trail to the homeland in spite of the obvious dangers. He started from Ormuz in September, reaching Basra when the caravans had already left for Aleppo. Hiring an Arab guide, he crossed the desert on a camel. In twenty-two days he reached Cocana, going thence to Aleppo and Tripoli in Syria. There he easily found a ship for Cyprus; and, hugging the shore for fear of Barbarossa and his company of pirates, he landed in Italy and made his way to Portugal. Though he did not publish an account of this journey until 1565, when it was printed in his own town of Coimbra, the fame of it was noised abroad wherever Portuguese sailors and captains gathered. Mozambique had no reason to fear this as an alternative route for trade, much less as a rival route; but the King was generous in showing his gratitude for the opening of this emergency path for commercial and military intelligence of an urgent kind.

The policy of John III underwent some modification in regard to Mozambique, as he gained experience of the changing conditions of the various dominions of his empire. At first a good deal of autonomy was left to the commandants of the various fortresses. But in 1533 the April squadron brought instructions that they should exercise their mandates in close co-operation and consultation with the Viceroy at Goa. In order that he might be free for this vital work of co-ordination, he was relieved of the

executive functions of admiral of the fleet. Next year Martin Afonso de Sousa arrived as admiral with five ships and two thousand men. The Viceroy was instructed that he would be most fruitfully employed at headquarters, guiding the policy of India, rather than risking his life in naval battles.²⁶¹

This also helped to emphasise the King's view that warfare, whether military or naval, was not his chosen instrument of government. The security of their trade must rest principally upon the confidence of the Indian and African peoples. In this spirit the sea-captain, Diogo da Silveira, once said that he "preferred to lose a ship full of gold rather than to break the word of a Portuguese". The best men like Leonardo Nunes²⁶² looked upon the armed forces of land and sea "as an antidote to the poison which the Muslim were constantly injecting into the minds of the people of India". It was commonly said that, to keep the whip-hand of these restless Moors, every governor of India ought to be young, a person who would stand no nonsense, and he must be no mere shopkeeper.

Another reform which the King introduced into fortresses like Mozambique was the appointment of a receiver of revenue. This was done on the suggestion of Martin Afonso de Sousa, who ruled India from 1542 to 1545. "If the King is to have a large income for public purposes," he said, "there must be many who earn money, but only one empowered to spend it." The experiment, however, was not a complete success, and did not eliminate all the evils of waste and fraud.

The Portuguese never took refuge in the kind of excuse made by a recent writer for the far greater frauds of the officials of the English East India Company.²⁶³ "The rulers of India were subject to peculiar temptations, not the least of which was in the character of the people they were attempting to rule. The Duke of Wellington said that he had never met a Hindoo with a single good quality, and added that he thought the Mussulmans even worse." The Portuguese realised that easy opportunities of fraud cannot safely be left to the mass of men of any race, and the immense distance of these officials from the central government almost invited needy captains and governors to help themselves.

Yet on the whole, the government of the Portuguese empire was carried on honestly and efficiently in Mozambique out of the local revenue, and both fidalgos and lesser officials were to be found who spent their private fortunes on the nation's work. The elegant Diogo de Almeida²⁶⁴ was no rare sample of a high class of official, when he refused the captaincy of Diu at a time

in which it was a lucrative job on a point of honour; whilst he accepted it six years later, when things were bad, "because he had come to serve and not to make money".

The revenue of Mozambique in trade and taxes was large enough to enable the governor to send much gold to the Indian treasury. The amounts look small according to modern standards, but they were immense measured in the scales of the sixteenth century. Between 1492 and 1600 Europe's supply of gold was multiplied by ten on account of the gold imported through Portugal and Spain. In the case of Portugal, Mozambique gold was undoubtedly one of the hidden and forgotten factors of the financial stability that enabled the empire to hold its own for centuries.

Those writers who project the economic weakness of Portugal of the nineteenth century into this stage of her imperial history lack the historic sense as much as Seeley, who saw all history as a preparation for the British Empire. At the end of the reign of John III the Portuguese empire was the envy of the European nations. It was because the foundations of an eastern empire were then so truly laid, that when the Dutch and English came to the shores of the Indian Ocean, they found themselves checked by the voice of Portugal everywhere. They were obliged to use Portuguese words and currency even in dealing with African and oriental races, and they considered themselves lucky if they could obtain Portuguese maps. Neither Dutch nor English nor French were ever able to conquer the sentinel fortress of the Portuguese empire at Mozambique.

CHAPTER VI.

THE REDUCTION OF MOMBASA IN 1528.

FOR NEARLY A QUARTER OF A CENTURY Mombasa had led the uneventful life of an Arab town sidetracked by the Portuguese on their way to India, when the newly appointed Governor-General, Nuno da Cunha, appeared before it with a formidable force in 1528. The last time that such a demonstration in force was made, it was led by the first Viceroy, Francis de Almeida, in 1505. Having tried conciliation, and failed to appease these dour sheikhs of Mombasa by methods which had succeeded in other parts of the coast, he determined to tame them, hoping that fear would be some substitute for the friendship which they were not prepared to return.

Hans Mayr, a German trader who was in one of Almeida's ships, has preserved the impressions of an Arab correspondent in Mombasa, who records how severe and effective this lesson was.²⁶⁵ Writing to a friend in Malindi, this Arab of Mombasa said: "God keep you, Said Ali; this is to inform you that a great prince of Europe has wrought great havoc here with fire. Flight only could save from his wrath. Not only were men killed and burned, but even the birds of heaven were dashed to the ground. Such is the stench of the corpses that I dare not enter the town. I can hardly describe the immense wealth that they carried away. This is to give you timely warning, so that you may escape to a safe place."

But Malindi itself was always a safe place, as the Arabs there were fast friends of the Portuguese. Wholesale slaughter never really horrifies the patriot or statesman on the winning side. The first World War made a holocaust of corpses greater than the whole population of Portugal in 1528, with all the fresh horrors that modern science has added to death in war. And in that very year a Muslim prince of the Dekkan, Ismail Adil Shah, was preparing to exterminate a neighbouring nation of co-religionists;²⁶⁶ and the Muslim historian tells us that "he was induced by religious and political motives; for, to use the wolf with gentleness and the snake with favour, was contrary to the dictates of wisdom."

On such a subject moral indignation could find no place in the mind of an Arab. But the desire for revenge did. "That fire

consumed the greater part of the city of abominations," writes Barros, "but it left a smouldering spark of indignation."²⁶⁷ The Imam of Mombasa never rested in his efforts to form a new league against Portugal; but little came of these efforts, because Mozambique and Malindi were too well satisfied under Portuguese protection to dream of disturbing a peace such as this coast of Azania had never known, even in the days of Ptolemy.

Why, then, did Nuno da Cunha attack Mombasa? It was a tangled skein of events that led up to it. When he left Portugal no such design was clearly in his mind. The first months of 1528 were unusually free from political anxiety at home. The King's anxieties were mainly about India and the Far East.²⁶⁸

When Nuno da Cunha was appointed to rule India, he received secret instructions,²⁶⁹ telling him how to deal with the most urgent of the King's problems, the dispute with the Emperor Charles V over the Molucca Islands. The Spaniards were still sending ships there to carry home rich cargoes of spices. Much as King John felt the loss of money and trade that this entailed to Portugal, he refused to allow such vulgar considerations to interfere with his friendship for Spain.

He could not forget that his Hapsburg brother was the strong guardian of eastern Europe against the Turk; and that the Slavs of the Balkans, the Hungarians and the Mamluk nobles, all together, could never achieve the victories that the Spanish soldiers alone had always been able to gain over the Janissaries.²⁷⁰ The treason towards Europe of the two contemporary French Kings, in allying themselves with the Sultan of Constantinople, filled John III with disgust. He would rather lose all the spices of the East than openly antagonise the European champion of Christian civilisation against the Turk.

In detail Nuno da Cunha was ordered to prevent, if possible, the sailing of these Spanish ships; and for this purpose even to bore holes in their hulls, if they were found in Mozambique or any Indian or Malay port. But on no account were the Spaniards to be taken prisoners, or treated uncivilly or their cargoes confiscated. If their ships were disabled, the officers and crews were to be maintained as friends and gentlemen at the King's expense.

The troubles in India, however, were of a more straightforward kind. Reports had reached the King that reinforcements were badly needed to replace the wastage of war and disease, that the Turks were getting bold again in the Red Sea, and that Lopo Vaz de Sampaio had split India into factions because of the circumstances of his accession to the supreme command. His predecessor had died suddenly, and Sampaio was one of

those named in the letters patent of succession; but many were dissatisfied with his ambitious methods, though all recognised him to be a capable man.

To cope with such difficulties, a man of high standing was needed. The King was confident that he had a suitable person in his Treasurer, Nuno da Cunha, son of the famous Tristan da Cunha who had served King Manuel so brilliantly. Nuno had served under his father in Madagascar, South Africa and India, and was well acquainted with the conditions in these countries.

The disturbing reports had been brought home in the ships of Tristan de Veiga and Francis de Anhaia,²⁷¹ and the King received them in his pleasant villa on the Mondego near Coimbra. Amid the olive groves of this quiet spot he was resting for the summer months. Normally, the preparations for the equipment of the Indian fleet did not begin until the end of the year. But the King at once grasped the fact that the next fleet must needs be of unusual size and expense if it was to meet this urgent call of the Indian empire.

He left Coimbra immediately and went down to his orchards at Almeirim, in order that he might more expeditiously consult his ministers, as Almeirim is only about forty miles from Lisbon. Recruiting for the army and navy began at once, and a sum of 200 thousand cruzados over and above the customary cost of the annual fleet was added to this year's budget.²⁷²

On the eighteenth of April, 1528, eleven large ships left Lisbon under the command of Nuno da Cunha, who placed two of his brothers in command of ships; and among the other captains were Anthony de Saldanha and Garcia de Sá. The Turk and the Arab would not be allowed to wrest from Portugal the suzerainty of the East, or to alienate by a show of superior force the friendship of the Hindu kings.

But time and tide are capricious neutrals whom no belligerent can coerce, and who are often oblivious of the best of causes. So at least it must have seemed to Nuno da Cunha, when one of his ships foundered near the Cape Verde Islands. It was an old trawler from the Bay of Biscay which collided in a storm with the heavy galleon, *Castello*, captained by Simon da Cunha. One hundred and fifty persons were drowned, and among them a man with his wife and three grown-up daughters who were going out to settle in India. An episode like this indicates that European families were already beginning to look to the East as a new home, though contemporary documents rarely mention the matter expressly.

The winds of the South Atlantic scattered the ships, and Nuno da Cunha doubled the Cape of Good Hope on the last day of July. After some days of dead calm, he found himself on the west coast of Madagascar on the twenty-third of August. As water was running short and they had only sixty hogsheads for 1,144 men in three ships, the Governor tried to make Cape Santa Maria, on the south coast of Madagascar. But the irresistible south-easter carried them to a notoriously dangerous port, Santiago, where two ships of last year's fleet had come to grief.

Here a spacious and inviting entrance concealed many dangers. Inside there is a basin of steep reefs under water, so that the stern of the normal ship would lie in eighty fathoms of water while the prow would be in twelve. This basin is dominated by high and steep lands, the only open country being the bed of a river of sweet water into which two tributaries fall. Their junction is near the sea, and large ships can go a good distance up stream. As soon as the ships anchored, negroes like those of Mozambique came to the narrow beach with sheep, fowls, grain and lentils, anxious to barter them for iron articles of little value to the Portuguese.

The blacks were so well pleased with the treatment that they received, that a few days later they brought to the shore a Portuguese whose skin was so tanned and his hair so matted, that he looked uglier than a negro. When he first boarded Nuno da Cunha's ship he was dumb with joy, but gradually recovered his speech.

He then told how he was one of those wrecked the year before in the ship of Alexius de Abreu. That ship and Manuel de Lacerda's were hurled upon the rocks at night. Next morning the survivors made a few rafts out of the remnants of the ships, and with this help managed to reach the mainland. Meantime, Lacerda and his men had begun to march inland, but the natives could give the survivors of the other ship no information about their direction, as these blacks of Madagascar were not accustomed to leave their own districts.²⁷³

Being thus thrown upon their own resources, the stragglers of Abreu's ship determined to build large rafts, in some port whence they could sail for Mozambique with a sporting chance of reaching it. The wild man now on Nuno da Cunha's ship was left behind by his companions in distress, because he was too ill to keep pace with them, and they dared not wait. The natives robbed him as long as he had anything to steal. After that they treated him well, like one of themselves. This much buffeted

Portuguese lived to reach Goa, where he married and became a bailiff of the city.

But Anthony de Saldanha, who had sailed on ahead, came upon further traces of these shipwrecked crews. As he was passing an unnamed part of the coast, he noticed fires ashore in the form of a cross, and made responsive signals night and day for eight days. It was impossible to land on this stretch of coast, but Saldanha waited in the hope that the signallers ashore would push out in some *almadia*, or other light craft. Before anything of this kind happened, a big wind rose and forced Saldanha to continue his voyage to Mozambique.

The matter of the wreck was duly reported to the King; and in the year 1530 he sent two ships captained by the brothers Edward and Diogo de Fonseca to look for them. Edward with ten men was lost in a dinghy on the rough Madagascar coast. His brother succeeded in finding five men: three of Lacerda's ship, one of Abreu's and a Frenchman from a Breton ship wrecked here later. These men stated that their comrades were so scattered throughout the country, that it would be impossible to find them. After taking the rescued men to Mozambique in 1531, Diogo de Fonseca sailed for India, but was lost at sea near the island of Socotra.

A sequel of this story which happened fifty years later is worth a passing note here.²⁷⁴ Some grandchildren of the wrecked men lost in Madagascar were discovered by a party of Dutchmen wrecked at Saint Lucia Point. Thus their existence came to the ears of an Augustinian friar, Athanasius de Jesus, who was a prisoner of the Dutch in Bintam. He passed the information on to the Archbishop of Goa, Alexius de Meneses, who at that time (1608-1609) was acting governor of India. The Archbishop charged a Jesuit mission, which was about to start for Mozambique with Stephen de Ataide, to find out what they could and to care for these descendants of their countrymen. If the forces of nature sometimes played strange tricks with the Portuguese, such blows never extinguished their keen sense of human values.

In the case of Nuno da Cunha this was soon seen. Being favourably impressed with the account of the Madagascar people given by his wrecked countrymen, he sent some fidalgos ashore to explore the habits of the people, the nature of the land and the prospects of trade. Peter Lobo, with his companions, left their boat several days at her moorings whilst they interviewed the tribes they could reach; and they returned to report that the natives were friendly and guileless, unlike the negroes of Guinea. The country was fertile, but the inhabitants seemed

neither to know nor to care about such commodities as gold, silver or spices.²⁷⁵

Before the Governor had time to deliberate, out of the west one of those gales swooped which the experienced mariner knew that he could not trifle with or coax. The decision was taken out of his hands. The three ships in port began to roll violently, the flagship suffering most. Its cables broke; and fresh cables that were substituted had so deteriorated in the storeroom during the voyage, that they snapped almost at once.

The crowded ship was thrown upon the reefs, and her destruction seemed so certain that some were preparing to jump overboard, hoping to save their lives by swimming. But high above the roar of the wind the voice of Nuno da Cunha was heard, ordering everyone to remain on the ship until he could signal for the dinghies, which were available near the shore and on the other ships. Thus the whole complement of sailors and passengers was transferred safely to the other two ships, the flagship being abandoned and burned.

Very little was saved in the way of cargo. On the fourth of September they sailed into the open ocean. As their inhospitable strip of Madagascar coast was beyond the latitude of Mozambique, and as the hurricane now veered from the south, Nuno da Cunha ordered the pilot to make for Malindi, where he hoped to find ships to relieve the burden on his two ships, which were dangerously overcrowded.

"But even in this comparatively short journey fate seemed to delight in teasing Nunho da Cunha," writes John de Barros. Cunha's ship lurched somehow into the troublesome channels of the Comoro Islands, and was only saved by the rare skill of John de Lisboa, the most renowned of the pilots. But he himself was nonplussed one morning when the dawning light showed that they were in a basin of shoals which seemed to have no exit. Providence had saved them from destruction in entering this death-trap at night, but how were they to get out of it? Their astrolabes told them that they were near the island of Zanzibar; so the Governor's brother, Pero Vaz da Cunha, took a boat with some men, and rowed towards the mainland of Africa to find their bearings. Two boys of noble birth in the party landed on the shore, and captured an old Arab who seemed a likely person. He turned out to be the leading pilot of the coast; and finding himself among friends, he willingly undertook the task that was forced upon him in the first instance.²⁷⁶

Fifteen miles further on they came to the town of Zanzibar, where the Sultan was a friend of the Portuguese. He supplied

them with pilots and two *zambucos* to guide the Governor's ship to the port of Zanzibar. But as no large ships were to be had in this land, Nuno da Cunha thought it safest to leave two hundred of his sick under the protection of the Sultan of Zanzibar, where they could obtain nourishing food. He left money and goods to pay for their entertainment. Alexius de Sousa Chichorro was appointed captain of this band, with orders to bring them to Malindi as soon as their health was restored. Manuel Machado was made business manager, as he had been trading for four years in the country and knew the local dialects.

Having thus also lightened his ship, the Governor sailed for Malindi, which he reached on the eighth of October. There he found the other ship under the command of Ferdinand de Lima with 150 of the men very ill.

There, too, he met the resourceful Diogo Botelho Pereira,²⁷⁷ who had been commissioned by the King to scour the whole coast from Table Bay to Cape Corrientes, in search of Luis de Meneses, brother of the last Governor of India appointed by King Manuel. Some sailors had reported to John III that they had seen luminous signs of distress near Corrientes, and he was last heard of in the vicinity of the Cape of Good Hope. Nobody yet knew that he had been captured by French pirates and killed. Botelho also had been driven out of his course round Madagascar by the same winds, and was waiting favourable weather to complete his task.²⁷⁸

Malindi was always a pleasant interlude in the Portuguese voyages. But Nuno was too intent on the King's business in India to wish for any further delay. In Lisbon it had been impressed upon him that the sooner Sampaio was superseded as Governor-General of India, the better for the peace and prosperity of the empire. Discarding the advice of his pilots and taking Botelho with him, he resolved to defy the monsoon and set out on the fourteenth of October.

He left 150 invalids behind him under the care of a nobleman from Madeira named Jordan de Freitas. But the monsoon was not so easily defeated. After struggling against it for weeks and making no progress in the direction of India, he gave up the contest with the steep seas that the winds churned up, and returned to Malindi on the sixth of November.

Then the serious problem arose of finding maintenance for over two thousand men on this coast of Africa until the winter was over. That was an effort beyond the power of the hospitable Sheikh of Malindi, with all his goodwill. Mombasa, however, was

within easy reach, only sixty-five miles distant by sea, and it was rich and productive. Moreover, Malindi was a rough and dangerous coast, whilst Mombasa had a safe port during the winter storms.

Nuno da Cunha sent a messenger to the Imam of Mombasa, asking permission to anchor there during these difficult months.²⁷⁹ But the Imam declined to receive such powerful guests, fearing that the Portuguese request might be the pretext for another attempt to bombard and perhaps to capture the town.

It was a tragic position, and the tragedy lay in the sober facts. Cunha could not allow his army to melt away through starvation, and the Arab ruler's fears were genuine. The Governor-General might have invoked the law of self-preservation, the most imperious of nature's laws. He preferred to have the additional justification of asserting the rights of a weaker people, violated by Mombasa. This was not the mere pretext by which so many modern empires have been built up. During his recent visit to Zanzibar, the Sultan had begged him to chastise Mombasa for raids that it had made on his territory. On Cunha's first visit to Malindi he had stated publicly, in conversation with the Sheikh, that he regretted the necessity of rushing off to India, as he would have wished to comply with the appeal of loyal Zanzibar.

Now that he had months of enforced leisure on his hands, his duty towards an ally of Portugal demanded immediate action. As he proposed to deliver a lightning blow, he refused to wait for a force of eight hundred men that the Malindi ruler promised him within a few weeks. But he accepted the offer of two leading Muslim of Malindi, Sacoeja and Cide Bubac, who had ready 150 soldiers fully trained.

The last named was personally interested in the success of these naval operations. At first Cunha thought of installing as the new governor of Mombasa a certain Munyo Mohamed, son of that Sheikh of Malindi who had received Vasco da Gama so graciously on his pioneer voyage.

But Munyo got to know of Cunha's intention, "because everybody is glad to spread good news," writes Barros. It was, however, not exactly good news for this wise person. He placed his position frankly before Nuno da Cunha. "My mother was a Kafir slave, but my half-brother Cide Bubac is a descendant of the kings of Kilwa, as well as a nephew of the present ruler of Malindi. Though he is a youth, he will command more respect than I should." He begged Cunha to give this lad the appointment.

The Governor-General was much impressed with the political wisdom of this African, but he would make no promise. The matter would only be decided when the battle was finally won. Meantime, Mohamed joined the fleet with a contingent of sixty men in a *sambuco*, and his brother with a similar boat and the same number of men. The Portuguese mustered seven ships and eight hundred men, who sailed out of Malindi on the fourteenth of November.

Three days later, a Friday at midday, the Portuguese sighted the island of Mombasa.²⁸⁰ They were at once accosted by an Arab of some standing, who was waiting for them in his own boat, which was full of soldiers. He was master of a territory called Tondo, and volunteered for the fray. Cunha replied that he had all the men he needed. But the Arab insisted, as he, too, had an account to settle with Mombasa. The Imam there had overrun his lands and made him a prisoner; and he was only free now because some friendly tribes of the Somalis, called Sopangas, demanded his liberation after defeating Mombasa in battle. He pointed to a silver chain round his ankle, which he had sworn to carry until he had captured the Imam of Mombasa. Such determination showed the newcomer to be a valuable ally, and he was allowed to join the Portuguese.

Warning of the impending attack had been sent to Mombasa by Arab sympathisers in Malindi. They were therefore as ready as could be. A great bastion at the entrance of the channel between the island and the mainland had been fortified with big guns, fished up out of the wrecks of two Portuguese galleons,²⁸¹ and two renegades had been found to mount and serve the guns. In the town of Mombasa the Imam enlisted six thousand Kafirs, experts in the use of the assegai and extremely mobile.

When the Portuguese fleet anchored in the roadstead, Nuno da Cunha sent two of the smaller ships into the channel to sound for deep water, where the big ships might safely anchor. Though he had with him Arab pilots fully conversant with the sea here, he preferred to confide this difficult and risky work to his own brother and to Diogo Botelho Pereira. They ran the gauntlet of the big guns without any casualties.

The main fleet was not so fortunate when the signal came that the road was clear for them, and they set sail to take their places in the channel within sight of the town of Mombasa. In the ship of Jordan de Freitas, one man was killed by a shot that amputated his leg. Lionel de Taide's ship had its rigging smashed to pieces. The purser of Botelho's ship was killed and one of its guns put out of action. Cide Bubac in his *sambuco*

was hit and lost his right arm. The flagship and the other large galleon of Lima's were easy targets and frequently hit, but without serious damage. The Governor ordered that no shot should be fired back, as he still hoped that a show of force would bring about the peaceful surrender of the town.

The sun had already set when they anchored in the places prepared for them by the pilots, and every ship was covered with blood and splinters, but none of them was disabled. Then Nuno da Cunha took a skiff in order to scout for a suitable place whence a surprise attack could be made on the town, as no friendly move had come from that direction. He visited the spot from which Francis de Almeida's offensive had started in 1505, and saw that a formidable scaffolding and other defence works were erected in this stretch where the city walls were low.

When the moon rose he sent Ferdinand de Lima to take further observations.²⁸² The Kafir garrison was evidently awake, because two of the men in the scout boat were badly wounded by poisoned arrows. To wear down the nerves of the townsmen, the Portuguese ships kept up a constant fusillade upon the town, wherever the gunners saw the sheen of lamps. But, on the other hand, the flashes of the naval guns gave a splendid target to the Kafir warriors, who rained assegais on the ships all the night long.

In the morning, whilst the Governor-General was still hesitating as to the exact spot of the beach where a landing for attack could best be made, an Arab was brought to him who had just been picked up in the water.²⁸³ Being evidently something of a statesman, this Arab discerned that the star of Portugal was rising on this coast and wished to follow it. He had fled from the town because he admired the Portuguese, and he now advised them to make their attack from behind a mosque situated on the only part of the shore where boats could be beached. All the rest of the shore was dangerous because they would have to wade through water breast-high, so that they could not use their small guns.

This man guided the storming party of six hundred Portuguese led by Pero Vaz da Cunha. Among them were two hundred musketeers captained by Ferdinand Coutinho, "who afterwards returned to Portugal overland, and settled on a farm near the Church of the Holy Angels," writes Couto. Behind them came three hundred Arabs of Malindi,²⁸⁴ and Nuno da Cunha was in personal command of the whole regiment.

The walls of the town were about a quarter of a mile from the spot where the Portuguese landed, and the Arabs could be seen manning the walls, evidently making these their first line

of defence. Nuno ordered the attack to begin at once. His brother, Pero Vaz, advanced to the walls with a band of shock troops: 150 noblemen and thirty sharpshooters. With the war cry, *Santiago*,²⁸⁵ they rushed the walls; and brave as the Arabs were, they fled before this wave of physical strength and national ardour. The first to flee was a Portuguese renegade in charge of a redoubt with five small cannons outside the city gates. Then the onrushing Portuguese scaled the walls like birds.

There were three thousand fighting Arabs in the town, but they had shown their sense of inferiority by evacuating all the women and children the previous day, camping them in a dense wood some miles away. This at least made it easier to leave any given spot where they felt themselves beaten. The whole town was soon in the hands of the Portuguese. Nuno da Cunha occupied the Imam's palace, and men from the ships were brought over to be comfortably housed in the best of the dwellings. The Arabs retired to fresh lines about half a league from the gates, determined to torment the invaders by constant raids.

One episode of these raids deserves to live. An Arab damsel upbraided her lover, who was a son of Munyo Mototo, the governor of the town, in these terms: "What weaklings you gentlemen of Mombasa are, to allow us women to be ejected from our homes, and placed in the power of black Kafirs!" The boy was girded into an oath that he would wreak such vengeance upon some high-placed Portuguese, that no woman would be able to call him a coward again. With a few other lads of the same mind he stole one night into an abandoned house, to await his chance. Next morning early, Ferdinand de Lima was passing the house with some friends; and though the Arab boy did not know him, he saw by his dress that he was a nobleman. Rushing from the open door, he seized him round the waist and tried to dash him on the ground. But the fidalgo was agile and strong, though no longer young, and grasped his assailant's arms, holding him until some of his men came up to despatch the daring youth.

Not a single Portuguese was killed on land during the attack on Mombasa, though twenty-five were wounded, of whom Rodrigo de Lima and two others died some days later, poisoned by assegai wounds. The booty that fell into their hands was enormous for those days, and many of the rank and file were able to retire to Portugal rich with the gold and jewels that they dug out of the floors of the houses.

The event was regarded as so important that Diogo Botelho Pereira was sent home as soon as possible, which was the twenty-seventh of December, to give the King full details of the victory;

and he reached Lisbon the following June. "If you could see the great size of this city," writes Barros,²⁸⁶ "its difficult situation, its narrow streets where women could almost have defended it by throwing stones from the windows and flat roofs, killing all our men, it seems as if God worked a miracle to hand it over to us, by blinding the Arabs who evacuated it so rashly."

But the main object had been to give the men of the India fleet food and comparative rest during their enforced stay on this coast. Real rest they could not have, until an end was put to the constant raids from the Arab remnants in the encampment outside the town. This was accomplished by two brothers of the De Mello family, the same noble youths who had distinguished themselves at Zanzibar. They organised a secret counter-raid, and carried it out successfully in the dead of night; so that the Arabs retired finally to the woods, where they had left their women and children, and gave up the contest.

A deadlier foe now appeared in the climate. Up to the end of March, when they sailed away, 370 men died of fever, and among them the Governor's brother, Pero Vaz da Cunha. His genuine humanity had won him the hearts of all the sailors and soldiers, and made him doubly dear to his brother in command.

Lisbon was aghast when it read the names of the other noblemen also and the long list of soldiers who had succumbed to the then mysterious disease of Mombasa. It was worse than the biggest battle with the Turks. Dona Brites, the widow of Pero Vaz da Cunha, honoured her husband's memory by devoting the rest of her life to the service of the poor in the Franciscan convent of Madre de Deos in Lisbon, as her two sons were grown up. In Mombasa the captains begged Nuno da Cunha to leave them to execute his orders, and to make his headquarters in some healthier corner of the coast, as his life was the most needed for the service of the nation. "If I did such a thing," he replied, "however could I justify it in the sight of God, the King or my own honour?"²⁸⁷

Moreover, the Governor-General felt, now that the town had been delivered into his hands, that it became his duty to make such a settlement that these bullies of Mombasa should have no renewed power to dragon their weaker brethren in Islam or the Portuguese stations of the coast. Of course, the wily Imam was ready for a new deal.

He sent a kinsman named Munyo Mototo to offer humble terms, if the Portuguese would spare the city and allow him to return to the home of his fathers. Then he would be prepared to become an ally of Portugal; he would pay an annual tribute

of 1,500 *meticals*²⁸⁸ of gold, of which he was ready to pay three years down; he would pay a ransom of 12,000 *meticals* for the city; and he would undertake to harbour no Turks or other enemies of Portugal.

This submissive attitude of the King of Mombasa, as the Portuguese called him, had been induced by the stern measures that Nuno da Cunha had adopted to complete the conquest of the town. Wishing to husband the lives of his men, he had recruited a large body of Swahili from the mainland, to drive the Arabs completely out of the island of Mombasa. The task would have exhausted his own men, as they had neither the mobility of the natives, nor their knowledge of the ground, nor the use of the fleet assegai.

This force of 1,500 natives he had obtained through the Sheikh of Malindi, who sent his nephew and some leading Arabs to captain them. They were reinforced by a volunteer contingent from the Montangane near by, a tribe which had accounts to settle with Mombasa. The Arabs of Zanzibar and Pemba, when they heard what was afoot, sent supplies of meat and other food-stuffs, as they also were concerned that the powerful tyrant of Mombasa should be restrained.

After being driven from the island, the Imam established his headquarters on the mainland, a cannon shot from the spot where the channel could be forded at low tide. Whilst the offer of peace was being discussed, there was an informal armistice, and the Arabs were allowed to come and go or even to do business in the town. This friendly attitude of the Portuguese was their undoing. The Arabs now saw for themselves what ravages the malarial fever had made, both in the number and stamina of their conquerors. They came to the obvious conclusion that Nuno da Cunha and his army would soon vanish, either by deaths from malaria or by sailing away. On this account they delayed the fulfilment of their original offers. In a vain attempt to disabuse them of this idea, the Governor ordered an attack in force on the camp of the Imam. Though successful from the military point of view, it could not change the facts now well known to the Arabs. They could comfortably afford to wait.

The month of February, 1529, was full of incident and worry for Nuno da Cunha. He received a complete and disturbing account of the squabbles in India from a trader named Pantaleon Pinto, who came to Mombasa on the last day of January, after doing business in Malindi with Indian beads and cloth. The Governor learned that the hostile section of the Muslim in India

were spreading rumours that he had gone down with his ship, and they were gloating over it as an item of propaganda calculated to damage the prestige of Portugal.

A few days later Sebastian Ferreira sailed into port with letters from Lopo Vaz de Sampaio, the storm centre of the factions in Goa. In a way these letters were more cheering. Ferreira was commandant of the Goa fortress, and he brought the good tidings that two of Cunha's leading captains had arrived safely in India: Anthony de Saldanha and Garcia de Sá. These arrivals had raised the spirits of all the moderate men, who now knew that the King's deputy was close at hand, and would soon settle all the causes of the present discontents.

Then fate administered one of those backhanders which it sometimes deals to the best of men. Hearing that the Arabs were expecting a rich ship from Cambaia, the Governor sent two row-boats to intercept it, and they were joined by a brigantine on the way. The Cambaia boat fled into a narrow channel, and was cornered so that many of the Arab crew were killed. The Portuguese were so busy looting the ship, that they did not notice how the tide was running out. At last it left them high and dry on the sands. Then the Arabs on shore brought big guns to bear on the caged ships. Only one man, a rower, escaped from the brigantine, which was shattered to pieces. The men in the other boats fought for hours until the tide flowed once more, when they made good their escape. But twenty-two Portuguese were killed, and among them were two noblemen of note, Roderick de Lima and Lionel de Taide.²⁸⁹

The Portuguese were still aching from their wounds two days later, when a ship arrived from Ormuz with medical comforts and abundance of food. Pedralvares de Soveral, the commandant of Ormuz, had heard of their needs, and sent his deputy, Christopher de Mendoza, with this timely assistance. It reminded Cunha that, if he wished to save his men, he must leave this pestilent town and take refuge in some haven like Ormuz, until he could sail for India.

What, however, was to be done with Mombasa? To solve this problem with the best advice that he could get, the Governor called a special meeting of his leading captains. It was agreed to offer the town to their ally, Cide Bubac. But when he was called in, he would only consent to the arrangement on condition that he was given a garrison of 150 Portuguese to support him, as he did not feel able to hold it against the local Arabs with the mere help of his own Arab following.

This condition Nuno da Cunha could not contemplate. A bitter experience had taught him that such a garrison of Portuguese would barely survive another summer in Mombasa. Only one course seemed left: to burn the place down, so that the hostile Arabs would be compelled to live on the mainland, and they would no longer be in a position to harass the friends of Portugal and her sea routes. This piece of destruction was committed to those Arabs who had followed in the wake of Nuno da Cunha, and they performed it with a will, as the various groups had their several scores to settle with Mombasa. Nothing was left of it but a heap of smoking cinders.

The western monsoon which wafts the ships to Ormuz usually begins to blow in the middle of March. With this wind all the invaders prepared to leave the devastated island. Meantime, the rumour of this terrible retribution had spread up and down the coast, and among the islands. When the Governor reached Malindi he found the envoys of the island of Brava there, asking to become vassals of Portugal. They brought with them 750 *meticals* of gold in payment of the tribute of the first three years. They reckoned the money well invested in securing the protection of the invincible Portuguese fleet. They still remembered the severe lesson given them by Tristan da Cunha, and now underlined by his son at Mombasa.

At Malindi the Governor was joined by his brother Simon, who had wintered at Mozambique.²⁹⁰ Alexius de Sousa also brought the survivors of the large party that had tarried at Zanzibar to convalesce. From Mozambique came Francis de Sá and Francis de Mendoça with their ships. Here a grand council of the captains, pilots and boatswains was held, to decide whether they should sail straight for India, or rest for some months at Ormuz and there await the September monsoon for India. The majority voted the weather too stormy for India; so on the third of April they set sail for Ormuz.

But before doing so, Cunha despatched Sebastian Ferreira to India with replies to the letters that he had brought from Sampaio; and these reached their destination in May. A much less grateful duty was that of sentencing two Portuguese to be hanged for piracy on the high seas.

Luckily, as it turned out later, the Governor left behind at Malindi eighty of the sick men who were still too weak to travel. Among them was the noble captain from Madeira, Jordan de Freitas. They were all placed under the care of Peter Homem, the newly appointed commandant of the fortress of Malindi. As soon as Cunha's back was turned the Arabs of Mombasa

began to prepare an attack on Malindi. But when it took place, the Portuguese invalids there had so far recovered that they were able to repel the invaders.

On his way to Ormuz he halted at two places. In African waters the nondescript island of Socotra had to be inspected, not so much for its own sake, but to prevent the Turks from using it as a basis of operations against African and Indian shipping. "The land is as barren as the inhabitants are rough and indolent," writes Barros; yet he tells us that nature without much assistance from man produced some useful plants, such as the renowned aloe of Socotra. So that the islanders might continue to ply their modest trade upon the sea, the new Governor confirmed in the King's name the letters of safe conduct held by the local Sheikh, which guaranteed his ships the protection of Portugal against all comers.

The first port of the Persian kingdom of Ormuz was the Arabian town of Kalhat, which Nuno da Cunha's ship entered on the tenth of May, 1529. Portugal had important interests here in the immemorial trade of a noble breed of Arab horses. They were bought here from the agents of the Bedouin, and shipped to Goa, where there was a ready market for them. The local representative of Portugal in this lucrative traffic was named Gomes Ferreira, who was a friend of the influential Duke of Braganza. The Guazil and other Arabs complained to Nuno da Cunha that they were not receiving fair play from Ferreira and other Portuguese agents. The Governor at once issued a proclamation, calling upon all who had grievances against Portuguese in the country to state them, so that he might enquire into the facts. A crier was sent out to make his proclamation known throughout the land. The result was that all justified complaints were rectified, and several Portuguese officials were taken prisoners to Ormuz.

This act was typical of the long administration of Nuno da Cunha in India. For nine years he was to mete stern justice to friend and foe, and to uphold the prestige of Portuguese power, until his body was laid to rest in the sea near Table Bay in 1538. We have seen how he made the Sofala coast safe for the friends of Portugal, and unsafe for those who plotted to undermine the legitimate interests of his country. The knowledge that he was in Goa exercised a salutary influence upon the hotheads of Mombasa during his long period of office.

CHAPTER VII.

TWO TRAGEDIES NEAR CAPE AGULHAS.

CAPE AGULHAS has been the grave of the ships and fortunes of many renowned captains. Only the lucky star of Diogo Botelho Pereira saved him from being engulfed in its waters on the twentieth of January of the year 1536.²⁹¹ He had crossed the Indian Ocean from Diu in a foist of only twenty tons built by himself at Cochin, and near the Cape of Good Hope he ran into a hurricane. Black seas, apparently interminable, rolled out of the wild horizon. The bleak and bare coastline repelled the strangers, but the irresistible wind behind them gave them no choice. It surfed their barque along the sand, and marooned it high and dry upon the beach. A ship might have kept her footing on the sea, but not even the most skilful hands could save a light foist. Happily, it was light enough to be refloated, and to reach Lisbon.

This high adventure of Botelho's is not only memorable in itself, but it touches important events of history at so many points that it calls for record here, and illustrates vividly the atmosphere of the times.

Diogo was one of the first persons born in India of Portuguese parents, his father being commandant of Cochin in the days of Francis de Almeida. As his widowed mother, Iria Pereira, was well off, Diogo had no need to work; and for a youth of means there was no lack of frivolity at hand in the coast towns of India. But his chief amusement was in the sciences that rose out of the sea: geography, map-making and boat-building. This love of learning was fostered by a Dominican priest, John Caro, who became his master.²⁹²

Having constructed a large-scale map of the world, Diogo determined to present it in person to the King. If the King would accept it, that honour would reward all his labour and set the seal of success upon it. In 1523 he found a way of reaching Lisbon, and was graciously received by John III. The reputation which he thus gained caused him to incur the envy of some who resented the rapid advancement of this colonial.

The nimble tongues of his rivals set a rumour going, that he was contemplating a deal with the King of France, as Magellan had done with the King of Spain. Some of the tongues must

have been influential. Botelho himself assisted them with a sharp rejoinder that he once made to the King, when the latter parried a somewhat ambitious request with a gentle rebuke. The result was that Botelho was interned for a while at a time when the manoeuvres of the French King were more troublesome than usual.

When Vasco da Gama was preparing his fleet of 1524,²⁹³ he asked the King to allow him to take charge of this boy. "The only mistake Your Highness made with Magellan," said Gama, "was in not cutting off his head, since he was a traitor." But if this lad went back to his home, he would be safe from all temptation to meddle in wild schemes. "All pilots have mad fancies," he added, "and these have got Botelho into mischief." The King agreed, but with the stipulation that on no account was he to return to Portugal. This stipulation grieved him more than the stigma of internment, as the Portuguese of that day had a chivalrous regard for their King.

From that day Botelho made up his mind that he would rebut the charge of disloyalty with arguments of a practical nature that no man would be able to gainsay. He got permission from Nuno da Cunha to build a foist at Cochin that should always be at the service of the King's government. It was twenty-two spans in length, twelve in breadth, and six in depth from the keel to the first deck.

But every climate has its malicious gossips, writes John de Barros. In India some were found to suggest that Botelho was meditating a dash to join the Turks in the Red Sea. These rumours were so persistent that for a while they disturbed the Treasurer-General of India, Pero Vaz. At first he sequestered the foist, warning Botelho that the penalty of treason was decapitation. But on second thoughts he yielded to the man's evident honesty, and restored the boat, exacting a sworn declaration that he would use it only in the service of the King. This was an oath which he intended to keep, not only in the spirit, but in a higher sense than all India could then imagine.

To a man of Diogo Botelho's temperament and stout heart it was a challenge, that he meant to accept in the most rigorous form; and he chafed with indignation against his traducers until a great opportunity offered. This was the treaty of peace with the King of Cambaia (Gujarat), and the erection of a Portuguese fortress in his port of Diu.

As far back as 1519, King Manuel had tried in vain to secure a footing in Diu by agreement. Portuguese policy needed this, both because Diu had always been the point of departure

of Indian trade to Europe by way of the Red Sea, and because the ruling family of Gujarat was of the same Sunni sect of Muslim as the Sultan of Constantinople, who was now also Sultan of Egypt. The other Muslim rulers of India were less dangerous, as they belonged to the Shiah sect which the Turks were bent on destroying as heretics.

The sudden change in Diu's politics was due to the rise of the Mogul dynasty of Delhi. In 1535 Bahadur of Diu was attacked by Humayun the Mogul, and appealed for help both to the Turks and to the Portuguese. The Turks did not respond. But Nuno da Cunha went in person to help Diu, and received the coveted concession in recompense for his military aid.

Botelho knew that King John's heart was set upon this achievement for some time, and that the news would gratify him.²⁹⁴ Now he would strike for Lisbon, and be the first herald of the joyful tidings. The Governor-General was equally anxious to give this pleasure to his King; and to make it doubly sure, he not only sent the Secretary of India, Simon Ferreira, as a special courier in a fast-sailing ship, but a Jewish traveller of experience was despatched overland from Egypt, as he knew all the languages for that route. This man, Isaac of Cairo,²⁹⁵ arrived soon after Botelho and before Ferreira, receiving a life pension from the King.

Botelho's scientific knowledge enabled him to make a fine copy of the plans of the proposed fortress, and his intimacy with the highest officials procured him a complete account of the favourable terms of peace. Armed with these precious documents, he sailed for Dabul, where he could more secretly complete his last preparations for the journey. Five other Portuguese and some servants of his household formed the crew. They left on the first of September, 1535.²⁹⁶ Nobody but himself knew their destination until they were on the high seas.

When they were well out to sea, he gave a considerable sum of money to the Portuguese overseer of the coloured seamen, or slaves as they were called, at the same time revealing to him the great secret. For such a solid consideration the man was ready to take the risk. Then he summoned the other four Portuguese, and showed them that he wore a coat of mail and had a most serviceable dagger of tempered steel, with which he proposed to deal with any insubordination. He promised to reward them handsomely when they returned to India.

A bit of luck in the first days helped his plans by inspiring confidence in the minds of the crew. He ventured to predict the exact day when they would reach a place named Jubo, on the

Arabian coast, a thing that most captains would not dare to do because the currents were proverbially variable here. The daring prophecy was fulfilled, and the men duly impressed. At Jubo they took in all the water, meat and biscuits that the boat could hold; and they made no other port except Sofala until they reached Jeffreys Bay, on the Humansdorp coast, where they rested at anchor and fished. In doubling the Cape, they were cast upon the sands of Cape Agulhas.

After refloating the boat they put into Table Bay to make imperative repairs. Then they made for Saint Helena,²⁹⁷ where they refitted and revictualled. But then the long and dreary monotony had completely frayed the nerves of the sailors. They mutinied, killing the overseer and the pilot, Manuel Moreno, whilst they seriously injured Botelho himself. With only a couple of faithful slaves and three Portuguese, the wounded captain piloted the foist, lying on the broad of his back. After fourteen days of sailing in this way, Botelho descried the volcanic cliffs of the Azores, and he realised that they must get help or perish.

In fact, it looked as if the only real choice was between perishing on the ocean or on land; because the story of the banishment of Diogo Botelho Pereira was well known on the island of Fayal, which they were now approaching. If the authorities recognised him, it would be their duty to arrest him as a rebel against the royal decree of exile.

The resourceful fugitive devised a desperate expedient. He folded up some official parchment that he had with him, and addressed it to the King, as he intended to pose as a special courier from India on the King's business. When he reported himself in this way, he was welcomed by the Chief Magistrate and a bull-fight arranged in his honour. Whilst watching the bulls in the arena from the Magistrate's box, the latter recognised him, and asked him if he were not the Diogo Botelho whom the King sentenced to perpetual exile.

Botelho admitted the impeachment, but asked the Magistrate to keep it a secret as he was now engaged on most important business. The Governor-General had pardoned him, because he needed him for a task which no one else could undertake. As he was bound to secrecy, he could not disclose the nature of his business yet; but he would leave behind a statement of it in writing to be opened eight days after his departure, if the Magistrate promised on oath not to open the letter before this.

In this way Botelho was able to resume his journey refreshed and reinforced with the necessary men to work the boat. On the eighth day after his departure the Viceroy's real courier,

Simon Ferreira, put in at Fayal, just when Botelho's letter was opened. As soon as the hoax was discovered, Ferreira set off in hot pursuit.

But the swift foist could not now be beaten; and its master sailed up the River Tagus past Lisbon until he came to Salvaterra, because he meant to present himself at once to the King, who was spending a holiday at Almeirim close by. It was the month of May. Salvaterra was the nearest creek on the river to the spot where the King had begun his summer holidays amid his own orchards.

Of course, John III could not conceal his joy at the good news, for which he had long been hoping against hope. Diu was one of the key positions of India and Africa, where the Portuguese had desired a footing for the greater safety of their sea communications, as it was a convenient meeting-place for the ships trading with East Africa, the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf.²⁹⁸

Everybody knew how King Bahadur of Cambaia had been harassed for years by the Mongol Emperor, Hurnayun.²⁹⁹ King John could have overwhelmed Bahadur by force of arms from the south. But the Portuguese King was one of those rare politicians who in warfare, where men's lives are the pawns of the game, believed that a draw was usually better than an expensive checkmate. The only other help that Cambaia could receive would have been from the Turks by sea. But in spite of the rich presents that Bahadur sent to Cairo, no help came at this time from the Red Sea, whilst both the Viceroy and the Governor of Chaul were making friendly offers of help. When, therefore, the Mongols advanced again, and when Bahadur heard that they had offered the Portuguese all they wanted in the event of victory, he chose the friendship of the Portuguese, and was able to drive the Mongols out of the land.³⁰⁰ As a pledge for the fulfilment of these promises of Cambaia, the sea bulwark of Diu was handed over to the Portuguese governor of Chaul, Martin Alfonso de Sousa.

These were some of the glad tidings that Diogo Botelho brought to Almeirim. Not only Portugal, but all Europe rejoiced. Acting as the spokesman of the Christian nations, the Pope ordered a solemn procession of thanksgiving for this peaceful victory, and pontificated himself at the High Mass in Rome. The sermon preached in Latin by Master Theophilus of the Augustinians was a litany of the laurels of the Portuguese in India.³⁰¹

But when the joy bells stopped ringing, the King was embarrassed in regard to Botelho. This was no mere sporting

event, nor John a mere sportsman, but a King who really governed and took his work seriously. Both the welfare of the State and loyalty to his hard-working officials in India made it impossible to overlook the more grave aspects of this sporting escapade.

His natural generosity would have prompted him to reward Botelho lavishly. But he could not endorse any act that involved the flouting of the Viceroy of India. Both foreign policy and home policy dictated a careful handling of this affair.

What would their trade rivals in the other nations not attempt, if they discovered that the Indian journey could be done in such a small boat? This must be kept an official secret, lest the commerce of Portugal be seriously damaged. There was no drastic Official Secrets Act in those days, such as modern governments have enacted with the penalty of death. Much milder methods were considered sufficient and were urgently needed. Already the people were beginning to come from all parts to see the wonderful boat, and there were some foreigners among them. No time was to be lost. Botelho was ordered to remove his foist to a quiet spot higher up the river, and there it was burned.³⁰² Foreigners should not have this model to encourage them in their rivalry with Portugal.

Even more important than this consideration was the effect that this event would have upon the King's faithful officers in India. In another connection Barros expresses the idea in the King's mind. "It is the way with men of the world everywhere, but especially with Portuguese, that they do not relish other men's honours." The biographies and autobiographies of the leading personalities³⁰³ of the First World War have shown us how modern presidents of republics, prime ministers, generals and admirals can be as jealous of one another as schoolgirls frankly are. King John would not risk offending Nuno da Cunha or Simon Ferreira by public rewards to a subordinate, who had flouted their orders and captured a portion of their laurels.

Twenty years before this a similar feat had been performed by Captain Lopo de Villalobos, who brought the damaged caravel of Lawrence de Cosme from the Red Sea to Lisbon in record time. But he brought bad news from the Viceroy about the first disasters of the embassy to Prester John. According to Barros,³⁰⁴ many thought that this ship should have been exhibited somewhere, as a curious sample of much ado about nothing, "just as we hang stuffed lizards up, to show how big they grow in Africa". But this business of Botelho's was more than a joke.

It was clearly the King's duty to support Nuno da Cunha in the difficult task of keeping order in India and Africa. Personally, King John would have liked to reward Botelho, but discipline required that the matter should be dealt with in the law courts; and thus Botelho was imprisoned for a while, until the storm blew over which Simon Ferreira raised on his arrival. Later the claims of humanity were urged by the King's sister, now wife of the Emperor, Charles V. She pleaded the cause of Botelho and obtained for him a governorship of one of the Cape Verde Islands; and afterwards he was promoted to the important post of Cananor.

But a few years later these waters near Cape Agulhas, where Diogo Botelho Pereira nearly came to grief, witnessed the closing scene of a more heartrending drama: the personal tragedy of the last months of Nuno da Cunha's life. He was in the latitude of the Cape towards the middle of 1539, sailing home after nearly ten years of solid work as Governor-General of India.

After his death even his enemies admitted that he had been an exemplary representative of the King: conciliatory with opponents, a fine soldier, of an imposing and tall figure,³⁰⁵ just in judgment and a tireless worker. The last months of office were a crucial time for every governor, partly because of the accumulated resentment of all those whom duty had compelled him to rebuke, and partly because the time-servers no longer troubled to curry favour with him, thinking only of their prospects under his successor. But Cunha had been rewarded with a double term of office, and this long absence from Lisbon had given a rare opportunity to the intrigues of rivals at home.

From youth, Nuno da Cunha had been a personal friend of the King's.³⁰⁶ Once when they were boys playing together the national game of *cannas*, Nuno failed to defend himself against a stick thrown by the King in accordance with the rules of the game, and it blinded him in one eye for life. His father, too, had been on intimate terms of friendship with King Manuel. But the Overseas Council of Lisbon had a piled-up dossier of ten years, contributed by the enemies of Cunha, which the King could not brush aside without an investigation. We grasp these antics of the men of action better to-day, because we have seen the intrigues that centred in the War Council of Great Britain during the first World War, many of which intrigues have not yet been cleared up; though London was only a few minutes by radio from the furthest part of the empire, and Nuno da Cunha's India was a six months' journey.

His enemies had for the moment succeeded in painting him as a self-seeker, who had grown rich on the spoils of office. In self-defence he appealed to his ledgers in India, and to many letters of men in India whom he had been obliged to punish and who yet testified to his integrity. The contemporary historian, John de Barros, tells us that he went through two chests full of correspondence bearing on this subject, and he declares that the accusations against Cunha were unfounded.³⁰⁷ Yet he left India practically as a prisoner under arrest.

During the long months of the sea voyage his enfeebled constitution broke down completely. Fevers and fighting and wrestling with shifty enemies of the State had begun the work which calumny was now to complete. He soon became conscious that the shadows of his life were lengthening, and that his sun was about to set. But he showed no personal bitterness. Being a devout Christian, he saw vividly that the only master who could now call him to account was the Divine Master of the Vineyard, Who pays every man his wages when the evening comes. Any other judgment now seemed irrelevant.

When discussing his last wishes with the priest on board, who had given him the last Sacraments, he begged that his body should not be embalmed³⁰⁸ for burial in Portugal. "As God has chosen to call me to Himself on the sea, let the sea be my grave. The land does not want me or my services, so I shall not worry it with my bones." He asked that his body should be cast into the sea from the open balcony at the stern of the ship, which the Portuguese called the *varanda*, "so as not to upset the men on board". The end came just as they were about to double the Cape of Good Hope. "It was ingratitude more than work or old age," writes Barros, "that buried him here."

His last prayer has been recorded by the same historian, and it is typical of the man of iron faith. "Lord, since it has pleased Thee to call me to an account of my life, I accept my lot in homage to Thee, and hope for recompense only from Thee. Thou Lord, art the true reward. I ask it of Thee, and Thou wilt surely bestow it, not as a right, otherwise I should stand condemned; but by reason of Thy mercy which has never failed anyone who trusted in Thee."

They wrapped him in his uniform of a knight of the Order of Christ, and consigned his mortal remains to the ocean somewhere in the vicinity of Cape Agulhas. There is no monument over the place where his bones lie. But his imperishable epitaph is written on the last page of the last chapter of the monumental history, *Da Ásia*, of Barros. As it has never been translated

into English, it merits a place here among the records of South Africa.

"Nuno da Cunha, son of Tristan da Cunha and of Antonia de Albuquerque, was gracious in manner, and dignified in matters of importance. He was patient with the foibles of others, often treating as friends men whom he knew to be murmuring against him. He was always ready to help others; and with ungrateful friends he would often dissemble his knowledge of their ingratitude, so as to retain their friendship. But in matters of justice he was inflexible, always without heat, scrupulously honest in administration. He had a fair acquaintance with the Classics, but such a good general knowledge, that he was an apt speaker on public occasions. Though he never injured any husband or any woman, he was more given to the society of women than was good for his high office.³⁰⁹ In Portugal he had many enemies who envied the wealth they thought he had, and these did their best to injure his reputation with the King. After his death even these admitted, when they saw the later course of Indian affairs, that his ten years of office would be ever memorable."

But to praise Nuno da Cunha is not necessarily to censure the King. John III was certainly no respecter of persons where the public welfare was concerned. In such matters he was vigilant and severe. This lonely grave in the Atlantic, equally remote from Portugal and India, has a different message to us. It illustrates the inherent difficulties of then governing a far-flung empire, even when the leaders on both sides of the oceans were men of character and principle. If tragedy is inseparable from human life, it is peculiarly the badge of empire.

Men of Cunha's class knew quite well the risks they ran in accepting service in India. They risked their lives in battle, in the storms of the Cape of Good Hope and in the shoals beyond; but they ran a deadlier risk of losing their reputations amid the rivalries and moral miasmas of the East. All these perils were accepted as the duty of a fidalgo to Portugal, and they did not regret the choice they had made when the worst came.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE CRITICAL YEAR 1538 AT MOZAMBIQUE.

FIVE QUICK-SAILING CARAVELS appeared unexpectedly before Mozambique about the middle of January, 1538. No one was more surprised than the commandant, Vincent Pegado, when he saw these sails in the offing. He expected to be relieved of his office that year, as his term had expired; but he did not expect to see his successor before the arrival of the annual fleet from Lisbon in July or August. One of these newly arrived caravels was captained by the new commandant, Alexius de Sousa Chichorro.

The King himself only conceived the idea of this flying squadron a month or so before it left Portugal in October, months after the ordinary fleet had sailed on the twelfth of March, 1537, under the command of Peter da Silva da Gama. Then India seemed in a condition of perfect peace and friendship with Portugal. Even the restive Sultan Bahadur of Cambaia had given permission for the erection of a Portuguese fortress near Diu, as a token of gratitude for help against the encroaching Mogul empire of Delhi and its ruler, Humayun.³¹⁰ So pleased was John with this alliance, that he presented Bahadur with a magnificent coat of armour which had come from Germany, complete with rich caparisons of brocade and cloth of gold. Before the ship which bore these gifts could reach the Cape of Good Hope, disquieting rumours came from the intelligence officers of the King in Constantinople and Cairo.

From them the King learned that Bahadur had been killed in a mysterious skirmish in the Bay of Diu with Manuel de Sousa, the captain of the fortress, who apparently went to arrest him on a well-founded charge of treachery. The fact that he was killed, instead of arrested, was partly due to the strange behaviour of his African secretary and interpreter, whom the Portuguese christened John de Santiago, a clever but loathsome person vividly described by Couto.³¹¹ In the struggle Manuel de Sousa fell overboard and plumped to the bottom, weighed down with a full suit of armour; and Portugal lost a fidalgo of rare worth and bravery, one of the finest intellects of his day. Santiago was stoned to death at the pier, as he clung to it after an exhausting swim from his sunken boat. It was a cruel

death, only matched by his monstrous life. Bahadur, though a Muslim, was a confirmed drunkard; and it is more than likely that his muddled condition contributed to the tragic events of that day.

But the events proved a chance spark³¹² that kindled the whole framework of treachery built up by Bahadur's chief adviser in politics, whom the Portuguese called Coge Sofar. This man was with Bahadur, but succeeded in swimming ashore to safety. He was a Moor of Grenada, who had risen to his position of authority by brains and great subtlety. Though the Portuguese did not trust him, they made use of him to calm the people, and to elect new officials in accordance with the usages of the native population. A treaty of friendship was signed with the new Sultan, Mir Mohammed Zaman (or Mahmud III), and ratified with all the solemnities of oriental fashion.

These happenings only sharpened the desire of Coge Sofar to drive the Portuguese out of Cambaia. For this purpose he had been long negotiating with a close friend of his, the Imam Yahya Sharaf Eddin³¹³ of Zazid in the Yemen. This Arab was in touch with the Pashas of Solyman the Magnificent.

Bahadur was killed on the thirteenth of February, 1537,³¹⁴ and during April an urgent call reached Zabid from Coge Sofar with the fleet from Surat. Now was the favourable time for a Turkish fleet to come to the island of Diu in force. Coge Sofar promised to supply them with men, munitions and food. They would be able to destroy the fortress of Diu first, and then all the other strongholds of Portugal in the Indian Ocean one by one. By these means, the old Muslim control of India would return.

The appeal was forwarded to Cairo at a most opportune moment; as the Turks had just raised their prestige in the Mediterranean by the victories of the Barbarossa brothers, a pair of renegade Greeks who had enlisted their corsair fleets in the service of Solyman Kanuni, of Constantinople.³¹⁵ Three years before, Admiral Doria, acting for the Emperor, had signally defeated these same pirates. Even at the beginning of this year Venice and her allies had bottled up the elder Barbarossa in the Gulf of Prevesa, on the west coast of Greece, and could have destroyed the fleet. But whilst the Christian admirals were quarrelling, and their alliance was dissolved, the Turkish navy slipped out of the bay, and once more assumed the offensive from the Straits of Gibraltar to Alexandria.

The new Pasha of Cairo, whose name was also Solyman, had heard of the wealth of Bahadur's widow, as she had been

sent to Mecca for safety when her husband first began his double-dealing with Nuno da Cunha. Not only did Solyman of Cairo demand that she and all her belongings should be surrendered to him by the Sharif of Mecca, but he began to see what a profitable undertaking it would be to make a naval raid upon a land "where the King's travelling bags contained so much treasure."³¹⁶ From the Grand Turk at Constantinople he received 1,500 janissaries with all the artillery needed to equip them. At Cairo he was able to import a great quantity of timber and ropes for shipping. Moreover, the present poor predicament of the Venetian republic enabled him to supply the greatest lack of the Turk at all times, efficient and trained crews which he could now capture, since the Turks themselves were poor seamen.

For the alliance with Venice had just been dissolved, and there were in the contiguous waters of Alexandria some galleys captained by Messer Antonio Barbarigo. These were seized with all their crews, ships' carpenters, calkers and boatswains.³¹⁷ The ships were dismantled, carried on the backs of camels to Suez, and there refloated in the Red Sea. The weak spot in these preparations was naturally the fact that the men upon whom the driving power of the fleet depended had been pressed into a service which they hated. Yet all this was grave news, when it reached the ears of John III in Lisbon, in the despatches of his many agents at the Mediterranean ports.

He responded with his usual promptitude to this threat to the existence of his Indian empire. The five ships were his first answer. They came to reinforce the first line of defence. Every ship brought men, artillery and supplies for the fortresses that were liable to be immediately attacked.

Diogo Lopes de Sousa, who bore the significant nickname of the "hustler of Santarem",³¹⁸ was on his way to become captain of Diu, whilst Ferdinand de Moraes was to take his ship also to Diu. Ferdinand de Castro was destined for the rich Ormuz, where the Persian king hostile to the Turks reigned, the Portuguese captain governed, and the merchants of every race brought prosperity and an atmosphere of cultured ease. The other two ships were to remain at Mozambique, being captained by brothers, Alexius de Sousa and his younger brother, Henry. But more important than all the ships was the message that they brought from the King: that in July he would send such a fleet as to dispel the Turkish menace once and for all.

The King kept his promise. The first warship out of a powerful fleet of ten anchored outside the port of Mozambique, under lee of the island of Saint George, one Sunday morning,

the twenty-eighth of July.³¹⁸ It was the *Griffin* of Dom John de Castro, and the whole fleet followed under the command of the Viceroy Garcia de Noronha. One of the ships had gone down with all hands on board. Diogo de Couto writes boldly that this loss only strengthened the moral force of the fleet, as the *Gallega* carried a considerable number of ticket-of-leave men. "God evidently did not wish our Holy Faith to be defended by such detestable men as some of these were."

Fine as the fleet was, however, it was not the overwhelming force that the King had first planned. When the bad news about the Turkish threat first reached the King, he was at Evora, where he had fixed his court for nearly six years. Situated on a high and luxuriant plain near the Spanish frontier, this city was his favourite abode. There he settled as a Maecenas,³²⁰ determined to make it a new irradiator of the arts and sciences, with the aid of Portuguese scholars trained at Salamanca, Bologna and Paris. For this purpose also he welcomed the profits of the Crown that came regularly from India and the Zambesi coast. Of course, the courtiers of Lisbon and the tutors of the university of Coimbra grumbled at the rise of this rival of theirs.³²¹ It suddenly looked as if Islam might once more stem the whole current of Portuguese culture by cutting off the trade of the East, which was its material stimulant.

John III never failed to give his people a lead in circumstances like this. He called together his Crown Council, on which sat many veterans of Indian experience. They decided to meet this unprecedented peril with a gigantic effort such as no nation had ever made on sea. The King's brother, Prince Luis, was to command a fleet of forty ships and eight thousand men, which would be sufficient to crush Turkish ambitions for ever in India.

Every nobleman who had enough means to purchase a galley went to Oporto or Vila do Conde or Aveiro to fit out a volunteer ship. The King summoned several rich, though aged, fidalgos to accompany his brother, to contribute thus to the undertaking. Lastly, he expressed his intention of conscripting the youthful heirs of all those entailed estates which Portuguese law called *morgados*.³²²

The last proposal was the snagged rock upon which the more ambitious plan of the expedition foundered. In Portugal the medieval idea of freedom was still strong. Loyalty to King and country was an instinct, but so was the freedom of the individual except in so far as it was regulated by law. What horrified the Portuguese most in the conduct of the contemporary

Henry VIII of England was that they saw his most brutal whims endorsed by a subservient Parliament. To such tyranny the Portuguese people would never submit. The fathers of the youths whom the King proposed to conscript appealed against his decree to the Privy Council, or *Mesa da Consciencia*, a special tribunal which John had instituted to advise him in matters of equity.

Their case against the King was this. By law the *morgados* could only be conscripted for the purpose of defending Portugal within the limits of the kingdom, which included North Africa. On no account could they be conscripted for the purpose of a trade war, such as this Indian expedition was going to wage. After hearing both sides, sentence was given in favour of the *morgados* by the president of the *Mesa*, Dom John Soares, who later was also Bishop of Coimbra.

John III bowed to the verdict of the court;³²³ and the pause which the lawsuit caused had given the King time to reflect, and to realise that the project was over-grandiose. It really did not need such a large army of Portuguese to beat the Turk. Moreover, both the King and his Council began to see constitutional difficulties in arranging the status of a brother of the King, who should also be Viceroy of India. It sounded almost like splitting the empire.

The historian Diogo de Couto, who at this time was a page on the staff of Prince Luis, tells us that court gossip was busy with all kinds of other reasons for the new policy. But the alacrity with which the King took up a more modest project shows that, with his usual good sense, he grasped the fact that his opponents had done the country a good service by their action.³²⁴ Most of the men who had refused to be conscripted now volunteered for service.

Eleven ships were finally equipped and considered sufficient. Among the captains was John de Sepúlveda, appointed commandant of Sofala, as his father had been in the last year of King Manuel's reign. Christopher da Gama was in charge of the ship *Saint Anthony*, and was going to be commandant of Malacca.

There were many wealthy volunteers in the company, notably Diogo de Almeida, to whom later all India gave the name of the Dandy.³²⁵ But he was the rare species of dandy whose character was as irreproachable as his outfit. There was also the millionaire youth, John Manoel, whom they nicknamed Alabaster, because he was such a precious person, being also a son of the Captain-General of the artillery and of the King's bodyguard.³²⁶ Youths as they were, these men had not been enslaved by civilisation,

and could steel themselves to forgo its comforts in order to save their ideals.

These are only a few names in the galaxy of distinguished men who landed at Mozambique on the evening of the twenty-ninth of July, and remained there until the eleventh of August under the command of the Viceroy Garcia de Noronha.³²⁷ The King had chosen him because he was a man under whom anyone would be glad to serve: a nephew of the great Albuquerque, he had seen long service in India, and was vigorous in spite of his seventy years, whilst his long white beard and tall figure gave him the air of one born to rule.

With this fleet there came also to Mozambique the first Bishop of Goa, Dom John de Albuquerque. Before him there had been successively four bishops in India since 1515.³²⁸ But they were all titular bishops, sent as delegates of the Pope in order to administer the sacraments of Confirmation and Holy Orders. The last of them, a Capuchin named Ferdinand Vaqueiro, died whilst on a pastoral visit to Ormuz in 1535. To-day they would be called vicars apostolic, but then the term used was *commissaries apostolic*.

But now, at King John's request, Pope Paul III established the diocese of Goa, as a suffragan of Madeira, which was raised to the status of an archbishopric under the title of Funchal. The jurisdiction of Goa extended from the Cape of Good Hope to the Red Sea, including all India, China and the Malay Islands. The Pope insisted that the bishop should be chosen from the secular clergy;³²⁹ and a priest of noble birth, Francis de Mello, was consecrated in Lisbon with great solemnity. But as he died before he could sail for India, the Spanish Franciscan, John de Albuquerque, was sent. How earnest King John was in spreading the Christian faith, which he held to be the best foundation for social development, can be seen from the generous provision he made for the new bishop, his parish priests and canons. Though Bishop de Albuquerque did not spend a year in Mozambique, as one of his predecessors, Bishop Andrew de Torquemada,³³⁰ did, he remained long enough to gauge the spiritual needs of this part of his vast diocese, as we shall see later. Albuquerque was a Spaniard by birth, and Andrada assures us that he was a man of fine character and exemplary life, whose unselfishness in the discharge of his office won the approval of clergy and laity.

The sick were the Viceroy's first care in Mozambique, and they were a large contingent. He was astonished to see the adequate preparations made to receive them by the new commandant, Alexius de Sousa Chichorro. All the ordinary hospital

accommodation was in first-class order, and in addition he had erected a number of airy huts. The stores of fresh food helped to cure the sick and convalescent, and put a glow of new energy into the crews of all the ships.

So pleased was the Viceroy with the generosity of the new Governor of Mozambique, that he found means of showing his gratitude at once. Before leaving Lisbon, Noronha had been warned by the King that he had erased the name of Henry de Sousa Chichorro from the list of officers worthy of promotion, on account of unfavourable reports that he had received. Noronha now saw with his own eyes that the brothers Alexius and Henry were birds of a feather, and he gave Henry a letter to the King correcting the wrong impression, and giving good news of India. He advised him to take the first ship home, and thus he was reinstated in the good graces of the King.³³¹

Meantime, stirring events had been taking place in the kingdom of Gujarat, or Cambaia as the Portuguese preferred to call it. An old captain of Mozambique, Anthony da Silveira, with a handful of brave men and heroic women had kept at bay the whole Turkish fleet, as well as a Muslim land force of twelve thousand men. It is one of the deathless stories of almost superhuman courage.

This event is famous as the first siege of Diu.³³² It was the one important port of the principal maritime State of India. The Portuguese were determined to keep their grant of a foothold here, a fortress at least, in order to tap the trade of this rich province; just as the English, having wrested the town of Calais from France in 1346, were still holding it as the principal inlet for their wool trade upon the continent of Europe. But the Portuguese had a more difficult task than the English. The naval headquarters had indeed been moved from Cochin to Goa, but even Goa was 450 miles from Diu. Moreover, the Portuguese were dealing with a wily politician who had three strings to his bow.

He was the famous Coge Sofar.³³³ Whilst professing to be a friend of the Portuguese in Diu, where he was the native governor, he was constantly intriguing to have them expelled by the Muslim of Gujarat, the Moguls of Delhi and the Turks of Cairo and Constantinople. A Venetian officer conscripted to serve in this Turkish fleet tells us that Coge Sofar was born in Otranto, on the rim of Italy's heel. He was probably captured in one of the many raids of the Turks from their camp in Albania, which could be seen in the mountains there on a clear

day from Otranto. We have seen how his first essay in treachery was forestalled by the tragic death of Bahadur.

After this Sofar fled to the capital of Cambaya, and succeeded in persuading the Sultan to mobilise under his command one thousand cavalry and three thousand foot-soldiers, who opened a siege of the Portuguese in the island of Diu on the twenty-sixth of June, 1538. Anthony da Silveira had only five hundred men in the fortress, and about eighty behind a bank of earthworks in a suburb of the island, which the Portuguese named Vila dos Rumes. In one of the first assaults Coge Sofar was wounded and had to relinquish the command. But at the beginning of August he returned, lame but full of fight, with reinforcements of fifteen thousand men led by Alucan, the great captain of Cambaya.

All this happened whilst the Viceroy was engaged at Mozambique. When he sailed for Goa, the expected Turkish fleet had left the Red Sea on its way to Diu. The long intrigues of Coge Sofar had at length borne fruit. Solyman the Magnificent himself had become interested in the expedition. Four years before, a general of his had captured Baghdad with its river route to Basra at the head of the Persian Gulf.³³⁴ The Sultan caught the momentary vision of a new route for the spice trade through Constantinople, Diu, Basra, Baghdad and Istanbul, which would thus cut out the Portuguese track through Mozambique and the Cape of Good Hope. The Red Sea would be supplanted by the Persian Gulf as the main highway of the Turkish ships.

Solyman Pasha's fleet, organised from Cairo, had received orders to assemble at Suez by the middle of June; and no ship was to pass the Straits of Babelmandeb until further orders, lest the Portuguese should get wind of their intentions. Thus, a fleet of 76 gathered with seven thousand men. As the Pasha was an old man, the real command was in the hands of Jusuf Ahmed, chief captain of Alexandria. When he started out, the Pasha first paid off some old scores against his Muslim enemies along the Red Sea, from Tor on the third of July, to Zabid on the thirtieth. At Aden on the third of August he lured the Sheikh Amr ibn Daud on board under the guise of friendship, and then hanged him from the yard-arm.³³⁵ Afterwards they sacked the town, which was very opulent, sailing away on the nineteenth of August.

The elements, however, did a bit of scouting for the Portuguese. Four of the Turkish ships were wrecked, and the wreckage carried to Portuguese harbours, thus giving notice that the Turkish fleet was in the Indian Ocean. It anchored outside

Diu on the seventh of September, whilst Noronha's fleet only reached Goa on the eleventh of the same month.

During the three previous months the small force under Anthony da Silveira had wrought miracles of valour. The bulwark of Vila dos Rumes proved a useful shield to break the force of the attack from the mainland and the sea, as it was kept supplied with food and ammunition by means of small boats that crossed the narrow channel between the island and mainland.

Before the end of August fresh information about the forces of the Muslim came from two different sources. In a foraging expedition made by one of the captains, an intelligent Arab was detained, who had been friendly with the commandant. He informed them that Coge Sofar and Alucan between them had nineteen thousand men, that they were daily expecting the Turkish fleet, and that one of its ships was already at Mongalore. Immediately Silveira sent a trusted fidalgo, Michael Vaz, to that port in order to get in touch with the enemy.

On the third of September he came upon the whole fleet sailing along the coast of Mongalore; he was able to count them at his leisure and report to Diu. From there he was sent with a letter to Nuno da Cunha at Goa, as Noronha had not yet arrived. But being a person of exact mind, Vaz determined to have another look at the enemy fleet, in order to check his first report before going to Goa. Unfortunately, he was spied by the Turkish watchman, and some light galleys followed in hot pursuit. After some hours the Turks were gaining on him, when the wind fell so that the speed of the galleys slackened, and the small ship was able to make use of all its oars and outdistance its pursuers. As a last resource, the Turks fired a volley in the wake of the scout ship, but she slipped away. Thus, the detailed news reached Goa. Michael Vaz found that Cunha had already summoned Martin Afonso de Sousa, the admiral from Cochin, to prepare an attack on the Turks.³⁹⁶

These measures of Cunha's were the result of a message from the Chief Captain, Anthony de Sotomaior, despatched by a swift catur. One morning early, near Mongalore he saw a galley running before the storm, and recognised it for a Turkish ship. After a hard fight he captured it, and learned that it was one of Solyman Pasha's ships. A few days later Goa was all agog with the wonderful news. Three fidalgos started off at once for Diu as volunteers, with their own boats, and twenty of their own soldiers in each boat. One of them, Ferdinand de Moraes, carried a letter from the Governor to Silveira, promising him immediate

help. But before he could fulfil his promise, Noronha arrived in Goa, and Nuno da Cunha was superseded.

Meantime, Coge Sofar and the Gujarat Captain had gone out to welcome the Pasha and his seamen. Before the courtesies of their first meeting were over, seven hundred of the Janissaries rushed ashore in dinghies; and, according to custom, they sacked the town of their allies and mishandled their women. When Alucan returned to the island and found what had happened, he ordered the greater part of his army to return home with him forthwith. He reported³³⁷ to the Sultan of Gujarat that "the Portuguese would have to save them from the rascals of this sect." He added that "if the Portuguese had not been on the island, the Janissaries would have become masters there, and soon afterwards masters of the whole kingdom."

By a singular stroke of irony a foist arrived that day from the Rajah of Gujarat, filled with refreshments, to welcome the new Turkish allies who had already taken all they wanted. At ten o'clock that night a large and brilliant star shot across the sky from the direction of the island, and burst into flames over the Turkish fleet. It was a counterpart to that which fluttered over the Lacedemonian fleet, writes Couto, when they lost the battle which cost them the empire of ancient Greece.

The fleet remained at anchor three days within sight of the mosque of Diu, when a terrific storm arose. Several of the Turkish ships were sunk; and to avoid complete disaster, Solyman Pasha ordered retreat to the safe bay of Madrafaval, five leagues away. There they refitted, and Coge Sofar came to discuss the plan of attack.

On the tenth of September, four of the Turkish *maonas*³³⁸ landed fifteen hundred men and some light artillery under Beran Pasha on the shore near Vila dos Rumes, and they dragged the guns through the soft sands, to cover an assault upon the small fort. But they were received with such a vigorous counter-attack, that they desisted in favour of a more subtle artifice. Upon a large barge they built a tower of inflammable and poisonous materials, intending to send it down towards the fort with the tide of the next day, and to attack under cover of the fumes which would have overwhelmed the Portuguese. But at midnight Francis de Gouveia, with other fidalgos, stole up the channel in two foists and set fire to the pile.

Next day the besieged garrison was cheered by the arrival of the three ships that had rushed from Goa, and a fourth from Chaul filled with food and munitions. The same day the commandant of Vila dos Rumes chose a moment of lull in the attack

to slip out to Diu, in order to settle some urgent matters. When these were settled the royal officials presented him with a business demand, which so enraged him that he threatened to resign. Such are the pettinesses that human nature can perpetrate even at the cannon's mouth!

But Anthony da Silveira soothed his fiery lieutenant with tact, so that he relented. It was the quality of perfect comradeship that capped Silveira's other qualifications, and made him the ideal leader. Diogo de Couto,³³⁹ who knew personally most of the men who survived this siege, says that "as long as Anthony da Silveira was alive, every man would fight with his innards in one hand and a sword in the other." When, therefore, the Turks resumed the bombardment of the fort, continuing it for five days, though every one of the survivors was wounded, they were still cheerful and determined to fight on.

The men in the fortress could see the outward effects of the terrific bombardment upon the bulwark, and Silveira was anxious to know how the small garrison had fared. Lopo de Sousa Coutinho offered to go to Vila dos Rumes and find out. Filling a boat with medical necessities and munitions, and taking a few friends with him, he waited for the favourable tide in the evening that would carry him to the bulwark, as they dared not use their oars for fear of being heard and caught by the Turk. When Coutinho reached Vila dos Rumes, the bombardment had recommenced. Only with difficulty could he make his voice heard by those within. The entrance from the sea had been sealed up against the Turks, and was consequently sealed also against the delivery of Coutinho's presents. But in the intervals of the cannon's roar he was able to hear how they had fared, and to assure them that relief was coming from the Viceroy, who was now in Goa.

Next morning the commandant of Vila dos Rumes, Francis Pacheco, had the earthworks decorated with flags, great part of the garrison danced and sang within sight of the Turks, they hurled defiance at their enemies in forcible language,³⁴⁰ and ended with the finale of all their guns. By showing this ostentatious joy, they employed the equivalent of our modern war propaganda without the gross untruths. For the Viceroy was really coming with a great armada, and this cause of their joy demoralised the Turks, who knew only too well from past experience what it meant.

The unpleasant news urged the Pasha to press the attack, in the hope that he might succeed before decisive reinforcements arrived. For this purpose he left the safe bay of Madrafaval

with his whole fleet, and appeared before Diu on the twenty-eighth of September. The massed attack of the Turkish artillery upon the smaller castle was devastating, silenced the Portuguese guns there, and brought down the whole wall on that side. In spite of all this, the Portuguese held out against the Janissaries on foot until sunset, when the assault ceased.

It will never be known how the castle of Vila dos Rumes surrendered, because no witness survived, and the Turks eventually put to death the whole garrison in violation of the terms of surrender.³⁴¹ The prime mover in this tragedy was a man of doubtful origin with a Portuguese name, Anthony Faleiro, who had lived in North Africa and spoke Arabic. Somehow he got into touch with the Pasha, and appeared one night alongside one of the bastions of Diu with a sealed letter for Anthony da Silveira. It purported to be from the commandant of Vila dos Rumes, and asked Silveira to give credence to the message that Faleiro bore. Pacheco wrote it (so the letter ran) as he thought he was dying, and the whole garrison approved its contents. The bulwark was in ruins, and the Pasha had offered them honourable terms if they would surrender, but they would only agree to this with Silveira's approval.

There was dissension in Silveira's council of war when the matter was put before them. Some did not trust Faleiro, and others were for fighting to the last man and no compromise. But the majority felt that they could not fairly dictate to men whose position was so desperate, as they themselves were in less immediate danger. It was agreed to approve whatever the men in Gogala (which was the Hindu name for Vila dos Rumes) should decide to do. The remnant of the garrison in Gogala surrendered on the first of October. But six of the men, when they saw the Crescent hoisted in the place of the banner of Christ, could not abide the sight. They went back and placed their flag in its old place; and in the fight which ensued they resisted until every man was killed.

Next day Faleiro appeared again before Diu, this time accompanied by four Janissaries, to present a letter from Pacheco to Silveira. Hearing that it contained a proposal from the Pasha, Silveira refused to open it, but ordered it to be opened and read before the assembled captains and fidalgos. When the reader came to the word "surrender", Silveira thundered that he should stop reading. Then he framed his own brief reply: "If the Pasha sends me another messenger with such an insulting suggestion, I shall have him blown to pieces from the ramparts of this fortress." When the Pasha received this spirited reply,

he sent to the Turkish galleys as slaves the sixty Portuguese who surrendered at Vila dos Rumes, violating the promise he made them in laying down their arms.

On the fourth of October the siege of Diu was renewed. By using teams of oxen, Jusuf Ahmed, who was in command, dragged all his artillery to the attack, planting it in six points of vantage around the fortress. There were one hundred and ten guns in all. The total forces in men which they had gathered for the attack were now thirteen thousand. After two days of thunderous battering by all these guns, the bastion of Gaspar de Sousa was reduced to rubble and a few tremulous walls, so that the Turkish gunners felt that they could rest from their labours.

This gave the chance to Michael Vaz from Goa to slip into the channel, and so into the fortress. He brought with him the Viceroy's envoy, Edward de Lima, to say that the grand armada was already assembled. The effect upon the spirits of the defenders was almost magical, like rain upon the parched Karoo.

The women's squadron was that which had stood the long strain best. They had begun by tending the wounded, even acting as the stretcher-bearers. But as the number of fighters decreased by death, wounds and scurvy, the women shouldered the task of building up the walls that the guns battered down, and of carrying ammunition to the ramparts. The whistling balls of iron, the torn limbs and the crashing walls soon ceased to unnerve them in their determination that the Cross should not bow to the Crescent.

Their leader was Isabel de Veiga,³⁴² wife of a nobleman from Madeira named Manuel de Vasconcellos. The only tears she shed were when her husband asked her to leave for safety, in the first scout boat that made for Goa after the siege began. She remained, however, sending her daughter to Goa. Many a weary soldier on the ramparts was cheered into fresh energy by the words of hope and courage whispered to his stunned ears, as she handed round the rations or ammunition. Then there was Barbara Fernandes, who worked on bravely after she had seen her two sons hacked to death by Turkish projectiles. Anna Fernandes was the elderly wife of the chief surgeon, who assisted him in all his operations. She, too, picked up the dead body of her son on the castle terrace, but restrained her grief lest she should sadden the men who loved her as a mother. These are only a few of the names that have survived of women of different conditions in life who served their country with courage equal to that of men.

Silveira, however, was the master mind of the defence. He had the eye of a lynx and the courage of a tiger. Once the Turks had succeeded in undermining with explosives the whole trench at the foot of the fortress, which they had done under cover of gunfire. When they had finished, Silveira sent seventy men to drive off the Turks who were told off to set fire to the fuses, whilst a few men who had experience of mining operations were detached to unpick the mines. When a wall was knocked down by gunfire, it was sometimes rebuilt during the night.

But the long tension of those strenuous days and nights was beginning to tell upon the endurance of the Portuguese, and endless waves of Muslim reserves were still coming to the walls of the fortress with their scaling ladders. It looked as if only a miracle could save them from the inevitable inundation. Then some soldier of the rank and file, nameless because no chronicler has preserved his name, suggested that burning faggots should be showered down upon the assailants. The top of the walls was broad on this side, so that all the available wood was carried there and lighted. A constant rain of this burning wood and branches kept the Turks and Janissaries at bay for twelve whole days.

It was a precious respite that lasted until the twenty-seventh of October. At sunset on that day four large Portuguese galleys bore down upon the island of Diu, and were seen by the Turkish look-outs, who thought they were the vanguard of the Viceroy's fleet. They had really come from Goa, but were supply ships with much food and ammunition, which they unloaded at once on the glacis of the fortress. Silveira sent them back to Goa during the night, lest the Turks should know definitely that only four had come; and he gave them a letter for Noronha urging him to hurry. In the morning the Turks were puzzled at the strange happenings.

Meantime, the Viceroy Garcia de Noronha had received the earlier urgent call of Silveira by the hands of Edward de Lima. He at once despatched forty light ships under Anthony da Silva with instructions to make feints against the Turkish armada, but not to engage them until the grand fleet should arrive. At the same time the Viceroy sent a squadron of forty scouting vessels, in relays from Diu to Goa, to keep him informed daily of the position at Diu. After selecting four small and old ships for the ordinary cargoes of spices for that year, Noronha commissioned all the best ships for the relief of Diu. The retiring Viceroy, Nuno da Cunha, offered to fight under him in this expedition, but the offer was declined.

On the twenty-ninth of October, the Turks resolved to make a supreme effort to force a final decision before the Viceroy could arrive. They first tried to capture the sea bastion of the fortress. But with the aid of the fresh men of Anthony de Sousa's fleet the attack was repulsed, and Mahmud Khan, the brave leader of the Janissaries, was killed. Turks and Janissaries fought like lions, but they lacked the military method and discipline of the Portuguese, as well as the nobility of purpose.

Yet the last throw of the Pasha was a clever stratagem. During the afternoon of the last day of October, he prepared the ships ostentatiously, as if they were soon to sail away, and he spread the rumour that he did not intend to wait for the Viceroy. That night the moon was crescent, and it was pitch dark at midnight.³⁴³ Landing all the fighting men of the fleet, Jusuf Ahmed prepared in dead silence for a general assault at dawn.

The ensuing battle lasted four hours. Only forty Portuguese survived it in a condition to fight on, fourteen were killed, and over two hundred seriously wounded. But the Turks had lost five hundred in killed alone. The survivors fled in confusion to the ships, and Solyman Pasha of Cairo was glad to get away in earnest this time. It was All Saints' Day, and the happiest festival that these Portuguese had celebrated for many a year. Even the Muslim historian³⁴⁴ of these events writes: "God struck the heart of Solyman Pasha with terror of the Portuguese, and he returned to Egypt and later to Constantinople, a complete failure."

Coge Sofar had quarrelled with the Pasha before he left, because the latter had accused his ally of lying about the chances of beating the Portuguese. In a few days the minor captains of the fortress had dispersed the forces of Sofar that remained on the island.

Then Anthony da Silva came ashore to celebrate the victory with Anthony da Silveira. For some days, in the first flush of triumph, their friendship was perfect. But Silva claimed that the Turks had embarked for flight as soon as they caught sight of his ships. Silveira, however, held that the thrashing that he had given them five days before was what sent them back to their ships.

But in Goa there could be no contention about the fashioner of this singular victory. The news was first brought there by Francis de Sequeira, the Malabarese scout with a Portuguese name whose ship had played a notable part among the subordinates of Anthony da Silveira. The Viceroy ordered the victory to be proclaimed from the masthead, and the whole city acclaimed the heroism of Anthony da Silveira. The name of this old

captain of Mozambique became a household word in India, and throughout Europe. Even the King of France had his portrait painted, to be placed in his gallery of the most famous heroes of the world.

But in Goa much murmuring arose against the Viceroy amongst the fidalgos, captains and soldiers. Why had Noronha dallied so long in sending the fleet? If Nuno da Cunha had not been superseded, the fleet would have been at Diu a month earlier. Even now the Admiral of India, Martin Afonso de Sousa, could cut off the retreat of the Turks, if he were given a free hand. With the bluntness of speech characteristic of soldiers in India, they added that if Noronha had remained in Lisbon, not a ship of the Pasha's fleet would ever have seen Suez again.

Silveira alone had no cause for regrets. In Lisbon he was given a right royal reception. All the leading sovereigns of Europe instructed their ambassadors to call upon him with their congratulations. On the way home, as he passed his old headquarters at Mozambique, he realised better than ever its importance as a clearing-house of naval and military information.

The man who was now governor there forms an interesting contrast with Silveira. Both were extremely generous in money matters, and cared little for money in itself. But Alexius de Sousa Chichorro lived frugally, whilst he spent lavishly in the wide hospitality which he considered a duty of his office, and in charity.³⁴⁵ It greatly benefited Mozambique, but it left him poor after a long term of subsequent service in India. When age and weakened health compelled him to retire from the public service, after having been Treasurer of India, Couto tells us that he was obliged to spend some of his later years in the Hospital of Lisbon, part of which was an almshouse. Such honourable poverty was no disgrace in Portugal then, and brought him more respect from high and low than the wealthy usurers could obtain in their mansions at Antwerp or Augsburg or Amsterdam.

The generosity of Anthony da Silveira had the edge of virtue taken off it by becoming prodigal. Fortunately, the King discovered this in time. He had intended making Silveira the next Governor-General of India in reward for his signal services at Diu. With this intention, he had invited him to the town of Almeirim, where the court then was. But whilst there, Silveira was reckless in entertaining all and sundry far beyond the limits of his income. He loved good cheer, and enjoyed himself in making happy all with whom he had private or public relations. The King saw that these habits in a governor might damage India nearly as much as a minor victory of the Turks. Hence

he nominated Martin Afonso de Sousa, who became a ruler of mark.

To Silveira, however, the King gave the Governorship of Funchal in Madeira, to which a large salary was attached, and later his second wife brought him a considerable fortune. But all this did not prevent him from dying comparatively poor, the beloved victim of his own impulsive generosity. Men honoured him because he had made the year 1538 one of the most glorious in the annals of military heroism. For many years Mozambique enjoyed in Europe much reflected glory from the name of this great captain.

Mozambique had indeed played a vital part in counteracting the revival of Turkish prestige in Europe,³⁴⁶ which had followed the Pope's failure to unite Spain, France, Genoa and Venice, in order to save Europe from this uncouth invader. Europe had failed to prevent Solyman the Magnificent from aiding this fleet by which he hoped to capture the Indian trade for the service of Islam.³⁴⁷ But Mozambique and Diu in Portuguese hands had done for Europe what Europe had been incapable of doing for itself.

CHAPTER IX.

COLONIAL POLICY OF KING JOHN III.

THE COLONIES which Portugal now occupied effectively on the east and west coasts of South Africa were small in continental depth, though large in extent, and they tapped an immense field of trade. No other nation but Spain could even contemplate such achievements at this period.

During the reign of John III, Madeira and the Azores had already ceased to be colonies in the modern sense, having become integral parts of the mother country. A century had passed since Prince Henry colonised these islands with Portuguese, Flemings, Germans and Dutchmen; and now the sons of these islands of Portugal were taking their part in the adventures of the Indian Ocean, the China Sea and the Pacific, as soldiers or sailors, or even *fidalgos*. In 1530, when the diocese of Angra in the Azores was being created the Pope was informed that the islands contained not only a large Christian population, but some noblemen, many prosperous farmers and some well-to-do merchants.³⁴⁸ The foreigners had been fully assimilated.

Whilst the original settlement of these foreigners in the islands and in Portugal itself had been welcomed, it was carefully controlled in the interests of the nation. Each nation of Europe then was vividly conscious of a special mission in the world; but their common Catholic faith was a spiritual link that promoted active co-operation, whenever it became desirable in the view of public policy. The new settlers felt as much at home in the cathedral of Lisbon as in their church of Middelberg, or Augsburg or Amsterdam. Yet at first the fresh immigrants received letters of naturalisation for the purpose of trade, and were controlled by officials of their own race, appointed by the King of Portugal and responsible to him.³⁴⁹

A decree issued by John III in 1528 shows that he was prepared to broaden the welcome already given to suitable foreigners by his predecessors. Lübeck, Dantzig and other free German cities of the Hanseatic League petitioned that their citizens be formally included in the general privileges accorded to subjects of the German Empire. "As they are Esterlings," the royal ordinance runs, "some doubts have been expressed about their right to share in these grants. I hereby declare that both

as subjects of the Emperor and racially they are Germans, and consequently entitled to share in the concessions granted."³⁵⁰ The amount that each person could invest in trade was limited, and special licence was required in order to go personally to the overseas possessions.

The permanent success of the colonial policy of Portugal in these islands was only the first of many successes that the nation achieved in its pioneer efforts with the best principles of modern colonisation. A contemptuous estimate of Portugal's record in this field is one of the conventional myths of British and Anglo-American literature. Dr. David Livingstone bears unconscious witness to the tradition of his people in 1856.

That was the zero hour of Portugal's fortunes, when the diplomatic world of its rivals was active in taking advantage of the popular myth, in order to plunder the last relics of Portugal's empire. Livingstone went to Central Africa, expecting to find there the degenerate Portuguese, of whom the Press and the books spoke. This, however, is what he wrote from the Zambesi:³⁵¹ "The Portuguese here are as kind as they were in Angola, and that is saying a good deal. Somehow or other I had imbibed a sort of prejudice against them. But actual intercourse has fully convinced me that we are liable to form a very wrong opinion of the majority from the contumacious acts of the few. I have not met with a single instance of incivility amongst them; and many of them are men of intelligence, with whom it is refreshing to pass an hour." And this was the period when he wrote about "the mobocracy of that cesspool called Graham's Town"³⁵² He believed that his prejudice against Portugal was due to the "obstinate persistence" of the Portuguese in the slave trade. It was really due to the atmosphere in which he himself had been reared.

The persistence of slavery in Portuguese territory did not mean that they were less humane than Englishmen, but that they were poorer. Liverpool, which had become rich and prosperous on the gains of this traffic, could now manage to prosper without it. But it was the noble principles of John III's colonial policy that the English had discovered late, when they felt that they could afford to put them into practice. The real difference between Portuguese and English at this time was not in humanitarian feeling, but in what each considered to be practical politics.

Wise government is always shaped in accordance with the needs and circumstances of the governed. An inflexible purpose of securing their welfare is surely the secret of sound government, whatever form the administration may assume or whatever

the name by which the system is called. The groups of humanity under the Crown of Portugal were as various as the climates of the empire. King John had to administer the broad lands of Brazil, settlements in Angola, factories in Guinea with a hinterland of indolent tribes, some free cities beyond the ocean like Goa, settlements in Angola, many mere fortresses in South Africa and the East, a cosmopolitan city like Ormuz in Persia; diplomatic relations with allied sovereigns in India and the Malay Islands, mere trade relations with other native rulers who were independent of Portugal, and finally the near islands of the Atlantic. Both in land settlement overseas and in missionary work, the King insisted that the "native peoples should suffer no injustice nor be given any legitimate grievance."³⁵³

He also refrained on principle from any attempt to exercise direct government over peoples of his dependencies, who had native rulers of their own. At the request of the Paramount Chief of the Congo, he sent him a copy of the laws of Portugal, and some lawyers to explain their meaning; but he left their application to the native ruler himself.

John III had a double dose of Portuguese good sense, which made him abstain from meddling in the internal affairs of other nations. But he also acted on principle: the rational and Catholic principle that all men, without distinction of race or cultural status, had a right to protection in the exercise of their natural rights. This he expressed in adequate words to the Governor of Elmina in 1523.³⁵⁴ That soldier, who had the honoured name of Afonso de Albuquerque, had deported some troublesome negro chiefs of that coast. The King orders him to cancel the decree, "to treat them well and to chastise them more moderately, as they have a right to the same justice as my other subjects." Moreover, since these chiefs had been baptised, their case would be better met if they were carefully taught what the profession of the Christian faith entails.

In the East at this time the political connection with the Portuguese empire was regarded by most of the indigenous races as an honour and an advantage. At a period when rival kings of Europe were competing in vain for the alliance of rich and powerful Portugal, that alliance was clearly useful to Hindu and Malay sovereigns looking for help against strong rivals. The commercial towns of Cochin and Calicut were rival bidders for the protection of Portugal, and its apparently invincible armada. The rival Arabs of the Mozambique coast enjoyed a new peace, because their area was well policed by two strong fleets a year,

and a stream of casual caravels that passed at frequent and often unexpected intervals.

Goa was the first of the real colonies in this hemisphere. In 1519 it had already received a charter³⁵⁵ as a city, similar to that of Lisbon. From the twelfth century the Portuguese people had evolved the local government of the municipal council, as a safeguard of personal freedom and of the freedom of trade. Their statesmen took it for granted that men overseas had the same love of managing their own affairs; and that even the Portuguese settlers there, who had changed their habitation, had not changed their desire to live their own lives and conduct their own business. The Viceroy, indeed, had as wide political powers as any modern proconsul, but the people could not be taxed without being consulted.

Corruption is a disease of all rich administrations, even the most recent. In time of war or popular disturbance, the opportunities of fraud increase, and the East was always in a state of ebullition. But Lannoy³⁵⁶ is too sweeping in statement when he declares that the Lisbon Government was suspicious, avaricious and humdrum. That was certainly not the case under John III. The strong generalities of ardent reformers like Albuquerque and Diogo de Couto deserve to be carefully considered; but when sifted they indicate chiefly the immense difficulties with which the Council of India in Lisbon had to contend, and which it worked wonders to overcome, not always with success.

If on the Zambesi and in the Congo they did not attain the spectacular results of the Portuguese in Brazil and the Spaniards in the American colonies of Charles V, it was because the conditions of colonisation among the native Americans were more favourable than among the Bantu, Arabs, Malays and Hindus. The decline of the Portuguese in the East was not principally due to internal corruption, but to the powerful and combined attacks of three European rivals in Colonial enterprise. The wonder is that so much remains of what Portugal built up in South Africa, the East and America. This is the best tribute to the principles and methods of John III, as he first consolidated the empire. Portuguese culture became so deeply rooted, that no combination of military and political power was able to destroy it altogether, where it had once taken root.

This makes it worth while to examine what the methods of this King were. The first of these was the Council of India, presided over by the Secretary of State for India. Portugal had inherited the excellent medieval idea that a king without a council

was like a river without water, or rather like an individual without a conscience. As far back as the fourth century, when the Gothic Code still prevailed, the endorsement of the King's Council or Consistory was regarded as essential for the validity of certain royal edicts.³⁵⁷ The sovereign had no recognised right to govern by caprice. He himself admitted this when he prefaced his decrees by saying, "having consulted my council". Sometimes, indeed, he bullied his council, just as later sovereigns sometimes did their parliaments, and as powerful vested interests still succeed at times in bullying kings and presidents and parliaments.

Before Portugal became an empire through the overseas discoveries, the great Council of State had grown into a body of about six hundred persons. The executive, however, was a body of some dozen leaders,³⁵⁸ corresponding to the Cabinet of modern times. They were chosen by the King. The different criterion of choice in constituting these two bodies is a valuable illustration of the difference in outlook between the medieval mind and the mentality behind the forms that democracy assumed in later centuries. In theory, the Cabinet was chosen to represent the popular will, which is a malleable mass easily shaped by those who possess our expensive means of scientific propaganda. In this first quarter of the sixteenth century in Europe, the monarch was still charged with the duty of choosing the men most capable of advising him to govern well.

In Portugal there had existed for generations a fine tradition of training the heir to the throne for his future work. King Manuel warned his son that the right choice of his advisers was one-half of the secret of worthy government. At the beginning of King John's reign his Council of State was composed mostly of trusty men, who had served his father well. But he soon realised that if the Indian State, as they called it, was to be competently administered, a special body was needed for the purpose. This was the genesis of the Council of India.

It began with the appointment of Anthony d'Ataide as a Secretary of State for Indian Affairs in 1530. He was one of the younger noblemen whom John called to join the older men of the Council. Luiz de Sousa describes him as one of the lion's cubs, who responded to the call of the blood.³⁵⁹ Both in stature and in mind he had inherited the best strain of the older generation; "and he imbibed from his cradle and home the wisdom that others gain only by experience, and after long years of apprenticeship."

The same chronicler regrets that, when Ataide and Prince John were classmates, the latter did not become a perfect master

of Greek and Latin as Ataide did, and as John's talents would have made it easy for him to do. Since the young Prince was not destined to become a professor but a king, his own instinct was a surer guide. Though he had the best teachers of the day and a prodigious memory, he did not use it chiefly to amass literary or scientific knowledge, but he delighted in literature and in the society of learned men. These pursuits and the sound traditions of Portuguese statecraft, both principles and pageantry, were the interests that absorbed his attention; and time was to show that he had really chosen the better part. In their sports, their studies and their public interests, these two youths were in substantial harmony. After Ataide had served nine years as a junior member of the King's Council, he was designated as the minister chiefly responsible for the despatch of Indian business. For practical purposes this made him the Secretary of State for India, which then began at the Cape of Good Hope in matters of administration.

As Anthony d'Ataide was already Chancellor of the Exchequer, this gave him complete control of India House in Lisbon, which was a combination of state bank, national treasury and clearing-house for nearly the whole trade of the country. Here the salaries and allowances of all servants of the State were paid out, beginning with the King and Queen; public works were planned and financed, and contracts with home and foreign merchants were registered, whilst ledgers for all such State transactions were kept. But the root of all these activities was the equipment and management of the Indian fleets. More economic thought and preparations went into this channel than into any other, because its factors were so variable and complex. Portuguese America was still in the stage of digging foundations for the immense prosperity that was to come from the fertile lands of Brazil. Whereas America was still a liability, South Africa and India with Persia were profitable assets of steadily increasing value.

The other members of the Council of India were also men of independent mind. The King's brother, Prince Luis, was a constructive critic and supporter, as his extant letters show.³⁶⁰ We have seen how it was once proposed to send him to India in command of a fleet of record size and power. But wherever Luis happened to be, he was kept informed of the work being done, by means of frequent letters. In a letter from Evora, he tells how one night he rose from bed to answer two despatches from Ataide, which the courier had just brought.

Another letter ends with the apology that he had been interrupted three times whilst writing it; "and now the King has sent for me, and you shall have the rest of my views when we meet, which will not be long." Writing from Barcelona in 1538, where he had gone to help the Emperor in dislodging the Turks from Oran, he retails cheering news just received in a letter from Nuno da Cunha in Goa. "The time appears to have come when the good government of India is about to yield results." A few years earlier he placed his finger on the most serious difficulty that faced these men in their colossal task, the immense distances of the colonies from the central government. "Though we are neither feeble-minded nor blind, no amount of intelligence can arrange these matters satisfactorily without hearing the views of all parties. We can only grope our way, and learn by experience and with sound advice."

Once when the Prince was taking a holiday in the mountain regions of Serra de Estréla,³⁶¹ he writes to sympathise with Ataide's labours in contending with the elements as well as all sorts and conditions of men. "In your chair at Lisbon you are surmounting greater obstacles than the mountains that I am climbing, on foot and on my mule." Earnest and hard worker though Prince Luis was, he never lost his sense of proportion or his humour. Some years before his death, which took place two years before that of the King, he expresses the hope that an attack of gout which Ataide was enduring might soon pass. "If it only lets you off as cheaply as it has done with me, this disease will lose its reputation, as indeed I hope it will."

The most outspoken of the King's advisers was his cousin, Duke James of Braganza. Though his health was atrocious, and the main theme of his extant letters³⁶² is the long and successful effort to marry his elder daughter to Prince Edward, he found time to give much excellent advice about India in his rollicking way. His last will and testament of six printed pages displays a keen business instinct, and a strict integrity in money matters. The King's patience with all sorts of advisers, and his friendship with the Duke, enabled the latter to retail every popular opinion adverse to the policy of the Council of India. "Even though you may reject my suggestions," he wrote in 1531, "I shall return again with my views until the hills and hollows are levelled, which other people cause who are doing no service to Your Highness."

To the Secretary of State also he often wrote about the colonies, and hints at much advice which he does not care to put in writing, but which no doubt he gave by word of mouth. John

III probably shared the substance of the Duke's outspoken view, that the King of France was a sharper trying to conceal his tricks³⁶³ in colonial waters, though John would not endorse the phraseology. But he refused rightly to believe that the Emperor was anything but an upright rival and friend. Braganza thought less highly of Charles V, and his manoeuvres in the Spice Islands.

Even when the Duke of Braganza was brooding over his family grievances, he once pointed the moral from the abuses which he thought to be flourishing in the colonies. "The great marriages of to-day are those of plebeians and New Christians, who buy a higher rank through marriage, by redeeming their low birth or their Jewish origin with money. Some come from India, enriched by having robbed Your Highness; and they pay up willingly because it has cost them little to acquire their wealth." These complaints, however, would leave the King's withers unprung, as he was doing everything possible to deal sternly with dishonesty in the colonial service, and to control the power of the caste of New Christians.

But he had no intention of preventing capable men of the lower classes from rising in the world by trading in India, the Mozambique area, Malacca and the Far East. At home such men rose to the highest offices in the land, through the Church especially. Although King John was doing no service to the Church in placing so many of his relations and friends in the higher seats of the Church, there was ample room there for men of merit from below. Soldiers and peasants sometimes made fortunes in the East, and established *morgados* as a result of their activities abroad. The *morgado* was an entailed estate or office, purchased for a capital sum in these cases, though generally obtained by grant of the King. The new rich thus took their first step towards the rank of nobility.³⁶⁴

A most dramatic instance of these favourites of fortune was Ferdinand Mendes Pinto. He came to Mozambique in 1537, and within fifteen years was a wealthy man through his enterprise in Abyssinia, Arabia, India and Japan. Through his influence, his two younger brothers seem to have become pages in the court of John III.³⁶⁵ His sudden rise to affluence reminds us of the nabobs of British India in the early nineteenth century, but without their luxurious living. The gleams of indignation at this new phenomenon, unwelcome to Braganza as his letter shows, indicate also that Pinto's was no isolated case.

The old nobility reckoned rightly that their services were worth more to Portugal than all the gold of the Zambesi, and the Duke said so quite plainly. "Your Highness will pardon my

pride, but you will no doubt balance it against the active humility that I have shown in your service. It is true that gold is the measure of all things in trade, and it remains steady whilst commodities go up and down. But loyal subjects deserve a different measure of value.³⁶⁶

There he touched a responsive chord in the heart of John III. No man could be more resolute in preventing the balance of power within the State from falling into the hands of shopkeepers, the class which in all ages has the least vision of the things that make for the real glory and permanent profit of a nation.

Disraeli's *Sybil* has a snapshot of this shopkeeper mentality with its subtle hypocrisies. A fictitious Prime Minister soothes a deputation of manufacturers by showing how trade will revive, and humanity will be well served by the newly opened meat trade with the continent of Europe. The Spanish bull will no longer be speared in the bull-fights of Seville, but carved up at Smithfield, so as to undersell the foreigner. Portuguese leaders of the early sixteenth century could not conceive a colonial system whose chief aim was to earn dividends for shareholders. "Next to the service of God, what kings must always keep principally in view is that which affects the people," wrote King John once when remonstrating with the King of France.³⁶⁷

Profits in cash they aimed at; but these were spent by King John in maintaining the public services of the empire, and in those works of culture, education and religion which signalled his reign and improved the lot of the people. Only those who identify civilisation with mechanical advance, rapid locomotion and comfort, will refuse to see that in one important respect at least this part of the sixteenth century was more advanced than the twentieth.

It was because the New Christians represented both this interest of private capital and to a great extent that of the foreign investor, that the King curtailed drastically their opportunities of going to the overseas empire. Already in Portugal the King feared their financial links with Antwerp and Turkey, and the people resented their firm grip on the labour of the peasants through usurious bartering. By concentrating the main streams of trade and money dealings at India House in Lisbon, the Council was able to control successfully, and to co-ordinate, the economic and financial activities of the far-flung empire.

Enough of the correspondence between the members of the Council and the King has survived to enable us to see how varied these activities were, and how carefully he scrutinised every

practical problem in the light of the sound principles that were his guide.

Like Gladstone in his first phase,³⁶⁸ centuries later, King John believed that religion in the form of an endowed Church was the most effective way of promoting the graces of human life, and the lasting happiness of the colonists. The money thus spent would earn no dividends calculable in *cruzados*; but the priests should at least offer to his heathen subjects Christ's pearl of great price, the Gospel. That was a benefit conferred upon his new subjects for which he looked for no return in cash. The equipment of missionaries, the building of churches and the provision of schools were obligations of honour in a Catholic king, and he charged the *Casa da India* with these items of the national budget.

Very often, however, these expenses were met out of the privy purse of the King or Queen, or some fidalgo or rich citizen. India House alone could not have sustained the burden of so much expenditure for the spiritual needs of the people, if it had not been supplemented by the generosity of pious captains like Anthony Galvão and pious merchants like Ferdinand Pinto. Since the days when John da Nova built the first chapel at Mossel Bay, officers and men were glad to give the work of their hands, without pay, to erect symbols and landmarks of their Christian faith. They felt that this faith was a leaven, whose effects were wholesome when kneaded into the mass of any nation.

The importance of colonial trade was however realised even by a sturdy conservative like the Duke of Braganza. Writing to the King after an earthquake in the first weeks of the year 1531, he congratulates his sovereign on having escaped with less damage than would have been caused by the wreck of one ship on the Cape route or in the transport trade of Flanders. Only by hard work all the year round was it possible for Anthony d'Ataide to get ready the men, money and equipment for the yearly voyages of the main fleets. The Duke of Barcellos, one of his colleagues in this work, testifies that Ataide took up a long day's work constantly just as he put on his clothes for the day.³⁶⁹ If all his letters had survived, we should have a perfect picture of the colonial policy of that day.

In his extant correspondence there is a happy lack of those envious personalities that are so tiresome in the *Life and Letters* of too many modern politicians. We get the reason of it in a letter of Barcellos to Ataide. "When people raise clouds of dusty verbiage about some subject that crops up, they generally

turn out to be liars. What a man feels to be right, that he must do. Any decent pagan (let alone an intelligent Christian) ought to be more upset about doing wrong than about the chastisement for it. That is why I do not mind being censured for my blunders, but God forbid that I should always be talking."³⁷⁰ In this spirit these men worked together, and that is one reason why there is so little comparatively in the chronicles about their personal differences. Their deeds speak for them.

One source of unfailing anxiety was the selection of the right sort of man for the key positions in the fleet, in Africa, in India and in Persia. Most of the men sent were personally known to the King; and some of them had to be persuaded by him to take up onerous positions, where they would only lose money or health or comfort. It is a startling contrast to what Sir George Cornewallis Lewis wrote about the British colonies in the zero year of 1837: "The scum of England is poured into the colonies: briefless barristers, broken-down merchants, ruined debauchees, the offal of every calling and profession."³⁷¹ The morally enervating conditions of the overseas countries and the easy opportunities of plunder were a searching test of the powers of resistance, even in the best men.

That is why the King examined the very highest officials with searching questions, based on reports from persons whose complaints he thought worth sifting. For example, he cross-examined the returned Governor-General of India, Lopo Vaz da Sampaio, with many stern queries such as this: "Why did you not hear the appeal of two Jews in Ormuz, who had been convicted in the lower court of the Persian King?"³⁷² John had evidently been informed that these Jews had been refused redress. Sampaio made it clear that it was an act of mercy on his part to decline the appeal. "They were convicted of coining false money," he replied; "and if they came to my court, I should have been compelled to have them burned, as the law ordains." Sampaio was evidently more humane than Lord Chancellor Loughborough in 1783, who resisted the proposal to substitute hanging for burning in the case of English women similarly convicted.³⁷³ What John III feared in Sampaio's case was that some bribe had impeded the ordinary course of justice, and that was now disproved.

To ensure financial integrity, the King introduced a stricter method of auditing the accounts of India House.³⁷⁴ Every Vice-roy knew that this audit was a serious ordeal that awaited him when he returned home. This is amusingly brought home to us by a joke in the letter of an Indian missionary some years later. Father Jerome Xavier, writing to his friend the returning Viceroy,

says: "Take care to leave Goa with your ships lightly loaded, because no auditor is more severe on Viceroy than the Cape of Good Hope."³⁷⁵ The allusion was very clear to the men of that day. The Lisbon auditor would clear away the ill-gotten goods that any man brought home, but the storms of the Cape of Good Hope would destroy all a man's possessions, legitimate and illegitimate, if the ships were overladen.

Some of the lesser officials seem to have attempted to save doubtfully acquired jewels or precious stones by placing them in safe deposits in Sofala, until they could be turned into cash or smuggled into Portugal. But this subterfuge was nipped in the bud by the vigilance of the Council of India. They procured a royal proclamation in 1533, to be affixed to the fortresses of Sofala and Mozambique, forbidding any gold or silver or jewels above a certain value to be stored at Sofala for the credit of any individual, no matter how high his rank.³⁷⁶ Sofala was a shady spot, just far enough from the glare of Mozambique to make such illegal operations easy, until the searchlight of a special law was directed upon it.

The King appointed the members of the Council of India and of his general Council of State, just as a premier appoints his cabinet in a modern parliament. Those selected seem to have met with popular approval. We never hear of armed protests, such as took place at this time against the Council appointed by Henry VIII in England. Henry crushed the opposition in blood, saying:³⁷⁷ "It does not belong to any of our subjects to appoint us our Council." John III had more respect for the liberty of his subjects, and selected men whom they respected, and not mere tools of his own whims.

As often as possible, King John would invite Ataide to spend the holidays with him in his favourite villa at Evora. The headquarters of Ataide were naturally at Lisbon, where the ships and the government offices were. But whether the King was at Evora, New Montemor, Almeirim, Tomar or elsewhere, he and his chief ministers were in daily communication by means of letters in cypher.

The bond of union between these men, which reinforced their personal friendship, was a set of identical principles in regard to the best method of colonial government. The soul of government is more important than its body, said Father Anthony Vieira from the pulpit of the royal chapel some years later, and that soul must be of such a nature as to win eventually the souls of those who are governed. A king may be crowned by being anointed, but he only sits firmly upon the throne when he carries

his people with him.³⁷⁸ This concord with African chiefs, American and Eastern kings and their peoples, was what John III sought by means of friendly advances, definite treaties, and trade agreements that would be mutually beneficial.

A typical expression of this broad sympathy is found in a letter which the King wrote four years before his death.³⁷⁹ He had heard that a trader named Simon Rodrigues, living at Salvaterra, had returned from the colonies with strong views about the currency question. "As it is always in the interest of my Government that everybody should be heard that has anything to say," he wrote to Ataide, "I wish you to send for Rodrigues, to find out what practical knowledge he has of such matters, and what reasons he gives for his views. Write and tell me what you think of it all."

With the same end in view, the King frequently invited African, Indian, Malay and American kings to visit Lisbon, so that he might make their personal acquaintance. Only some Bantu chiefs, an Abyssinian prince, a Persian grandee and an Indian heir-apparent were able to come; but the special envoys of all the subordinate rulers of the Portuguese empire were often seen in the streets of Lisbon.

If the Portuguese were willing to treat all these primitive peoples as friends, and to protect them from their enemies at home, the King would not allow the privileges of friendship to be separated from its duties. Hence the severity with which breaches of the treaties of friendship were sometimes visited. There is no need to apologise to the modern mind for even the most drastic of these punishments, as the twentieth century has eclipsed all previous ages in the matter of war atrocities. It is not for us who have enforced compliance with treaties by the holocaust of millions of lives to be scornful in regard to a king so mild comparatively in compelling fulfilment of the plighted word.

In another way also King John tried to minimise the risk of war, namely, by seeking to become familiar with the characters of the leading personalities overseas, and the customs of the various nations there. Here he was assisted by a large body of capable men, who had seen service in the East and in the Pacific Ocean. Returned Viceroy's, sea captains, commandants of fortresses, traders, missionaries and soldiers could be consulted in Portugal, and even Vasco da Gama was there during twenty-three years of this reign. Detailed reports came to Lisbon regularly from every centre. As happens in all ages, John's chief

difficulty was in sifting the facts out of the contradictory statements of the rival factions, since factions flourish wherever there is profit to be made out of government.

John III was more happily placed than Gladstone when the latter took over the reins of England's colonial policy. Gladstone found in 1837 that there was no policy and no organ of a consistent government of the overseas possessions of England.³⁸⁰ The leading statesmen of his time knew nothing but England, and were not sufficiently interested in the outside world to bother about it, until the American colonies revolted in despair. The memory of what Portugal had done was not then to be found in English literature. So Gladstone turned for inspiration to the foreign literature which he knew best: that of ancient Greece.

Its ideas of colonisation were in reality a poor and unsuitable model, because the whole Greek world lacked that stability and security which is indispensable for overseas trade.³⁸¹ If Gladstone managed in the course of years to effect much admirable reform, it was because he fell back upon the Christian principles which were the background of Portuguese policy, and were first consolidated in permanent institutions of the colonising State by John III.

Our first European governor in South Africa, Jan van Riebeeck, was wiser in his earlier generation than Gladstone in appreciating the lessons of the past. Writing to the directors of the Dutch East India Company in Amsterdam from the Cape of Good Hope on the twenty-eighth day of April, 1655, he pays a merited tribute to the success of the Portuguese in colonising.³⁸² "For purposes of defence we (in South Africa) should be united in an armed burgher corps, as the Portuguese do in their Indian colonies. The children of the latter being born in those colonies, the population is much increased and the parents are entirely weaned from the fatherland; this is the reason of their strength in India. They would not otherwise have been able to hold out so long against the (Dutch) Company." It is therefore to the insight of Van Riebeeck, pondering over the lessons of Portuguese history, that we owe the foundation of our South African nation. Gladstone³⁸³ and the Netherlands statesmen of his day • clung more firmly to the idea of the supremacy of the central authority than John III did.

But John was the first statesman who systematically strove to embody this idea of a commonwealth of free nations, whose only link was the imperial power and the love of the mother country, under the aegis of a strong fleet. India and Brazil were the scenes of these fateful experiments, and an independent

Brazil remains as the ripened fruit of this noble ideal of cultural colonisation. No one then understood that the ripe fruit must eventually fall from the tree.

With regard to the aboriginal inhabitants, the watchword was the preservation of the native authority and native customs, in so far as they were compatible with natural morality. Even the various Muslim systems were respected when the people were prepared to be friendly, as in Sofala, Zanzibar and Malindi. It was only in the nature of things, and highly desirable, that the superior culture of Portugal should gradually and painlessly displace the lower culture in places like Mozambique, Goa and Macao. But it can never be charged against the Portuguese that they extinguished whole races, root and branch, as was done by the Buccaneers of North America and their successors. Even amongst the slaves, Portuguese and Spaniards earned the praise of being the kindest of masters.³⁸⁴ This was due not only to their humane temperament, but to their colonial system.

During the reign of John III there was a rosy prospect that the splendid Iberian tradition of municipal freedom through home rule would be transplanted to the new worlds of Africa, America and Asia. At Seville Charles V established the Council of the Indies in 1524; and in 1542 he promulgated the Code for the protection of native Americans.³⁸⁵ At Lisbon the Council of India dealt equal justice to all the King's subjects, whatever their race or religion.

It is an anachronism to impute to John III the failures of later generations, or to Portugal alone the crimes which she shared with her rivals and supplacers: Holland, England and France.³⁸⁶ Imperialist patriotism, whatever the brand, with power behind it and egged on by the trader or capitalist, will stop at nothing necessary for its purpose, unless controlled by the principles that John III professed so sincerely. He was incapable of boasting that he had carried them out completely, as many apologists of later imperialisms do in defiance of all the facts. But we can claim on his behalf that he worked hard, chastised severely the servants of the Crown who violated these principles, and spent much hard cash in the endeavour to carry them out.

The King felt that the money he spent in spreading Portuguese culture in the East was spent on God's work, just as much as his endowments of churches, schools and universities at home; and he was lavish in both directions. This enthusiasm was shared by the members of his Council of India.

Two of them were appointed successively Viceroys of India: Martin Afonso de Sousa and John de Castro. Comfortable

as they were at home, they undertook this onerous office as a duty they owed their country. The fine spirit of the feudal system was still part of the atmosphere of the circles in which they had been bred. The first duty of a vassal to his lord was to give him sound advice, whether he relished it or not. His second duty was to obey. When, therefore, the King asked them to take command in India, they promptly relinquished their pleasant pursuits at home despite their first-hand knowledge of the fevers, bickerings and hardships, which were the lot of those who represented the King overseas.

We have an eye-witness's account of the meeting of these two men in Goa in the month of August, 1545, when Castro arrived to succeed Sousa. Both men had served their apprenticeship in Indian affairs as members of the Council of India. But now Sousa had completed three years of experience as Governor-General and had seen Japan opened up to Portuguese trade. Very graciously, writes Leonardo Nunes,³⁸⁷ who was present, the retiring Governor welcomed his successor and introduced each member of his staff, indicating briefly the good service he had rendered. Anthony Cardoso, the chief secretary, drew up the act of transfer of authority, and there was a day of general rejoicing.

"This is one of the great things that the Muslim kings of India admire in the Portuguese: their honesty and loyalty," adds Nunes. In Islam even the highest authority, that of the Caliph, was so fluctuating and uncertain in its appeal, for lack of any definite principle behind it, that loyalty was an exotic; and the sword became the ready solution of all questions regarding the rights of government in the state.³⁸⁸ No wonder that these men admired in the Portuguese, both leaders and led, a generous loyalty which the Muslim were unable to reproduce in their public life.

In the case of John de Castro, this loyalty took a form rare enough anywhere. Leonardo Nunes records from personal observation how Castro continued the thorough work of his predecessor in keeping the fleet fully equipped to meet any threat from the Turks, superintending the details of each department. "By his example and encouragement, the King's service was completely carried on; and he succeeded in satisfying the officials of the Dockyard, both by good wages and due praise when they deserved it, spending thus not only the money of the Treasury, but all his private wealth."

No country can expect to have an unlimited supply of such men at any time. But I know of no colonial system since, in

which the ranks of the proconsuls and lower officials contained so large a proportion of men of Castro's type, as that governed by John III. At that period neither the Dutch nor the English had any colonies. When the East India companies arose in both countries, they became machines that consumed all they produced, as idle and corrupt officials, favoured by bosses at home, drained all the profits in large salaries.³⁸⁹ It was only when England lost North America and the Netherlands South Africa, that these countries awakened to the fact that colonials had a patriotism of their own.

Even then party politics became a drag on the appointment of the best men. To John III politics meant the art of government, its philosophical and traditional European meaning. The word had not yet come to signify the rivalries of the shifting factions of the parliamentary system. Fully fledged factions of this sort were a danger which King John did not have to fear, so that he was able to govern on principle. He anticipated by centuries the view of Gladstone, that the strength of the imperial tie should consist in the love of his subjects; and the persons whom he sent to South Africa and India were those whom he believed would inspire loyalty.

But writing like a modern journalist, Leonardo Nunes says that, despite the clemency of John de Castro, hell was let loose on the mainland near Goa by some of the Muslim kings.³⁹⁰ "They were not content with the prosperity that our friendship gave them, and with the straight and profitable trade of their ports, the coffers full of gold and silver, their rich garments and those of their wives and daughters decked with gold and precious stones. Never before had they been so honoured, well treated, free and favoured, as since they came into the empire of our lord the King." Nothing that the wisest king could devise was sufficient to reconcile the Muslim minority to the loss of their domination over the Hindu majority, which Portugal had broken. In South Africa also there was a nest of like-minded rebels against the Portuguese commonwealth, who lived chiefly at Mombasa and were egged on from Oman and Suez.

Perpetual vigilance and the cost of a strong fleet were not the only items in the price of peace and prosperity which the Council of India had to pay. Some of them sacrificed all that was most precious in their personal lives for the sake of the empire, and the King himself sacrificed the company of some of his dearest friends for what he considered the noblest of earthly causes.

With the King's letters before us, it is hard to understand how a learned Portuguese historian, Ferdinand de Palha,³⁸¹ can say that overseas trade "always forced the Portuguese kings to abandon their royal dignity when it was a question of saving their monopoly in trade." The practical measures that King John took to safeguard the trade of the Zambesi coast, Guinea, Brazil and the East, may be called a monopoly in the sense that every tariff system of to-day constitutes a national monopoly. No king now sacrifices his dignity by discussing such measures with his Chancellor of the Exchequer.

With his Council, especially with Ataide, King John discussed mercantile contracts, both foreign and domestic, the current prices of commodities in the various markets of Europe, the probable yield of gold from the Zambesi and Elmina, the prospects of the harvest in Portugal, the price of corn in Dantzig, the true value of the different coins of the realm, estimates of the turnover from the Cape cargoes now on the water, the hiring of gunners in Flanders and the purchase of artillery, loans to needy captains for equipment; and, the most anxious task of all, how to procure the large amount of cash required by each annual fleet in order to buy the return cargoes. All this constituted the nation's business.

John III hated the private monopoly, which flourished at the expense of the community, as much as any Socialist of the nineteenth century. He was no merchant prince like the Fuggers or the Medici, who accumulated cash in order to found a financial dynasty. Being a royal prince, he had for his aim in life the purpose contained in the motto of his settled dynasty: "*Talent de bien faire.*"³⁸² One principal method of the service of the nation, thus pithily expressed, was to ensure a steady national revenue.

The material wealth of a nation was only beneficial if it produced an increase in the spiritual wealth of the people, and became the foundation of genuine freedom. His letters show how he felt that Portugal could never be free to go the way of her own spirit, if she was chained to foreigners by crushing loans. Hence his frequently expressed wish that these loans should be repaid year by year, and not be allowed to accumulate. It would have been better for Portugal if all her subsequent rulers had possessed equal wisdom. By a natural instinct which is the mark of a statesman of genius, he grasped the truth, which we have only learned through centuries of bitter experience, that processes of capital are processes of conquest. Thus, the lines of his colonial policy were drawn so as to produce first a mutually

beneficial intercourse, in finance and trade, between the colonies and the mother country.

Portugal's monopoly, however, was not conceived as excluding co-operation with other nations. In the midst of the trade debates with the King of France, John III wrote: "We have inherited the warm friendship between our ancestors, and I desire to increase it. This is best done by friendly intercourse between your subjects and mine."³⁹³ Where there was conflict John proposed to settle disputes by arbitration. Again and again he renounced large sums due to his country in order to increase peaceful trade in the future between the two countries. The goodwill thus generated was to him more valuable than bad debts. This was a spirit well worthy of a royal merchant, and added a rare dignity to the national economy.

The same method which he used with European kings was customary with him in dealing with the subordinate sovereigns who came into the Portuguese empire. In respecting the authority of these kings, rajahs, sultans and Bantu chiefs, he felt that he was preserving the cement of legitimate authority, which was the only justification of his own power. True he habitually calls all these rulers his vassals; but the word vassal was a title of honour, as it deserved to be, in the feudal system. Modern usage has identified it with its abuses alone. What would become of the word freedom if we thought only of the atrocities committed by Liberals in the name of liberty?

In Africa we have a typical sample of the sacrifices made by King John in order to defend one of his colonial vassals, the Eantu chief of the Congo whom the Portuguese called Dom Alvaro.³⁹⁴ He was suddenly assailed by hordes of the Bantu cannibals called Jagas, who under different names raided Angola, Guinca, Mombasa and Abyssinia. Many Portuguese laid down their lives defending the freedom of these barbarian allies. The final victory was won on an island of the Zaire River. Without the Portuguese, this Congo confederation of tribes would have been annihilated. The dynasty of these Congo kings (thirty-nine up to date) has remained unbroken to the present day, and the reigning chief pays homage at stated intervals to the Portuguese governor of Angola in great state, even since Portugal has become a republic.³⁹⁵

But the representatives of the King on the Mozambique coast, in India and Malaya, faced with a hundred imminent perils, sometimes took a sterner view of their duties towards colonial peoples than the King. When, for example, Henry de Meneses was Governor-General of India (1524-1526), the Rajah

of Calicut made a solemn treaty of friendship and peace, but the moment the Governor's back was turned the Rajah fell upon the small Portuguese garrison left behind. Meneses returned with a powerful force of ships and men; and in front of the city he called the customary war council to determine their course of action. Some were for landing and destroying the Muslim army, others for reinforcing the beleaguered garrison so that it could tire the aggressors out. Meneses decided to leave the decision to John de Lima, commander of the defenders of the fortress. A letter to this effect was smuggled by boat to the fortress at night, and this was the substance of Lima's reply:³⁹⁶ "No half measures with these treacherous people! If you retire without giving them a memorable lesson, they will think we are weak or afraid." The lesson was duly given and the fortress levelled to the ground, as its destruction was part of the wise plan of reducing military commitments which the King drew up shortly after his accession. Henceforth, that coast would be adequately protected from the sea by the strong navy centred in Goa and Cochin. Vasco da Gama, who had been sent to carry out this naval concentration, died before he could carry it out.

As part of the same policy, after 1528 John III practically abandoned the bellicose Mombasa and some of the fierce islands on the same stretch of coast. He preferred to extend the peaceful commerce of Mozambique, Sofala and Delagoa Bay.

This policy, writes the ardent imperialist, Faria e Sousa, in 1628, was a step backwards from the reign of King Manuel.³⁹⁷ He can only excuse John III, because he was a friar at heart and more inclined to mercy than to justice." That was why, according to the same historian, he also abolished the penalty of branding thieves on the face, as he declared that such an indelible mark gave them no chance of changing their lives. To us it shows how far ahead of the mere politicians in high places King John was, both in social legislation and in statecraft.³⁹⁸ Branding for felony was not abrogated in England until 1822. In 1902 the rich republic of North America was able to bully the poor republic of Columbia by a careful mixture of threatening warships and bribery, into granting part of its own territory for the Panama Canal, displaying thus a republican imperialism more aggressive than this monarchical imperialism of the sixteenth century. It is so rare in later ages to find an imperial Power curtailing its colonial activities in order to discharge better those that remained, that the portent deserves to be remembered.

The fact that so many members of the civil and military services overseas were courtiers was no sign of snobbery, but a

guarantee that they shared the principles of sound government that the King impressed upon his environment.³⁹⁹ No better summary of the ideals visible in his acts and letters could be drawn up than the statement of the head of the most recent government of Portugal, setting forth its aims. The new Portuguese State, said Dr. Salazar, "begins by establishing the laws of morality and justice as limits to its own sovereignty. It imposes on the State the obligation to respect the natural rights of the individual, the family, corporations and local bodies." A school was clearly necessary for such training, and John III found it in the great families that had filled high offices of state, in the court itself, in the universities and in the Church. The supremacy of the spiritual in the Christian sense was the common tradition of all that school.

At first sight there might seem to be some similarity between this form of government and the contemporary system of the Ottoman empire under Solyman the Magnificent. The dominant features of the Ottoman system were government by an imperial household, and education of the governing class in every function of life. But in Portugal the imperial house was broad-based upon the affection of the people, and not recruited from alien slaves;⁴⁰⁰ and the education was as different as the New Testament is from the Koran. The pashas, viziers and generals were Christians by origin, captured in youth and educated as Muslim; and they were mutilated into eunuchs, so that they might have no links of human nature with the people whom they dragooned rather than governed.

Thus, a training in any Christian court was in itself a diploma, such as nineteenth century England believed to be due to men who passed through certain highly privileged public schools. We find, for instance, the young Duchess of Savoy (a sister of King John) writing to Ataide⁴⁰¹ and recommending a noble boy named Diogo da Costa for a secretaryship in the Flanders factory, which was a first step in the India civil service. He had done excellent work in the court of Turin, she added, and would give a good account of himself. A charming sentence at the end of a postscript to this letter reveals how she shared her brother's devotion to the public service. Hearing that Ataide is going to France, she begs him to call at Turin, "as it will be long before I shall have a chance of seeing anyone with whom I can so joyfully chat about family matters, if this delay will not harm the business of my brother the King."

The commoners who rose to high office in the civil service were men who showed outstanding ability in the law, finance or

the Church. We see some of their names countersigning the King's despatches on Indian affairs: Peter Carneiro, his son Peter d'Alcaçova Carneiro and Ferdinand d'Alvares. The historian Herculano⁴⁰² goes to the absurd length, in his vendetta against John III, of attributing all the wise things the King wrote to the elder Carneiro, and all the failures to the King himself. This shows at least that he was discerning in choosing such capable helpers and in taking them from whatever rank of the social scale in which they were to be found.

In one important instance he might seem to have been less fortunate in his selection.⁴⁰³ This was in appointing Afonso Mexia Treasurer-General of India for six years. He came of a lowly family of the remote village of Campo Maior, on the Spanish border. But he had financial ability, which brought him to the notice of King Manuel through the Count of Portalegre, who first discovered his talent. Thus he was entrusted with difficult problems of finance, became factor of Elmina in 1511, and later was notoriously successful in investing money for various clients. The secretary of the Royal Treasury died a few months before King Manuel, and Mexia obtained the post. In 1523 he drew up a remarkable report on the finances of the previous reign.

That year there was much anxiety in Lisbon about the conditions of the Indian Treasury. Everyone agreed that the need of the hour was a strong arm, a sound business man and a straight dealer, to restore confidence. Providence seemed to have provided the right man in Mexia to go with Vasco da Gama in 1524, and to aid in putting new life into the administration. If the masterful Vasco da Gama had not died so suddenly that Christmas, all might have gone well.

When the letters patent were opened, Peter Mascarenhas⁴⁰⁴ was found designated as Governor-General. But as he was away at Malacca, and could not arrive for six months, Sampaio was put in possession temporarily. Unfortunately, Mexia had quarrelled with Mascarenhas and joined those who wished to exclude him permanently. The able Treasurer had eloquence, too, that fatal gift given to so many politicians for the undoing of the people. He used it with great effect, both in India where he was, and in Lisbon through his powerful friend the Count of Portalegre, to present his view of the character of Mascarenhas. He succeeded in excluding him from the command in India.

The accompanying intrigues split Indian society in two. The historians, Diogo de Couto and Gaspar Corrêa, then in India, took the side of Mascarenhas, the hero of Bintang who had just

chastised the Muslim Sultan of Johore and saved Malacca for Portugal. Corrêa tells us that the shelved governor "had determined to take vengeance on Mexia with his own hand." But King John was equally resolute to prevent such a tragedy. He kept Mascarenhas busy abroad; and he was drowned in 1535, between Barcelona and Oran, when one of the Emperor's warships was wrecked on its way to attack the Turks.⁴⁰⁵

In 1531 the King recalled Mexia to Lisbon after a successful career as "our Treasurer-General in the parts of India and other parts from Sofala to China." Dying in the same year as the King, he had been constantly employed in the most important negotiations of a financial nature. The King has been abused for promoting such a turbulent person. But surely it was the conduct of a wise statesman, who kept the public welfare in mind above all personal wrangles, and felt strong enough to control all the cliques.

The mention of the Count of Portalegre in this connection shows that John III was not tied to the guidance of Ataide or any section of his Council of India. Most of "the best people" were on the side of Mascarenhas, and the law courts decided later that he had been illegally supplanted; but there was no proof that Mexia had exceeded the just limits of party warfare in taking sides against him. Mexia's value as a money expert was beyond cavil, and the King was following his avowed line of weighing opinions, not merely counting them.

He had the rare gift of being able to profit by expert advice, while keeping the experts in their own place. Once he wrote to Ataide to find out how international law stood in regard to a naval controversy. Consult the lawyers, he said,⁴⁰⁶ but if they differ listen to Gaspar Vaz, though he is not a lawyer; because his judgment is so sound that he will best decide which of them gives the soundest reasons.

But was not King John's navy system like a clay foundation for the skyscraper of his grandiose ambitions in the colonies? Some writers, pointing to the map of his far-flung empire, have declared that it was only a question of time when the weakness of the root would destroy the whole organism. But this is to read very much later conditions into present history. The Portuguese navy was fully equipped, and large enough, to defend effectively any part of the empire in the four continents then known.

We have already described the King's skilful treatment of the only hostile navy in Europe that he had to deal with, that of France. Spain was an ally and friend in spite of the rivalry in trade. There was no need to fear the English navy, for two

reasons, and first on account of the long tradition of peace between the two countries since the treaty of Windsor.

It is true that Henry VIII had begun to manoeuvre in a way that might have caused some anxiety to one less watchful and informed than the Portuguese King. With part of the proceeds of the plunder of the monasteries, the English King had equipped a rarely complete fleet, and some of his ships "were not only superior in armament, but were also faster and easier to handle than any ships in Europe." He had also instituted an efficient Navy Board to handle problems of strategy. But the social unrest that he was creating in England at the same time weakened the navy arm, and led to naval chaos after his death. An English historian of the navy explains discreetly how this happened.¹⁰⁷ "Owing to Henry's peculiar system of personal relationships, each of his children ascended the throne in defiance of some perfectly logical religious objection, believed in by a considerable body of their subjects." The resultant chaos was obvious to John III, and assured him that he need have no fear of the English navy. Ironically enough, the only persistent advocate of a stronger English navy during this period was Philip II of Spain, when he married Mary Tudor.

The Portuguese navy in home waters was also a formidable shield of the empire. There were three permanent squadrons: one on the Atlantic coast of Portugal, another in the Mediterranean, and a third in the islands of the Atlantic. These were organised on a basis of purely defensive tactics, being intended mainly for securing the safety of the trade convoys.

John's characteristic blend of strength with caution is seen in the order which he gave in 1552¹⁰⁸ to the fishing fleets of Oporto and of the Tagus, which were accustomed to sail annually for Ireland (Waterford), England (Bristol) and Newfoundland. They were not to sail until further orders, as the French fleets were out in force on a piratical expedition. It was better to lose a year's fishing than to risk a war with France, as John knew that the crafty French King was a secret accomplice of these pirates.

The Portuguese King was as properly shy of unnecessary battles as he was of all alliances.¹⁰⁹ He grasped better than most of our modern politicians that alliances, even when they are misnamed leagues of nations, are instruments of war, not peace. He skilfully avoided proffered alliances with France or with the Emperor, who was also King of Spain. "Leagues always begin with a great noise, but the process of time brings them down like houses with bad foundations," is the recorded opinion of this

wise monarch. So he kept his powder dry, and the Cape armadas fully equipped, to face the gigantic task of policing the sea highways beyond the Cape of Good Hope.

By these measures, not only was the heart of the empire adequately protected by the home fleets, but also the arteries which stretched out in the limbs beyond the oceans. The life-blood of the nation was world trade, and its circulation had to be maintained as the fundamental condition of life. There was no indication that John III was ever handicapped in his tasks by lack of ships.

Money may be described as the oxygen of that great organism. It constituted a problem which the King tackled with great resolution, as we have seen. But he was also kept mindful of it by councillors like Martin Afonso de Sousa. In 1544, when he was Governor-General of India, he informed the King of two large gifts of money made by Indian kings, in token of gratitude for his generous treatment of them.⁴¹⁰ "I have much to say to Your Highness when I return home. But I beg you to remember that we cannot depend on windfalls like this for the government of India."

But another source of the best kind of wealth, human effort, often atoned for the lack of income. In Portugal then a man could gain more credit and fame by deeds of valour than by large acres or a big banking account. That was a fine spirit, and it accounts for much that cannot be set down in terms of coin of the realm. It was not the barren heroism of Don Quixote, as the Portuguese did not lose their sense of humour over it.

Leonardo Nunes, who lost the full use of his hands in deeds of daring, is able to joke about it all.⁴¹¹ In his *Chronicle* he explains why he will not decide which of two heroes was captain of a small ship that ran the blockade of Diu. "As my *Chronicle* is to appear in my lifetime I wish to live in peace, secure from the vengeance of the heirs or friends of my heroes. This matter is not a feat of Achilles, nor is it an article of the Christian faith for the profession of which a man should be prepared to die." So he leaves the point undecided. But the existence of this spirit prompted sacrifices for the ideal of ordered freedom, which big salaries could not have elicited.

One of the delusions of North American democrats is the notion that they discovered the secret of liberty, and defined it adequately for the first time.⁴¹² We who have seen the strange operations of Woodrow Wilson in Europe can only smile sadly at the curious hallucination. In reality, centuries before the name of America was invented men wrestled with the yet unsolved

problem of reconciling perfectly the claims of liberty and ordered prosperity.

This was the aim that John III sought consciously in his colonial system. He knew too much of the nature of men in the mass and of the past history of humanity to utter the idle boast of Thomas Jefferson's credo, "that men can be trusted to govern themselves without a master". North America to-day, with its many powerful masters, hardly justifies the prophecies of the simple-minded Jefferson.

King John was incapable of boasting that he had solved the ancient problem. The Christian faith had given him the true principles of an ordered human freedom. But since the fourth century, when Christians ceased to be a persecuted and underground minority, they were faced with many widely different sets of conditions to which their principles had to be applied. The overseas discoveries presented King John with political conditions undreamed of in earlier generations. But he remembered the maxim of Saint Augustine, of North Africa, in the fifth century (354-430), that a State without a foundation of justice is merely a gang of robbers.

That was the watchword of his colonial system. Justice means giving every man his due, and every nation the government it desires. Unlike some very modern democrats,⁴¹³ King John did not force the excellent system of his own country upon the Bantu, Indians, Arabs and Malays, who did not want it. But he cultivated their friendship with mutually profitable treaties which he insisted that they should keep. By his acts he showed the conviction that the only real freedom which nations can enjoy is necessarily tempered by the claims of order and the common welfare. As the nations change, so do the methods of liberty.

John did not seek to embody any of the fashions that Utopia has taken, nor did he subscribe to the fixed dogma of any one of the two hundred definitions of liberty that we possess; but he dealt honestly and humanely with the heads of all States under the Portuguese Crown. It was the Muslim King of Cochin, Said bin Issa bin Afram,⁴¹⁴ who wrote: "Your justice is known throughout the world. I am ready to do every service not only to you, but to the smallest Portuguese that comes to my country." Many such tributes are found in the archives of this reign, some from the Zambesi coast in Arabic.⁴¹⁵

In pushing this system of imperial commerce in the East, the Portuguese were only asking of the Indians, Arabs and Bantu the same mutual privileges that the Christian nations of Europe were accustomed to grant one another. In 1555 the Tsar of

Russia, writing to Queen Mary Tudor of England, bases his grant of trading privileges there to Englishmen on the same principle that John III proclaimed in the Indian Ocean and the China Sea. "God has planted in all realms and dominions of the world commodities of different kinds, so that the nations need one another, and friendship is thereby increased."⁴¹⁸ The Tsar undertakes to protect Englishmen who come to Russia in the pursuit of such trade. This international need was considered sufficient justification for the whole colonial system.

Our era of tariffs, the gold standard and the race for raw materials, was to show what awful possibilities of enmity this international commerce contained. But in King John's day it was rightly believed that the differences of race, religion, civilisation and method of government were not insuperable obstacles to a colonial system of friendly competition in trade. When he died, it had achieved a greater success in his hands than any enterprise of the kind yet known. It had certainly made Portugal one of the richest kingdoms of Europe. There have been richer empires since that day, but none in which the spirit of human solidarity among the races of the world has been more honourably realised.

CHAPTER X.

MISSIONARY WORK IN SOUTH AFRICA.

THE PREACHING of the Gospel among the pagans of the colonies seemed to King John one of the imperative responsibilities of Portuguese culture. Christian teaching he regarded as the basis of all that was best in the characteristics of his own people. No stranger could be an hour in his country without being reminded of Christ and His law. Not only the frequent churches, but the statues in public places, the pictures in public halls and the ceremonial of the State recalled the salient facts of the Old and New Testaments.

If perchance you entered the royal city of Santarem, you would pass through a narrow street behind the Church of Saint John de Alporao, where an old Roman tower threw out a balcony which hung over the street.¹¹⁷ The church itself had been a basilica or law court in the days of the Cæsars. The proud citizens of Santarem would point to the balcony overhead, and tell you how from there the edict of Cæsar Augustus was read which ordered a census of the whole Roman world, which edict brought Christ's mother from Nazareth to Bethlehem on that first Christmas night. The ancient Romans, Christ Himself, the Apostles and the early missionaries of Europe were living memories in this land. When they heard the Bible read from the pulpits of their numerous churches every Sunday and holiday, it was for them the story of persons some of whom had left sacred footprints in their own land of Portugal.

When, therefore, some months after John's accession to the throne, he learned from the Governor-General of India, Edward de Meneses, that the relics of Saint Thomas the Apostle had been found on the Coramandel coast, his hopes of Christian development rose high. Such a flash of history seemed to throw Portugal into the same Christian picture with the Malabar region, the African island of Socotra where this Apostle also left traditions, and the Mozambique coast where Vasco da Gama had found Thomas Christians, as they called themselves. The Portuguese were always alive to those touches of nature which make the whole world kin. But here they were finding also links of historic faith, which promised to give them understanding allies in the work of converting the heathen.

But King John was a cautious Christian as well as a devout one. Captain Manuel de Frias had reported this discovery made at Mailapur. "As matters of this kind can only be satisfactorily established by exact enquiries," writes Father Luiz de Sousa,⁴¹⁸ "the King was not satisfied until the year 1553, during the term of Nuno da Cunha, when the Captain of Paliacate made a full investigation, in reply to a list of questions submitted by the King. All doubts were then cleared up, and many people began to build houses there, in order to live under the shadow of the Holy Apostle."

Two other important discoveries came to cheer the King in his task. In digging the foundations for a new church at Mailapur in 1547, a slab was found engraved with a cross and an inscription in the Persian language (Pahlevi), as it was written in the days of the Sasanian dynasty (218-615 A.D.) of Persia. It was a token that Persian Christians during the long and ferocious persecution in the reign of Shapur I (240-271 A.D.) had fled to the haven of Christian life that already existed in Malabar.⁴¹⁹ Two years after this discovery the Portuguese governor received, as a dying gift from a Malabar bishop, six copper tablets engraved in the old Malabar language called Karnataka. They contained the deed of a Hindu sovereign of the eighth century, granting a species of home rule to the Christian community there.⁴²⁰

This happened at the time when Garcia de Sá, the Governor of India, was receiving offers of friendship from many Hindu kings, who vied with one another in seeking Portugal's alliance. The King, Queen and princes of Tamur had come to Goa, in order to be solemnly baptised.

But soon the old Christians of this coast, who lived chiefly in the mountainous district between Cranganor and Coulan, were giving some anxiety to King John and his spiritual advisers. When these Indian Christians of ancient lineage heard of Vasco da Gama's arrival in 1502, they were overjoyed at the prospect of being defended by such a powerful fellow-Christian, as they were threatened with extinction by the steady persecution of their pagan and Islamic neighbours. Spontaneously, they sent a deputation to Gama, who was then in Cochin, asking him to save the remnants of their ancient church. As a symbol of their allegiance to the great Christian King of Portugal, they presented to the Admiral a red sceptre, inlaid with silver and surmounted with three silver bells. But on closer acquaintance with these allies, the Portuguese found that they clung tenaciously to a number of errors in Christian belief and worship, which

were a natural result of their long isolation from any centre of Christian learning.⁴²¹

Their original clergy had become practically extinct through persecution, and the later generation of priests had come from the Muslim stronghold of Baghdad, where the Nestorian Patriarch lived in a great monastery of the Christian quarter.⁴²² As far back as the year 1293, the Franciscan missionary, John de Monte Corvino, had noted their deviations from the Christian faith of Europe, and their intolerance of any Christian doctrine but their own. Worst of all, they seem to have adopted the Muslim method of conversion in mass without serious teaching or preparation. These were methods which the Portuguese could not understand and refused to approve.

The first steps of the Portuguese were taken to shepherd their own people: soldiers, sailors and settlers. King Manuel had sent chaplains with all his fleets, and established a chapel in every fortress. Goa had already become a Christian city. King John pushed on the good work, both in India and the Mozambique coast.

What this entailed in countries "which were richer in money than in virtue", was impressed upon King John by a secular priest, who became Vicar-General of India and later the first Bishop of Brazil.⁴²³ This Dr. Peter Fernandes Sardinha reminded the King that if the spiritual care of the Portuguese themselves was neglected, they would become stumbling-blocks in the way of the heathen to Christ. "When Moses left his people only forty days, they fell into idolatry. The consciences of many Christians become very broad in trade especially, when they lack effective guidance."

But Dr. Sardinha had taken his degree in the university of Paris, and he clinched this Bible teaching with a practical policy drawn from the worldly wisdom of the ancient Romans. When Trajan and Antoninus Pius sent governors to distant provinces, they insisted that they should return home no richer than they went out; at the same time Rome guaranteed good marriages for their daughters, and decent employment for their sons. If honourable poverty of this kind were encouraged through similar measures, Sardinha thought that it would be a great gain for Church and State.

These were, in fact, the lines along which the King was already trying to discharge his responsibilities in the East. The panorama of the mission field which he looked upon covered an immense area. It comprised Brazil, Guinea, the two African territories divided by the longitude of the Cape of Good Hope,

Abyssinia, the southern coasts of Arabia and Persia, India, China, the Moluccas and Japan. In all these lands the King considered himself "a debtor both to the Greeks and to the Barbarians, both to the wise and the unwise". Here, however, we are concerned only with the Portuguese labours in the South African field.

A line running due north from the Cape of Good Hope was supposed to divide this part of Africa into the Congo area and the area of the Zambesi Rivers. The Congo, with its twin Angola, was the first developed. When John III ascended the throne, thirty years had passed since the erection of the first Christian chapel there in the days of John II, the son of the paramount chief of the Congo tribes was a Catholic bishop pontificating in the churches of Lisbon, and many schools had been established in the country. In Lisbon itself, as far back as 1492,⁴²⁴ John II had founded a college for educating natives of the Congo, which was controlled by the Rector of the Convent of Saint Eloy and his priests, who were popularly called *Loios* from the name of the convent.⁴²⁵

Of the thirteen priests of this convent whom King Manuel had sent to work in the Congo, only a few now survived. Four more had joined them in the early years of John III; but it was impossible to send any more of these good Canons Regular, because they had since undertaken the management of six large hospitals in various parts of Portugal.

In 1526 the Great Chief of the Congo, whom the Portuguese called King Dom Afonso, wrote to John III urging him to send fifty priests to cover the whole work of his territories; and he expressed the hope that six of them would be chosen from the Order which had educated his son, now titular Bishop of Utica and Vicar Apostolic of the Congo, "because he would find comfort in working with them".

The King was in great straits to respond to this appeal in view of the more urgent calls of India and Brazil, where secular priests, Franciscans and Dominicans were already working at full pressure. The Pope then gave John authority to reorganise some of the older orders, such as the Dominicans and Augustinians, so that they might take an even greater part in this work and in the preparatory educational work in Portugal itself. The historian, John de Barros,⁴²⁶ volunteered to help in the work, and composed a primer to teach the blacks Portuguese and the elements of the Christian faith.

As a result of this activity, the King felt justified in telling the Pope, Clement VII, in 1532, "that the whole Guinea region

has now been investigated, the Congo King has been baptised, bringing with him a great multitude of his people; and many nations of India, Persia and Arabia who have been late in acknowledging the truth, have now turned to Christ."⁴²⁷ He went on to inform the Pope, how these expeditions had entailed grievous losses in men and ships. We learn from other sources that disease, bad food and the perils of a barbarian land had taken early toll of a large proportion of the lives of these missionary pioneers. Of course, there were also the moral failures;⁴²⁸ because the missionary, like the physician, runs the risk of contracting the very diseases which he sets out to cure.

A few unbidden and undesirable workers had also found their way to the Congo, clergy who had crept in without licence from the Bishop of São Thomé. They were evidently men who had been failures at home, and were therefore doubly failures in a field which required such heroic sacrifice. The diocese of São Thomé, established by Pope Paul III in 1534, stretched from the present Liberia to Cape Agulhas. This area was cut off from the diocese of Madeira by papal decree; and the first bishop appointed was Ferdinand Ortiz de Villegas, a nephew of the scientist and bishop who took a leading part in the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope. When John III heard of the above-mentioned intruders who had come to the Congo without the Bishop's sanction, he instructed his ambassador, Manuel Pacheco, to have them sent back at once, "because especially in these new communities of Christians only priests of most exemplary life are of use."⁴²⁹

Whilst the King was busy recruiting men of this sort from many quarters, he received an encouraging letter from Dr. Diogo de Gouveia, a Portuguese who was then rector of the university of Paris. He wrote from Paris on the seventeenth of February, 1538, and told the King of some students of the university just ordained priests, who were anxious to be missionaries to the heathen. "They are now in Italy, where they are reaping a spiritual harvest. The principal one amongst them is a Master Peter Favre, of Geneva, a learned man of magnificent character; and another is the Spaniard Ignatius of Loyola. If you can get these men for India, it will be an inestimable benefit."

That year King John was in need of some cheering message. Even his domestic peace had been sadly disturbed. Six of his nine children had died young, the last of the six a few months after receiving Gouveia's letter; and the King was a man of tender feeling for his family. He was smarting, too, from the wounds of betrayal, as he thought, by his closest friend, the

Bishop of Viseu, a man whom he had made and trusted. They had grown up together, as the Bishop's father, Diogo da Silva e Meneses, had been the King's tutor. John sent Michael da Silva to Paris, where he won great distinction at the university. His talents brought him friends and offers of employment wherever he went, especially in Italy. He became the most intimate friend of Pope Clement VIII. Baldasare Castiglione dedicated to him his golden manual of the Christian Gentleman, which was soon translated into English, influencing Shakespeare.⁴³⁰ John III made him his principal Secretary of State; and Silva refused the offer of a cardinal's hat, in order to serve his royal friend in his own land. Twelve years later the same offer was made him by Pope Paul III; and the Bishop of Viseu decided that he had done his duty to his country, friend and King, and he accepted the position of greater influence in Rome. But knowing that King John would never agree to this, he left Portugal secretly when he heard that the Pope was making him cardinal *in petto*. "To be wrath with those we love doth work like madness on the brain." For seven years this infinitely patient King showed a resentment such as he never displayed in any other event of his whole career. "But the course of time which softens and remedies all things," says Luiz de Sousa,⁴³¹ "ended the reprisals of the King"; though he never consented to renew friendly relations with the influential cardinal, who lived in the Palace of San Callisto in Rome, and was a candidate for the Papacy in 1550.

In 1539, however, the King's resentment was at white heat. With an affectionate heart, he combined a Spartan sense of duty in regard to his people. Thus he did not indulge his grief, nor relax his efforts to find labourers for the missionary field. The promising information from Dr. Gouveia mentioned names that were not unknown to him. He had indeed heard of these enthusiastic youths, but rumour had not been altogether kind to them. There was a notion abroad that they were dangerous innovators.

Rumour had some grounds for thinking that trouble was brewing for Church and State, as is evident if we recall the names of three of the talented youths who were all students of the Paris university in 1533: Ignatius of Loyola, John Calvin and Francis Rabelais, all good Catholics to the naked eye. But in these universities there was the usual free talk and much youthful energy. Reform was in the air, and projects of reform were legion. The authorities took the natural line that not all

the dreams of budding intellects were safe for themselves or the community.

Ignatius and his circle were denounced in Spain to the Inquisition. Some people asserted that they were really followers of the German friar, Martin Luther.⁴³² As happens often, even in our day of radiograms, the King had heard of their trial for heresy by the ecclesiastical courts, but not of their acquittal. Still less does he seem to have known that some of the judges of the Inquisition were now amongst their most enthusiastic supporters. Dr. Gouveia himself once threatened to have Ignatius flogged for disturbing the studious peace of the university by such new-fangled practices as his Spiritual Exercises. But a personal interview with the culprit changed all that.

Before writing to the King, Gouveia had written to Favre,⁴³³ suggesting the Indian sphere of work for him and his companions, "because the language of India was very easy to learn, and the people are kind-hearted and not so obstinate as the Moors." But Peter Favre replied⁴³⁴ that they had offered themselves to the Pope for any work that he should indicate, "and if he sends us where you call us, we shall go joyfully." Dr. Gouveia ends with a practical hint to the King. "Whilst writing to the Pope, it might be well for Your Highness to write also to the Portuguese youth, Simon Rodrigues, to Master Favre and to Ignatius, because these three are enough to carry all the rest of the movement with them."

With these suggestions in mind, the King framed a cautious despatch to his ambassador in Rome, Peter Mascarenhas, dated the fourth of August, 1539. Its substance is this: "Dr. de Gouveia has shown me a letter from certain men lately gone to Rome, a copy of which is enclosed. I wish you to enquire what kind of persons they are, and what training and knowledge they possess. If their object is really to serve God by preaching and the example of a consistent life, there is nowhere possible a more suitable fulfilment of their purpose than in my dominions. They will receive such treatment from me as will double their efforts in God's service. If they agree to come, you shall see the Pope on my behalf and beg him to commission them. Then you shall provide them with all they need to come to Lisbon in the shortest time possible, and you shall select a trusty person to accompany them here."⁴³⁵

On the tenth of March, 1540, Mascarenhas reported that he had carried out the King's instructions. He had found the newly formed band of priests most suitable for the King's purpose. They, however, informed him that by vow they were committed

to the principle of taking work only from the Pope. "I saw the Pope at once," continues Mascarenhas, "and His Holiness was delighted with the project; but he added that as it was a question of such a tremendous distance, and such difficult work, he would give no commands, but preferred that the young men should volunteer. If they did, he would warmly approve, as he highly esteemed the character and learning of this new society."

When this approbation of the Pope was communicated to them, there was no further difficulty except in regard to numbers. Mascarenhas asked for four volunteers at least. But the total number then in Rome was only six; and two of these were already destined for Ireland, and two for Scotland, to comfort the Catholics who were being hard pressed to change the old religion of Ireland and Scotland, in order to suit the plans of rising politicians in these countries.⁴³⁶ In the end a promise of three was obtained by communicating with Simon Rodrigues, who was away on a special round of preaching at Siena. He had since returned to Rome in the throes of malarial fever. On that account Mascarenhas resolved to send him by sea attended by his own servants, who were to take him to the ambassador's home in Lisbon, there to await the King's orders. With him was to go an Italian, Father Paul Camerino. A Spaniard named Nicolas Afonso de Bobadilla was to accompany the ambassador himself overland.

But at the last moment a hitch occurred which was momentous in its consequences for the religious history of India and Japan especially. Bobadilla, who had been working night and day in Naples, arrived post-haste in Rome to take up his new work; but he fell so seriously ill that he could not travel. Mascarenhas could not wait, having fixed his departure for the sixteenth of March. On the day before Ignatius of Loyola, who had been elected provisional head of the new community until the Pope should give their rules his formal approval,⁴³⁷ ordered the place of Bobadilla to be taken by Francis Xavier, who was the secretary and bosom friend of Ignatius. This after-thought proved to be the critical turning-point in the success of the great spiritual adventure.

The three companions remained together in Portugal for three months. During this period of waiting their reforming zeal and fresh energy lent a new vigour to the already fervent life of Catholic Portugal. Lisbon became, next to Rome, the most lively centre of the Jesuit methods of preaching, education, spiritual direction and social activities, so suitable to the special needs of that period of intellectual fermentation. King John

became their devoted admirer,⁴³⁸ when he saw them at work and realised how little they cared for any favours except as a means of promoting the Christian life.

One minor matter evoked his special applause, because it appealed to his keen sense of order and justice. It was the way these young priests faced their traducers in the law courts, compelling them to withdraw their accusations, but showing no rancour. John III offered to finance Ignatius of Loyola and all his associates, if they would come to Portugal and devote themselves to social and religious work in his empire. But Ignatius parried the enthusiastic offer by a counter-proposal, which he tactfully induced the King himself to make. Xavier would lead a band of missionaries to the East, whilst Simon Rodrigues was to found a missionary college in Lisbon to supply Africa, Brazil, India and the regions beyond with suitable workers, in order to reinforce the secular priests, Franciscans and Dominicans who were already working in these fields.

During the months of enforced delay at Lisbon, Xavier had the opportunity of many discussions with the next Governor of India, Martin Afonso de Sousa, in whose fleet the missionaries were to sail. "You know how sharp is the judgment of a royal court as to the lives of men," Xavier wrote to Ignatius, "yet the court here is agreed that Sousa is a man of the highest character." He had already served a term of five years in India as admiral, when Nuno da Cunha was Governor, and was therefore in a position to supply Xavier with the local knowledge which he constantly sought.⁴³⁹ In a friendly chat one day the new Governor told him of an island peopled solely by pagans, "without any admixture of Muslim or Jews", where much speedy fruit could be hoped for in the preaching of the Gospel. This was probably Madagascar.

At the beginning of April, 1541, the five ships of the fleet were ready. Of all the offers of personal help that Xavier had received, only two materialised: a cleric named Francis Mancias and Father Paul Camerino, whom to-day we should call a brother Jesuit. But the name Jesuit had not yet come into use. The members of this new society were still regarded as devout secular priests going on a special mission.⁴⁴⁰ This is, in fact, what King John calls them in a letter to the Count de Castanheira, as Anthony de Ataide had now become. He is instructed to give them two suits each, all the books they needed, medicines and whatever else they required for the voyage. But Xavier refused to accept anything except a few books and a warm suit of clothes to protect him from the cold winds of the Cape of Good Hope,

which had a bad name in this matter among the Portuguese sailors.

What he really valued were the spiritual powers with which the Pope, at the request of King John, furnished him by appointing him Apostolic Nuncio. Dignities, as well as servants, which the King desired him to have, he firmly declined, saying with perfect candour that this kind of ecclesiastical strutting was one of the lamentable evils that were threatening to harm the Church in some places. But he was glad to have wide powers that would enable him to temper the laws of the Church to the needs of the erring and the poor. He also carried royal and papal letters, commanding him to all rulers and kings from the Cape of Good Hope to India, including the Negus of Abyssinia. Thus he hoped to obtain more easily openings to carry the name of Christ before kings and peoples.

The fleet left Lisbon on the seventh of April, 1541, Xavier's thirty-fifth birthday. He and the outgoing Governor of India were men of the same type in different walks of life, and they took to one another. Both had a consuming sense of public duty. Sousa had left behind him in India and Brazil a fine record of service,⁴⁴¹ and had expected the reward of some high office at home. Supreme command in the East was highly honourable, but was sometimes shirked by competent men; in the first place for its physical hardships, but even more for the dangerous exposure to envious tongues which had ruined many a promising career. But Sousa pocketed his pride, and went forth blithely to meet the risk of poisoned arrows shot by the self-seekers.

With viceregal and vicepapal authority, these two patriots came to a perfect understanding on the flagship *Santiago*, which carried nearly a thousand persons. "Even whilst I was crossing the realm of the fishes," writes Xavier to his friends in Rome,⁴⁴² "I found men to whom I could announce the Divine Mysteries, as necessary on sea as on land." But his zeal as a preacher was tempered by a tact and humanity, which made him a valuable ally to those who were responsible for peace and order on the ship.

No severer test of his personal magnetism could have been devised than the long journey round the Cape of Good Hope with such a crowd of mixed humanity. Quarrels were common on this route, and sometimes ended in murder, when men's nerves were frayed by the long strain of poor food, bad weather, and the hen-coop of a packed ship. But Xavier did not expect more of human nature than it could give under these exasperating circumstances. He took a hand in the sports that were going,

including an occasional game of cards; but the consolations of religion, backed by his persuasive figure, were a help in creating an atmosphere of friendliness aboard.

Alas! the elements were more unkind than usual. The fleet took eighteen months to reach India, a journey which was sometimes done in six months. The monsoon was against them when they reached Mozambique, and they were obliged to spend the winter on that coast. This is fortunate for us, because it occasioned a letter of Xavier's, in which he describes some of his experiences during the six months he was obliged to spend there.

"There are two cities on the island of Mozambique," he writes, "one garrisoned by the Portuguese, the other occupied by friendly Mussulmans. Whilst we were wintering there a great number of persons fell ill, and as many as eighty died. We quartered ourselves in the hospital all the time, spending our time in attending to the sick. Father Paul and Mancias looked after their bodily needs, whilst I attended to their souls also, hearing confessions continually and giving Holy Communion; but being alone, I could not do all that was wanted for them. On Sundays I preached to a very large audience, the Governor being always present; but I was often called away to hear confessions elsewhere. So that all the time we were in Mozambique we had always plenty to do. The Governor, his suite and all the soldiers showed us great courtesy."

This scene is typical of the difficulties that the early missionaries had in coming to close quarters with the natives of this part of Africa. The priests were, as a rule, fully occupied in ministering to the comparatively large number of Portuguese, whom they accompanied as chaplains. On the Mozambique coast and in the Zambezi area, the local residents whom they met were mostly Muslim traders, sometimes Arabs, but more often of mixed Arab and Bantu blood, living in villages remote from the Kafir kraals in the interior.

After leaving Mozambique, Francis Xavier visited the most celebrated of these Muslim communities, of which he has left us a pleasing description. "We stopped for a few days at Malindi, a port inhabited by Mussulmans who are friendly to the Portuguese, of whom some live here, mostly traders. If any of the Portuguese happen to end their days there, they are buried in large mounds, which are visible here and there with crosses over them to distinguish them. The Portuguese have erected near the city a large and very handsome stone cross,⁴³ which is gilt all over. I cannot express what joy I felt in looking at it. It

seemed like the might of the Cross appearing victorious in the midst of the dominions of the unbelievers."

"The King of Malindi came on board our ship to pay his respects to the Governor, and he received him with kindness and friendliness. Whilst I was at Malindi we celebrated the funeral of a man who had died aboard our ship, and we had the full service of the Church for him, much to the approval of the Mussulmans, who admired our funeral ceremonies very much." The cross of Malindi, which is part of a padrão erected by Vasco da Gama in 1498, is the only one of these tokens of international law which has survived in its old place. The Muslim here have always guarded it as a symbol of their unbroken friendship with the Portuguese people.

Only in such an atmosphere could the conversation on religion have taken place which Xavier records in his letter. A leading Muslim citizen of Malindi told him "that all piety had long grown cold among his own people, and he wished to know whether the same was the case among Christians. There were seventeen mosques at Malindi, but three only were attended, and even those by very few. The good man was quite perplexed." After a long discussion Xavier ended with the frank statement that the real reason of the perplexing situation was that their worship was false. "My friend, whose notions were very different from mine, was not satisfied with this. Then a Saracen Caciz (a caciz is a teacher of the Mahometan law) came up, a man of very eminent learning, and he declared that if Mahomet did not appear again on earth to visit them within two years, he himself would renounce the religion." Xavier had not yet learned that in Africa Islam is merely a thin veneer for the usages of the most primitive tribes.

The island of Socotra, half African and half Arabian, was to provide him with another riddle on the way to India. "It is about a hundred miles in circumference," he writes, "a wild country with no produce, no corn, no rice, no millet, no wine, no fruit trees; in short, altogether sterile and arid, except that it has plenty of dates out of which they make bread, and also abundant cattle. The island is exposed to great heat from the sun. The people are Christian in name rather than in reality, amazingly ignorant and rude; they cannot read or write. They have consequently no records of any kind. Still, they pride themselves on being Christians. They have churches, crosses and lamps. Each village has its caciz, who answers to the parish priest. These cacizes know no more of reading and writing than the rest; they have no books, and know only a few pages by

heart." He goes on to describe their curious customs in detail, and tells how he asked the Governor to allow him to remain there, in order to instruct fully this kindly but ignorant folk. But the Governor refused, saying that a much larger harvest awaited him in India; and that if he remained there alone, his reaping would soon end by his being carried off as a slave in one of the Muslim raids from the Red Sea.

When he reached Goa, he saw how wise the Governor's advice had been. He beheld a large Hindu city which in a generation had been transformed into a Christian community by the labours of the secular clergy, the Franciscans and the Dominicans. A secular priest named Michael Vaz, then Vicar-General of Goa, was a tower of strength.⁴⁴⁴ Four years later, when Vaz was sent to Lisbon on a special mission and the King was inclined to keep him there as an adviser, Xavier begged that he should be sent back, as his brave heart was indispensable to the Church in India. Francis Xavier was to continue building on that solid foundation, and to achieve more than any man had achieved before. This great story, however, belongs to the history of India, Japan and China.

The only other connection of his name with the African coast occurs in the early months of the year 1544. He had become thoroughly disheartened at the injustices that some of the Portuguese were committing against the Indians, which he found himself powerless to prevent. He remembered that whilst he was waiting for the monsoon at Mozambique, just before Christmas of 1541, Christopher da Gama was in camp at Debarwa,⁴⁴⁵ waiting for the rains to cease before advancing to the relief of the Negus Claudius in the Abyssinian mountains of Tegulet. Later Xavier heard of the triumphant issue of that campaign, and he longed for a country "where there will be no Europeans to oppose us, and to pull down what we have built up."⁴⁴⁶ He even began to arrange for a small vessel to take him to Goa, and so to the kingdom of Prester John. But this mood of momentary despondency passed, and he lived eight years more in the East to accomplish a work greater than he himself ever realised.

It is certainly remarkable that, whilst these stirring events were afoot, Martin Luther should have been telling his friends, as his *Table Talk* records,⁴⁴⁷ that "the whole of Asia and Africa is without the Evangel." Indeed, he said plainly that Saxony was the only place in the world where the Gospel was duly preached. But the Catholic Reformers were more mindful than Luther that Christ commanded His good news to be announced to the whole

world, and not merely to any chosen people. Luther held that this command applied only to the first Apostles.⁴⁴⁸ The Jesuits claimed a call to this world apostolate in the sixteenth century; and one of the popular names given them, especially in Portugal, was the Apostles.⁴⁴⁹

With these new workers in mind, King John saw a chance of renewing his efforts to introduce the pure Gospel into Abyssinia. It had been made clear by a weighty decision of the Court of the Inquisition that the Abyssinians were Christians only in a qualified sense. They were not fully acquainted either with the Bible or with the other traditions of the Catholic Church. Their own mother Church of Alexandria had neglected them almost entirely.

Their Negus had written to the Portuguese King in 1545, asking him to send them learned priests of the Roman Church, to teach them the ways of that Church which Portugal followed.⁴⁵⁰ The bearer of this letter was an Abyssinian friar named Paul, who emphasised the request of the Negus for a new patriarch from Rome. By this time the good Father Francis Alvares was dead, and the mission of John Bermudes had definitely failed. John III therefore wrote to Pope Paul III, and to Ignatius of Loyola in Rome, asking their assistance in this thorny matter. Their response forms a long and chequered story which deserves a chapter to itself, and will be dealt with later.

But a fresh start was made immediately among the Bantu of the Congo with the assistance of the Jesuits. The Bantu Bishop had died, and the first European Bishop had not yet arrived. A new Paramount Chief of the Congo began to reign in 1547, to whom the Portuguese gave the name of King Dom Diogo. He evidently desired to cultivate the goodwill of his European friends. For he sent a solemn embassy to pay homage to Pope Paul III in Rome, and another to King John, asking him to send at least fifty missionaries in order to provide adequately for the spiritual needs of his kingdom. For lack of labourers in the vineyard of the Lord it had begun to run to seed, and the natives were reverting to their pagan customs and vices.⁴⁵¹ Great progress had been made since King Manuel sent the well-equipped mission of the year 1511; but more workers were needed to reap the ripening harvest.

The ambassador sent by King Diogo to Europe was a secular priest named Diogo Gomes, who had been born in the Congo of Portuguese parents, knew the local languages perfectly, and was a favourite of the Bantu chiefs. King John

sent him to Simon Rodrigues, then Provincial of the Jesuits in Lisbon, urging him to comply with this request from the Congo. Father Gomes was so struck with the Jesuit mode of life, that he desired to join them. But Father Rodrigues asked him to postpone the matter for a while, as it would mean his entering the novitiate immediately, abandoning the important key position which he occupied in the Congo. For the moment he was indispensable as chaplain and adviser to the native king.

The Jesuits could hardly fail to note that the first missionaries had settled in the Congo in the very year when their leader, Ignatius of Loyola, was born, the year 1491. Yet, in view of the demands being made for their services from all over the world, they were able to send only four men in place of the fifty requested. George Vaz, Christopher Ribeiro and James Dias were priests, and there was a student named Diogo de Soveral. All these were selected by the Rector of the Lisbon College, Father Luis Gonsalves, out of a large number who volunteered.

In September, 1547, they set sail, and entered the Zaire River, disembarking at Pinda. They were received with every mark of joy by the Great Chief, the people, and especially the hard-working Bishop John Baptista, whose hopes now revived after some years of dejection.⁴⁵² The priests set out at once to visit all the villages and kraals. Soveral devoted himself to the teaching of the children. In 1548 they built the Church of Our Saviour, which gave the capital of the Congo the name it has borne ever since, San Salvador. Fathers Vaz and Dias taught the truths of religion every day, beginning with those proofs of the existence of God from the facts of nature, which are easily grasped by minds that do not cavil. Then they told them of Christ in the words of the Gospel, and how He had founded His Church, and what the Church teaches by His command. Their only hope was in the children, when they should grow up.

After a few years of unremitting toil, they began to realise how little impression they were making upon this mass of barbarism. The conditions of kraal life were a constant incentive to the old pagan vices, witchcraft with its degrading associations was ingrained in their very language; and their national traditions and immemorial habits were an hourly torture to the Europeans. The Great Chief himself evidently desired to have the reputation of a Defender of the Faith in Europe, whilst in the Congo he lived a life little different from that of a pagan; and in this he was the African counterpart of a notorious European king. In no age and in no country can the Christian faith survive a life that flouts its teachings.

When the lay ambassador of King John realised this, he refused to stay and took Soveral with him back to Portugal, in order to report fully to the King. The others worked on bravely until the superior, Father George Vaz, died, in 1553. Then accusations began to reach Portugal about the conduct of the remaining priests. Cardinal Henry, the Archbishop of Lisbon, as head of the watchful Court of the Inquisition, reported to the Jesuit leaders that, according to his information, Fathers Ribeiro and Dias were actually trading, a thing strictly forbidden both by the ordinary Church laws and the rules of the Jesuits.

This was grievous news; and the provincial authorities of the Society promptly sent two priests, Cornelius Gomes and Fructuosus Nogueira, to investigate these charges. To a modern mind, they seem to have dealt harshly with the accused, but their severity indicates how determined they were to keep high the standard of missionary work. The trading they did was undertaken in the imperious necessity of evading starvation. Ribeiro especially had brought his mother and younger brother with him, and was engaged in the pious task of keeping them alive. All the profit they had made was taken from them, and distributed among the poor. They were severely punished otherwise, but fortunately not expelled from the Society, as they were worthy men and devoted to their work.

It is evident that the accusations against them were exaggerations, which formed part of the Great Chief's propaganda against those Europeans who expressed any dissent from his barbarous method of life and government. Unfortunately, there were some Europeans in the Congo whose trade interests were promoted by seconding the attacks of the Bantu king. But the good missionaries plodded on, convinced that others would reap in joy the fruits of the seed that they were sowing in bitterness.

The new recruits, Fathers Cornelius Gomes and Nogueira, along with the new ambassador, reached Pinda in July, 1553. The Great Chief's kraal was fifty leagues inland, and the journey so exhausting that the ambassador died on the way. The priests were received with frowns by the Chief, because he now knew that King John was fully informed of his vagaries. His vanity was wounded by the news that his double dealing had been unmasked. Every indignity was heaped upon the clergy, and by 1555 all were dead except Father Cornelius Gomes.

A novel experiment which was made by these missionaries deserves to be noted. It was the suggestion of a secular priest of Barcelona, Canon Peter Domenec. He was a wealthy man who

spent a great part of his fortune in founding orphanages, beginning in his native town. But as he was employed by John III in several diplomatic missions to Rome and elsewhere, he extended his social activity to five towns of Portugal. In Lisbon he collaborated with the Jesuits in founding his orphanage there.

King John had often expressed the view that the Congo would never flourish spiritually until a generation of Bantu priests was trained in a Congo seminary. Canon Domenec proposed that the Jesuits should begin this experiment with three promising Portuguese youths from his Lisbon College, as the nucleus of a Congo seminary. The youths were sent, but they all fell ill with malarial fever, and one of them died. Father Cornelius Gomes saw that the plan was not feasible in the actual conditions of the country, so he returned with the surviving boys in a ship from India which happened to put in at the mouth of the Zaire River in 1555.

In all pioneer work failures are inevitable. They are the price that must be paid for success when it does come. In the Congo field secular priests, Dominicans, Franciscans and Jesuits had furnished their quotas of workers. Father Cornelius Gomes gave a detailed report of their costly experiments to the King of Portugal, experiments which looked like wasting the lives of some of the finest priests in Portugal. But they held that nothing was wasted which was lost in God's service. Nothing could be done to retrieve the situation during the two remaining years of King John's reign, and the expelled Jesuit missionaries were to have no successors for five years.⁴⁵³ But the good Bishop Gaspar Cão continued to encourage and organise the remaining priests until the more favourable times of the next reign.

With the Bantu on the east coast of Africa, missionary contact was practically impossible during this reign. Such contact as the tribes had with the outer world was through the Arabs, and even that was not extensive. They were shy nomads with no interest in the sea, and no desire for contact with other races except in war. Isolated conversions of both Arabs and Bantu were made by the chaplains of the fortresses of Mozambique and Sofala.

Even Voltaire agreed with the missionaries and their master Aquinas, that to the wise man the universe speaks of an Eternal Architect; and that the knowledge of One God, creator of the world and vindicator of the moral law, is the natural fruit of the cultured intellect. Aquinas showed that this knowledge may come through philosophy or revelation. The savage does not deny God when he invokes the protection of an insect; he is merely

confused in his ideas. The Portuguese priests knew that they had the key of ordered knowledge in the teaching of their ancient Church. The real difficulty was to eradicate the degrading effects of centuries of vile customs and false ritual that were the obstacles to definite and sound knowledge.

But the organisation of general missionary work in the whole State of India, which extended to the Cape of Good Hope, was begun in this reign by the Dominicans under the guidance of the Franciscan Bishop of Goa, John de Albuquerque, whose appointment has already been chronicled. In reporting the definite appointment of Albuquerque to the King, the Portuguese ambassador in Rome makes another report, which throws a flashlight on the situation in Europe just then.⁴⁵⁴ The Pope had just heard from Germany that the Lutherans had declined his invitation to attend the Council of Trent, the Council which completed the Catholic Reformation. But the Pope agreed with the King that Bishop John de Albuquerque "was a man likely to do fruitful work in the East, being neither ambitious nor desirous of honours or dignities."

The following year the Bishop reached Mozambique, where he named a Vicar-General for this coast. He had travelled to India with the new Viceroy Garcia de Noronha, arriving in Goa on the twenty-fifth of March, 1539. There he presented to the King's representative with great ceremonial his letters, giving him jurisdiction as head of the Church from the Cape of Good Hope to China. Within less than a year he presided at the obsequies of Noronha, who died of the most irreparable of all diseases, old age, aggravated by the heat of India. He was succeeded by a son of Vasco da Gama, Dom Stephen, a wealthy man whose interest in missionary work was exceptionally warm even for a Portuguese *fidalgo*.⁴⁵⁵

His term of office as Governor of the Malay Peninsula had just expired; and there he had been struck by the success of a seminary to educate the Malay youth in the Christian faith, established and financed by Captain Anthony Galvão. Talking the matter over with the Bishop, Stephen da Gama offered a site for a similar college in Racecourse Street at Goa, and undertook to find the money for its upkeep. Thus the Franciscans founded the College of Santa Fé, which still exists, and was one of the factors in converting a whole people permanently to the Catholic faith. The Goanese are a Catholic people to-day.

So abundant was the catch of this Apostolic fishing that the Franciscans, like Christ's first Apostles at the Lake of Tiberias, "beckoned to their partners in the other ship that they should

come and help them".⁴⁵⁶ These partners were, of course, the Dominicans, the other friars who were regarded as twins of the Franciscan Order.

The General Chapter of the Dominican Order in 1540 founded a special congregation called the Holy Cross of India, and appointed as its first Superior Father Diogo Bermudez, who thus became Vicar-General of the Order in India. Although they took specific charge of South-East Africa in 1546, no priest could be spared for that field during the reign of John III.⁴⁵⁷ The demands of India absorbed all the Dominican friars that Portugal could supply just then.

But in 1553 Peter Mascarenhas became Viceroy, the man who as ambassador in Rome brought the first Jesuits to Portugal; and he divided the thirty villages of the island of Goa equally between the Dominicans and Jesuits. Thus was prepared the reservoir of missionaries, who were to extend their activities to Mozambique and along the Zambesi during the next reign.

This sketch would be incomplete without some account of the attitude of the Portuguese laity towards missionary work. The King's zeal would naturally prove contagious. The captains and leading merchants were usually well versed in their religion, both in the Bible and the other Catholic traditions, being willing and able to explain them. But as they were fully occupied with their own work, their normal method of helping was by encouraging the missionaries by every legitimate means within their power. This they certainly did.

A moving chapter in the life of Francis Xavier might seem to indicate that Vasco da Gama's youngest son, Alvaro d'Ataide da Gama, was a glaring exception to this rule, when he forbade this great missionary to enter China from Malacca. Respectfully but firmly Xavier asked the Vicar of Malacca, Father John Soares, to inform the Governor, Dom Alvaro, that by this act he had incurred excommunication, in virtue of the authority granted by papal bull to Xavier as nuncio apostolic. This position Alvaro refused to accept. "If the Father was ready to take such pains for God, let him go to Brazil or Monomatapa, where there are unbelievers to convert just as well as in China." But as long as Xavier insisted on taking Diogo Pereira with him, either as ambassador or merchant, he would not be allowed to proceed.

Here the Governor was clearly acting within his rights, and he certainly had not incurred excommunication, as Xavier thought. Neither the Pope nor his Nuncio in Malacca had any jurisdiction in deciding whether Diogo Pereira should enter

China on a mainly secular mission. That was a matter entirely within the competence of the Governor, and the only appeal against his decision could be made to the King. On reflection, Xavier was man enough and humble enough to recognise practically that this was the case.⁴⁵⁸ Much as he loved and admired Diogo Pereira, hoping great things from his assistance, he dropped him, and was allowed by the Governor to set sail for Singapore on his epoch-making adventures among the Chinese and Japanese.

From time to time, however, there were officials among the Portuguese who took literally the advice of Saint Augustine of Hippo, that every man should be a bishop in his own house. Such a man was Anthony Galvão, who in 1538 became Governor of the group of islands called the Moluccas. His military valour enabled him to bring these five islands under the Portuguese Crown; but his strict justice earned him the title of Father of the country, where he was greatly loved by the Malays. They listened willingly to this lay preacher who really practised what he preached.

The valuable hint for missionary development which he gave Stephen da Gama has already been mentioned. Galvão himself baptised many of the Malays after instructing them carefully in the Catholic faith. But he tells us himself⁴⁵⁹ that he sent Captain Francis de Castro, "a very honourable gentleman", to the Celebes and other islands of the Malay Archipelago, in order to convert as many as he could to the Christian faith. He baptised six rajahs with their whole families, and to as many as possible he gave the name of John, in honour of the Portuguese King. If even to-day this region is "full of descendants of these early Portuguese, bearing great names in history and speaking a form of Portuguese language",⁴⁶⁰ it is due to the Christian methods of these fine soldiers, and later to Francis Xavier who translated the Apostles' Creed, the Commandments, the Our Father and many other Catholic prayers into the Malay language.

The only kind of energy that this Christian gentleman did not possess, and did not desire to possess, was the energy of the pushful politician. He went to the Moluccas a rich man, having inherited the fortune of his father, Duarte Galvão, the first ambassador to Abyssinia. During his term of office he credited to the public exchequer the many personal presents which he received from grateful rajahs. His sense of humour once came to the rescue of his sense of honour, when his friends protested against his refusal of a valuable gift of cloves offered him by one of the Malay kings. "God has stamped these spices with the

quinas of Portugal," he replied, "and they belong therefore by right to the King." He was referring to the four petals of the clove, plus the tip which unites them; together, they look like the five shields on the coat-of-arms of Portugal.

Luiz de Sousa blames the reigning politicians⁴⁶¹ rather than the King for the subsequent neglect of this great public servant, who died a year before the King, having created the golden age of the Moluccas. He died in the guest-rooms of the hospital, poor, but happier in his intellectual pursuits than many a discarded hero of modern times who has garnered the large but brief rewards of worshipping at the shrine of Public Opinion. His name is imperishable among those who look for the real heroes of history.

There was little scope on the Mozambique coast for activities of this kind. The only settled life the Portuguese encountered here was in the towns and villages of the Arabs, who were ardent traders, but little interested in religion. For them Islam was the merest formalism, the badge of a caste rather than a religious faith. It was not until the next reign when the systematic penetration inland began, that an opportunity of consistent missionary work was offered.

Europe, however, had undoubtedly been roused by these pioneers to the prospects of Christian expansion in the newly discovered regions of South Africa. Printing had helped to diffuse a knowledge of what had been already accomplished, among the more intelligent Christians of the day. Thus we find a book printed in Rome in the year 1552,⁴⁶² pointing out how the losses suffered by the Church in some parts of Europe were being amply compensated by the valour of preachers in the Congo, Brazil and the East. This book was in fact little more than a string of extracts from the letters of missionaries, especially three Jesuits who wrote from the Congo in 1549.

Few secondary factors contributed more powerfully to this expansion of the Gospel kingdom than the enterprise of the Italian and Spanish printers. Their two languages were then the two most influential in the civilised world. But the spectacular produce of this literary seed-sowing was only visible on both coasts of South Africa after the death of King John.

Amongst the most effective of these literary influences we must place the historical masterpiece of John de Barros. It was translated immediately into Italian, and in Europe Italian was more widely read than Portuguese, although Portuguese had already become the trade language of Asia, Africa and Eastern America.

Barros helped the reading public of his day to understand that South Africa contained something more than elephants and hostile Arabs. In a long and detailed description of the Bantu tribes that inhabited the area we now know as Rhodesia, Barros has this intuition of sound psychology, more important in its results than all the lore of the anthropologists: "This people has many other customs strange to us, which seem to indicate in their own barbarous way some spark of rational culture."⁴⁶³ His readers naturally inferred that this spark of inextinguishable reason could be strongly kindled by the Christian faith, and produce in Africa the same results that Europe had shown.

At the end of King John's reign the darkest spot in Africa was Madagascar. The captains regarded the natives here as the most intractable of the whole east coast. Andrada sums up the experience of this period. The Malagasies were supposed to be a mixed race, descended from Kafirs of Malindi and Malays of Java. In appearance they are described as well set up, and in colour of a brown half-way between the Kafirs and the light Arabs. The native name for their island was Ubuque.

About the interior of the island little was known as yet, because the natives attacked all strangers, whether Portuguese or Arabs. Visitors were only safe near the seashore, within sight of their ships and weapons. At the mouths of the two rivers there were Arab settlements. Sada, the more prosperous of these, was within the estuary of the Manzagale River. It flourished by importing Kafir slaves and exporting Malagasy slaves. In this commerce the Sheikh of Sada dealt exclusively with Tungumaro, the most powerful chief of the land, who was always at war with the weaker tribes, raiding their kraals in order to sell his prisoners of war to the Arabs.

The land was fertile in food-giving plants. Among them Andrada mentions the mango, "a vegetable which is not found in our country". He notes also the singular cattle, "twice as large as those at home in our province of Alemtejo" and "with an immense hump just where the yoke is placed". But in spite of all these materials for barter, the natives fight shy of trade, except in slaves, tortoise shells and sandalwood, which they sell on the seashore.

But King John refused to abandon the hope of linking them in friendly intercourse of trade and religion, even though they were, as Andrada writes, "the most cruel robbers in all Kafraria". The last of John's efforts was made in the year of his own death. In May, 1556, he sent letters to the Viceroy of India by the outgoing fleet, ordering him to equip a new

expedition for Madagascar. He was to choose a trusty captain, whose instructions would be to scour the coasts of the island in search of traces of the two ships wrecked in 1530 and 1535, the *Burgalesa* and the *Santa Cruz*. But he was also to enquire about the prospects of establishing factories on the seashore, and "whether the people were likely to welcome the Christian law".

Thus it came about that three ships sailed from Goa in January of the year 1557, captained by Balthasar Lobo de Sousa, John Galego and Pero Rodrigues Barriga. But Andrada tells us that, "hard as they worked to carry out their instructions, nothing resulted that is worthy of chronicle".

A glance at the attitude of the Portuguese authorities towards the clergy of their eastern empire will complete the picture of the nature of missionary life during this reign. That attitude was re-stated in the instructions to the Viceroy Garcia de Noronha, when the King sent him to India in 1538 with the first Bishop of Goa. These orders may be thus epitomised:

You are to bear in mind the liberties, privileges and immunities of the Church, as defined in our laws and ancient customs. On no account must you intrude upon the spiritual authority of the Bishop. If at any time you feel it necessary to remonstrate with him, do so with due respect to the important office that he holds. Encourage the converts to the Christian faith, and do not allow the heathen or Muslim kings to persecute them, as the ruler of Ceylon is now doing. In places like Cape Comorin, where converts are numerous, you shall appoint a worthy Portuguese to safeguard their freedom, and to bring their grievances to your notice.

There were, however, native rulers who regarded Portuguese culture as a godsend to their country. One of these was the Malay Rajah of Ternate. Once when the Captain of Malacca went to visit Ternate with some Jesuits and only 100 soldiers, the Rajah of Tidore wrote to his cousin in Ternate that it was a splendid chance to wipe them all out. "Your advice is not that of a friend or a genuine relative," replied the other Rajah. "We ought to consider the lives of Portuguese precious. Since they have entered our islands we have become prosperous and educated, whereas formerly we were poor and barbarous." Such testimonials are not rare in Indian, Malay and Arabic documents that have survived.

CHAPTER XI.

DIRECT RELATIONS WITH PRESTER JOHN.

WHEN THE SHIPS FROM India returned to Portugal in 1527, King John was at Coimbra seriously weighing the good advice of the Archbishop of Lisbon: not to spend so much money on sending students to the University of Paris, but rather to spend it on alluring first-class scholars from Italy and France to teach in Portugal.⁴⁶⁴ This sound advice fitted in with the King's love of Coimbra, and had fruitful results in making that city the intellectual hub of Portugal. But the news that Captain Vaz de Veiga sent up to the Court from Lisbon set aside all other ideas for the moment, such was its importance in the eyes of the King.

Viega's ship had brought to Portugal the ambassador of Prester John, whose name was Zaga Zaab.⁴⁶⁵ On the same ship was Roderick de Lima, who had been Portuguese ambassador in Abyssinia since 1520. On another ship came Father Francis Alvares with the mortal remains of the other Portuguese ambassador, Duarte Galvão, who had died in the Red Sea on the journey out. The good priest had secretly disinterred the body on the island of Kamaran, lest the sailors, superstitious in every age, should be alarmed.

It was many years since the Negus had promised King Manuel to send an envoy, but only the Portuguese were in a position to provide the transport. In January, 1523, the Governor-General of India sent his brother, Luis de Meneses, to fetch the whole Portuguese embassy home from Arkiko, the port nearest to Prester John on the Red Sea; but there was no sign of any of them there then. Meneses heard from the Sheikh of Massawa that for a whole year Don Rodrigo de Lima and his party had been waiting for a boat which they expected. They were ready at a place on the borders of Abyssinia, seven days distant. For a substantial fee the Sheikh agreed to send a messenger with the news that a ship was now waiting for them. In this letter Luis de Meneses stated that the pilots advised him that they could not safely wait beyond the twentieth of April. If they did not arrive by that date he would consign to the care of the Sheikh a valuable load of spices, some boxes of linen, money in a coffer and a letter. In this letter he advised them to

move nearer the coast. The first letter reached them on the fifteenth of April, just two days late, if they were to keep the appointment with Meneses. The imminent change of the monsoon made it impossible for him to wait, and he could only leave a message that he would call again next year.¹⁶⁶

But that year he was engaged as acting Governor-General of India, so that Hector da Silveira was commissioned to fulfil the promise. He was a brave and ambitious youth, but inexperienced, who was delayed by a clever trap that was set for him by the Amir of Aden. That port was full of the ships of the Amir's Arab friends, richly laden, which he wished to save from the Portuguese when he saw them approaching. So he went out to meet them, and offered to swear full allegiance to the King of Portugal. Knowing how much the King desired this, Silveira was flattered to think that this stroke of fortune should fall to him. Documents of the most comprehensive nature were drawn up with every concession imaginable from the Amir. As he had no intention of keeping these agreements, he hesitated at nothing that was asked of him. His purpose was to save the merchant ships in his harbour, and in this he succeeded. But weeks had been lost in negotiations, and Silveira reached Massawa in the Red Sea too late to send a timely message to his waiting friends in Abyssinia, as the winds were unfavourable for a return to India, unless he started back at once. This time, however, the blame must be shared by the Negus, who assigned a residence to the Portuguese ambassador which was twenty days' distant from the port of Massawa. Silveira left word that next year he must be within two days of the coast.

Even the year 1525 was a time of great danger and confusion in the Red Sea and South Arabia. Muslim was fighting Muslim, and no one knew at a given moment who the masters of a port might be. The Amir whom Silveira met seems to have been the last of the Circassian dynasty there. In the name of the Sultan of Egypt, the Imam Saraf ed-Din conquered the whole of the Yemen, and within a few years more the Ottoman Turks from Constantinople conquered both Egypt and the Yemen.¹⁶⁷ At this time Anthony de Miranda sailed to make contact with Roderick de Lima through Massawa, but his scouts reported that there were twenty Turkish galleys in the Red Sea, a force that it would be folly to challenge. So he returned to India. Meantime, Lima had written to Ormuz, asking the next ship to call at Massawa early in March.

India's misfortune in the following year, 1526, was a stroke of luck for the Portuguese who were waiting in Abyssinia.¹⁶⁸

Henry de Meneses, who had been appointed Governor-General at the age of twenty-eight for his rare ability, died suddenly of a gangrenous leg two years later, just when he had planned a great naval campaign to clear out the nests of pirates on the Diu coast, the secrets of which plan died with him. The only part of the plan which he lived to carry out was to despatch Hector de Silveira to Cape Fartak in Arabia, giving out that he was going a second time to bring back the Abyssinian embassy. His secret instructions were that if within a few weeks no further orders arrived, he was really to carry out this mission to the Red Sea.

When the Governor-General died, Silveira played the second string to his bow, sailing for Massawa. This time both Roderick de Lima and the Negus's envoy with their staffs were ready, so that Silveira was able to bring them to Ormuz. Here they found that the acting Governor of India had arrived three weeks before them, in order to hear some grievances of the Persian king there. Governor Vaz de Sampaio paid marked attention to Zaga Zaab, and took the whole company with him back to Goa, in good time to sail for home with the spice fleet of 1527.

The King of Portugal had been warned of the approach of these welcome visitors by a quick caravel from the Azores. He had prepared a place for them to rest a few days at Alfange, because Portugal was being ravaged by what the sixteenth century called the pest, a periodical visitation whose horrors we have somewhat mitigated by giving it the milder name of influenza, and by some advance in medical methods. Every comfort was prepared for them in this salubrious spot. After a few days a distinguished deputation came from the King to conduct them to the Court at Coimbra.

It was headed by Diogo Lopes de Sequeira, once Governor of India, who had taken them to Abyssinia in his fleet and knew them all personally. He was now controller of the King's household. At the gate of the city of Coimbra they were welcomed by the Marquis de Vila Real and all the prelates and nobles of the Court. The Marquis gave one hand to Zaga Zaab and the other to Dom Roderick, leading them into the presence of the King.

John III was awaiting them in a richly decorated hall with Cardinal Henry and Prince Luis. As the visitors entered, the King came down from his dais, greeting them with the greatest cordiality and asking about "the Emperor of Ethiopia, his brother". Zaga Zaab presented two letters, one addressed to King Manuel before his death was known in the East. He also handed the King the gift of a crown of gold and silver, saying that his Master "made bold to send him this which distinguished

him in his own realms, as a token of his desire that His Highness of Portugal should be equally honoured in Abyssinia". This cryptic saying meant that John III was received into the magic circle of the family of the ancient kings of Axum.

Father Alvares then handed the King two letters for the Pope, in which King David II conveyed his homage to Pope Clement VII as a son of the Roman Church. It came at one of the most tragic moments in the history of the Papacy. For in the fortnight that these travellers had spent rounding the Cape of Good Hope, from the sixth to the fourteenth of May, Rome had been sacked by the mercenary army of the Emperor Charles V, which ran amuck in its search for loot. The Pope was a prisoner in his own city until December, when he escaped in disguise to Orvieto. He was unable to return to Rome until the sixth of October of the following year.⁴⁶⁹

It was a most unfortunate time for any pilgrim to desire to see the Pope. All Christendom was uproarious with indignation. Henry VIII of England, as Defender of the Catholic Faith, protested that "this unheard-of outrage which the Holy See has undergone must be avenged." Even the frivolous French King was dazed. All classes of Spaniards clamoured to have the Pope in Spain, where they could protect him. Cardinal Quiñones told Charles V to his face that he should cease to call himself emperor if he was incapable of fulfilling his duty to the Pope.⁴⁷⁰

But a fortnight before Zaga Zaab reached Lisbon, a Portuguese diplomat returned from Rome,⁴⁷¹ who for a while was to have the effect of a deadweight upon the work of the Abyssinian envoy. This was the King's nephew, Martin of Portugal, who had been ambassador in Rome for several years. Whilst most of the sovereigns of Europe were engaged in their rival ambitions, Pope Clement VII saw that only the King of Portugal could be relied upon to come at once to the rescue, and help him to pay the ransom that the mutinous mercenaries demanded before they would leave the city, which they were plundering and whose citizens they were murdering. Dom Martin came to Lisbon to collect money from the clergy for this ransom, and then went to Spain to beseech Charles V to move rapidly in saving the honour of the Pope.

The honour of Europe, however, was saved by two good and clever women of political experience, who succeeded in reconciling Charles V and Francis I, which was the key to the whole problem of this peace. The republics of Hellas tore their own civilisation to shreds by implacable wars, punctuated with

tragic poems and high philosophy.⁴⁷² But Catholic Europe of the sixteenth century, with all the shortcomings of its rulers, had a priceless gift which ancient Greece lacked: a body of practical Christian principles capable of unifying the nations and always a potential root of peace. These moral treasures were drawn upon by Louise of Savoy, the mother of Francis I, and Margarite of Austria, who was the aunt of Charles V. They reconciled their kinsmen, thus simplifying the Pope's task, as he no longer had to choose between rival sons.⁴⁷³

Not only was the Pope reconciled to Charles V; but, forgiving and forgetting all the injuries he had received, Clement VII journeyed to Bologna in order to crown Charles as Emperor on the twenty-fourth of February, 1530. There, two years later, Father Alvares with Zaga Zaab was received by the Pope, in the presence of the Emperor and a great galaxy of prelates and Catholic princes. At this date the Pope was paying a second visit to Bologna, in order to consult with the Emperor about the most suitable place and date for the meeting of a general council of the Church.

But why did the King of Portugal dally nearly five years altogether before speeding the delegates from Abyssinia on their way to the Pope? In Lisbon both delegates were treated handsomely during these years of waiting.⁴⁷⁴ The Abyssinians were splendidly housed, clothed like European diplomats, and their households managed by a nobleman named Francis Peres. This is the apology that King John offers the Pope for the long delay, in a letter of the twenty-eighth of May, 1532: "I have kept Father Alvares back because I wished for many reasons that he should go with my dear nephew and ambassador Dom Martin. God be praised that we have seen another Christian country, as large as Portugal, united in obedience to the Catholic and Roman Church."⁴⁷⁵ Martin of Portugal had no doubt advised the King that just then Clement VII was too engrossed in graver concerns to give this matter the attention it deserved, and that the Portuguese desired. From the ecclesiastical standpoint, the Abyssinian question was most complicated.

To justify this advice, it will be enough to enumerate four of the major problems,⁴⁷⁶ with which the Pope was dealing in the years immediately following the sack of Rome. The Turks were preparing a fleet of two hundred ships to attack Sicily and the Italian coast, and a large army to march against Hungary. The envoys of Henry VIII, and with them Anne Boleyn's father, were pressing Clement VII to grant a divorce from Katherine of Aragon, which the Pope knew he had no power

to grant. The Emperor was pressing the Pope to convoke a general council, whilst the French King opposed it. The Lutheran princes of Germany had formed a strong political organisation called the Smalkaldic League, with which the French King was coquetting, and which passed a resolution refusing all help to keep the Turk at bay. Clearly, Abyssinia could wait a while until some of these troubles were eased, especially as contact with the delegates of the Negus had raised many troublesome questions that the King and his bishops were anxious to probe to the bottom.

Doubts were arising as to the exact nature of the attitude of that African people towards the Christian Church of Europe. The extant evidence, fragmentary as it is, makes this much clear: that the Negus and his leading clergy drew up a definite and spontaneous act of submission to the Pope's spiritual authority in 1524, on behalf of the Abyssinian Church. This act was brought about by the tact and humanity of Father Alvares during the six years that he spent in that country, from 1520 to 1526.

Not only did he write the best description of Abyssinia ever made, but we can read between the lines how he was on a footing of real friendship with all he met, from the Negus down. He put the claims of the Church of Rome so persuasively before them, that they addressed the Pope as "head of all the bishops, whom it is just that all should obey, as the Holy Apostles command".⁴⁷⁷ Alvares had listened to all their objections for years, and answered all their enquiries. He celebrated High Mass according to the Roman rite, and the Negus was present at his own request. The ceremonial greatly impressed him, his council and the native clergy. The success thus obtained was no doubt largely due to the master of ceremonies, the physician John Bermudes, whose future importance no one could then suspect. But these popular efforts were only successful because they were based on familiar statements of the Ethiopic liturgy, canon law and the *Hamainot Abbau* (Faith of the Fathers), which refers to the Pope as the successor of St. Peter and head of the Christian Church.

The Negus's letter to the Pope explains in detail that there was an ancient tradition of respect and friendship towards the Papacy among the small educated class in Abyssinia. Pilgrims to Europe, who went by way of Jerusalem and Venice, always spoke with gratitude of the fatherly reception that the Popes gave them in Rome. This refers to the standing welcome provided in the hospice of San Stefano next to the Church of

Saint Peter's in Rome. On this subject Lebna Denghel (to give David II his Abyssinian name) uses oriental modes of expression. "From the accounts the Abyssinian pilgrims have given me, Holy Father, I have derived great pleasure. In your sweet countenance I seem to see the face of an angel."

The letter goes on to remind the Pope of the ancient relations between Rome and Abyssinia. "In the archives of my great-grandfather, Zara Yakob,"⁴⁷⁸ there is a large volume sent to us by your predecessor, Pope Eugene IV, in which we read of the Council of Rome, where the representatives of our Patriarch of Alexandria and the Greek Emperor himself were present. There the unity of our Church was asserted, and dangerous errors corrected. We would gladly send you this volume brought to us by the legates Theodore, Peter, Dydimus and George; but the book is too large, as large as the Epistles of Saint Paul. But we feel sure that some memory of these events is in your own archives."⁴⁷⁹

A few years later, at one of the sessions of the Council of Trent, Cardinal del Monte, afterwards Pope Julius III, stated that he had personally examined the Acts of the Council referred to, and that the representatives of Zara Yakob were there.⁴⁸⁰ An eye witness of the reception of the Abyssinian delegate at this Council on the ninth of October, 1441, calls him the Lord of India,⁴⁸¹ because the countries about the Nile were then considered the beginning of India. In Rome they knew also that a special church in the city was granted to the Abyssinians by Pope Alexander III (1159-81), and that Pope Nicolas IV (1288-92) and John XXII (1316-34) from Avignon had sent priests to consolidate the union with the Emperor of the Ethiopians. Thus Rome would be pleased, but not astounded, at the proposals that the Negus of Abyssinia now made.

"Holy Father, to thee are given the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, and whatsoever thou bindest or loosest on earth is bound or loosed in heaven, as Christ said, and Matthew writes in his Gospel. The deacon Philip baptised the eunuch of Abyssinia between Jerusalem and Gaza, and the eunuch baptised the Queen and most of her people; and we have remained strong in the Faith up to the present day. I ask your blessing, Holy Father, and desire the same intercourse with the Roman Church that other Christian kings and princes enjoy; since I am not inferior to them in the Christian religion." So ran the letter of the Negus.

How deliberately these letters were written can be seen in the narrative of Father Alvares.⁴⁸² One day he was showing

King David a map of the world, explaining the relative positions of the different nations. Next day the King sent for the priest, informing him that he wished to write to the Pope, whom he called the King of Rome and head of all the bishops. He wished Alvares to be the bearer of his letter. As his own priests did not know how to address the Pope, he requested Alvares to help them. To talk matters over, the Negus invited them all to dine with him in his tent.

After their meal the most learned of the Abyssinian clergy brought their books, in order to draft the letters. The King was amazed when Father Alvares made a first draft without the aid of any book. He ordered the head chaplain to have copies made in Ethiopian and Portuguese, so that the Abyssinian friars could make such additions and changes as they thought proper. The references to Abyssinian history, the oriental flourishes, in fact the greater part of these letters, are quite evidently the work of these royal secretaries. But the final text, as we have it, had the express approval and revision of King David himself. There can be no doubt, therefore, that at this time he wished to enter into the same relations with the papacy as that of the Catholic kings of Europe.

If in the next Portuguese fleet of 1528 Father Francis Alvares had been sent back as papal legate, with a dozen zealous priests like himself and many artisans, the whole history of Abyssinia might have been changed.

The terms of the Negus's letter show how much in earnest he was in wishing to give his people the advantages of that western civilisation which he admired in the Portuguese. "I earnestly beseech you to send me men learned in the Sacred Scriptures," he writes to the Pope, "also artisans to make statues of all kinds, goldsmiths, silversmiths, carpenters, architects, stonecutters, workers in lead and copper, glassblowers, organ builders, organists, pipers and flute players. They may all expect to be liberally treated by me." He begs the Pope, if he cannot supply these experts from his own household, to prevail upon other kings and princes of Europe to provide them.

He ends by expressing the hope that Clement VII may soon persuade the kings of Christian Europe, about whose quarrels he has heard, to settle their differences like brothers; because "they are your flock and you are the Chief Shepherd." He reminds them of their common peril, imminent from the Moors of India, Persia, Arabia and Egypt.

How this golden opportunity was partly missed must now be told. None of the blame attaches to Father Alvares, who

was not the man to idle whilst the years were passing. Again and again he jogged the King's memory with letters or messages, and always received the same reply, that the wars in France and Italy made the roads unsafe.

In order that Father Alvares might have the means of living, and also to testify the King's high regard for him, he conferred upon him a benefice in the diocese of Braga, where he went on the thirtieth of August, 1529. He became a close friend of the Archbishop of that see, Diogo de Sousa, a literary man who had been twice ambassador in Rome. The Archbishop's intelligent curiosity elicited from him the whole story of his experiences in Abyssinia. To this we owe the great literary treasure of his *True Report*,⁴⁸³ a fascinating book with a prosaic name, which the Archbishop pressed Alvares to write. When he left Portugal for Italy, the whole work was already in manuscript.⁴⁸⁴

At the beginning of 1533 the day arrived for which Father Alvares had sighed so long, when he set out for Rome as the accredited envoy of Prester John. He went by land through Malaga in Spain and Mantua in Italy; and in the latter place he learned that the Pope had gone to Bologna, in order to discuss the pacification of Europe with the Emperor.

In a public consistory on the twenty-ninth of January, Father Alvares did homage to Clement VII in the name of King David II, and presented his slight but significant gift "with the affection of a most devoted son".⁴⁸⁵ That day Bologna was swarming with all the celebrities of Europe.⁴⁸⁶ In reply, the Pope welcomed King David among the Christian princes, and promised to comply with his expressed wishes, "in so far as the immense distance of Abyssinia permits".⁴⁸⁷ That was really the crux of the whole question, the immense difficulty of getting even correct information at such a distance. The Pope promised a detailed answer to the proposals of King John and the Negus by subsequent letters and ambassadors.

An eye-witness has described the triumph of Father Alvares on that day. The hall of the Consistory was so thronged with royalties, prelates, princes and noblemen, that it was with difficulty that two bishops succeeded in piloting him through the hall to his place near the cardinals. There he made his "brief and weighty" speech⁴⁸⁸ in Portuguese, which was read in a Latin version by a papal secretary. All the documents read that day had been translated into Latin, either from the Portuguese or Géez, by the celebrated humanist, Paolo Giovio. A great impression was made upon this gathering, and some said that Providence

was about to cover the losses in some parts of the Church by ten-fold greater gains in Africa.

Pope Clement VII, however, had less than two years of life before him. Both he and John III were anxious to favour the life-work of Father Alvares; but a subtle current of temporary opposition arose in the schemes of the Portuguese ambassador in Rome, Martin of Portugal. He was a prelate of royal blood, ambitious to the marrow, one of the men who had entered the priesthood for the worldly advantages that it might offer. Being highly gifted with the talents of a statesman, he had acquired great influence in diplomatic circles. By his own exertions and the somewhat reluctant support of John III, he had prevailed upon the Pope to raise the diocese of Madeira to the status of an archbishopric, retaining the old title of Primate of India. As its suffragans were in India, the Azores, Cape Verde Islands and São Thomé, it became the largest diocese in the world. A few weeks after the Consistory of Bologna, Martin of Portugal himself was appointed the first Archbishop of Madeira.⁴⁸⁹

But this was merely a stepping-stone to his real ambition, which was to obtain the cardinal's hat. As, however, he was of illegitimate birth, the Pope refused to consider any claim on his behalf for this honour. King John, too, opposed the grant, because he was dissatisfied with the later work of his nephew in Rome. The resourceful schemer then devised a fresh plan, which he imagined would ingratiate him with the Pope. He proposed that he should be sent on the difficult and laborious task of papal legate to Prester John, with the rank of cardinal so that he might impress the Abyssinians.⁴⁹⁰

The Pope, however, was not so easily hoodwinked. Cardinal Pucci informed the Pope that Martin's object was simply to obtain the red hat, and that afterwards he would find many plausible pretexts for not leaving Europe. Though he failed to realise his ambition, and delayed the zealous plans of Father Alvares, he at least contributed to keep the problem of Abyssinia before Rome by painting in glowing colours what could be done by earnest workers in the land of Prester John.

Meantime Father Alvares, who might have achieved so much, was pushed into the background. Nothing decisive was done during the life of Clement VII. His successor, Paul III, elected in 1534, did not have much faith at first in the prospect of any immediate success in Abyssinia. In a letter to King John of the thirteenth of September, 1535, Dom Martin writes: "I have not yet spoken of this matter to the Pope, but I know that he has no faith in Prester John."⁴⁹¹ But the strain of hope

deferred through all these years was telling on the health of even the patient Father Alvares.

His nerves gave way under the strain, as we learn from a letter to the King written on the seventeenth of March, 1535, by Henry de Meneses, the ambassador in Rome: "It is a shame to keep the envoy of Prester John here. For the love of God, Sire, let him go back to his work, otherwise he will depart (i.e., die) without your permission. He has aged now and often weeps, saying that he does not wish to die here." From this twilight of neglect he was rescued by the kindly hand of death before the end of the year 1536. That he died in Rome we know from a letter of the King himself, who speaks of him as "my chaplain, a truly virtuous and trustworthy man".

Two friends of his fortunately rescued his literary labours from oblivion, the printer Luis Rodrigues and the Archbishop of Lisbon, Ferdinand de Meneses Coutinho e Vasconcellos. They knew of the manuscripts, and valued them so highly that they shouldered the financial burden of publishing them after his death. Fernandes went to Paris to get suitable type and plates. The Archbishop bore the literary and financial onus of the undertaking. Although they pruned the manuscript,⁴⁹² they gave the world one of its galvanic books, one that not only recorded history, but, as we shall see, made it. As literature, it stands high in the estimate of Portuguese scholars; as a book of travel, it has provoked the flattery of imitation and plagiarism; as a sketch of Abyssinian life at the sixteenth century, it is a living picture.

The Count de Ficalho reminds us that Father Alvares has unconsciously drawn his own portrait in this book. It is the silhouette of a fine type of secular priest in Portugal. We discern a man "full of Christian faith and devout without being uncompromising, calm and sensible in giving advice in the most trying circumstances, a peacemaker amid the intrigues and rivalries of his associates, kind and straightforward with a dose of humour and genuine Portuguese wit".⁴⁹³

He died weeping over the failure of his efforts to bring Prester John into the full comity of the other Christian nations. In reality, his book was the seed of a later resurgence of Christian activity in Abyssinia. We may say that he watered the seed with his tears, because the memory of the grief of this sincere priest lingered with King John and his other friends in Portugal and in Rome until his work was taken up by more fortunate hands.

Most of this time the black ambassador to the Court of John III, Zaga Zaab, was waiting in Lisbon and hoping every

year to return home with the annual fleet, in order to report to his own sovereign in Abyssinia. King John kept in constant touch with him. Whilst he was expecting to sail with the fleet of Peter de Castelbranco, the King wrote to Anthony d'Ataide on the thirtieth of September, 1533: "My private secretary⁴⁹⁴ has shown me the letter that Zaga Zaab has sent you. Tell him to write as fully and as often as he wishes, and to hand his letters to Castelbranco. You will receive them from him, and bring them to me." Except for the few months that he spent in the journey to Bologna,⁴⁹⁵ when Father Alvares presented him to the Pope, Zaga Zaab remained in Portugal eleven years, dying there towards the end of 1538. The last known report that he sent to the Negus was committed to the hands of an Abyssinian friar, who sailed with the fleet of Peter da Silva da Gama in 1537.

But the replies of the Portuguese King to his importunities were largely dependent upon the decisions taken at Rome. Zaga Zaab and his companions must have been comfortable enough in a friendly and civilised country like Portugal; but he naturally feared that the Negus would regard him as a shirker if he did not show some results of his mission. As early as 1533 we find him writing to the Negus, imploring him to keep open for him his position as governor of Bugna.⁴⁹⁶

By a happy chance he met the historian, Damian de Goes, in 1533, and they became fast friends.⁴⁹⁷ Goes had been recalled from Flanders by the King, after ten years of travelling. As a youth of twenty-one, he had been appointed secretary of the trade commission in Antwerp. Various diplomatic missions and intellectual curiosity had taken him to Vilna, Dantzig, Posen, Brussels, Louvain and London. At Freiburg he met Erasmus, and at Wittemberg Luther and Melancthon. King John recalled him to take up the lucrative post of treasurer of India House.

He returned unwillingly, because learning was to him a more desirable possession than money or political honours. Serving Portugal abroad, he shared both the intellectual interests of his native land and those of foreign countries. Largely as a result of the Portuguese discoveries, there was then in Europe a ferment of fresh political thinking and a clash of national ambitions, which fascinated Goes. It is easy to picture the joy with which he welcomed the company of this whimsical stranger from the land of Prester John, in whom he discovered a mine of information about an unknown world.

Goes had already written the Latin letter to the Catholic Archbishop of Upsala, in which a general sketch of Abyssinian religion was contained. In close collaboration with Zaga Zaab,

he now composed a fuller account under the title *Fides, Religio Moresque Aethiopum*. It is easy to see now that this account is too favourable both to the culture of Abyssinia and to the quality of its Christian faith. This, however, entails no reflection upon the honesty of Damian de Goes or of his informant.

The Portuguese humanist was genuinely impressed with the knowledge and eloquence of the Abyssinian, and with the dignity that he displayed in the discharge of his office of bishop.⁴⁹⁸ But having been absent from Portugal so long, Damian de Goes did not realise that most of these admirable traits, except his knowledge of Arabic and Géez, were the result of having imbibed the culture of Portugal for six years. Zaab, on the other hand, was naturally anxious to please his Portuguese hosts, who treated him as an equal. He therefore put the best construction he could upon the ways of his own country, and read into his old beliefs many of the more developed truths of Christianity that he had really learned in the faithful land of Portugal. There were no theologians in Prester John's country who could define accurately what their Church believed, and only a few unskilled writers, whose highest efforts were the meagre chronicles that have come down to us.

Portugal, however, was a land where all the old sciences, and some of the new, flourished, especially the respectable science of theology. When, therefore, at the request of the King trained theologians, like Dr. Margalho, examined the views of Zaga Zaab expounded by Goes, they were astonished at the crudities in the matter of Christian belief that even this favourable exposition left.

This careful enquiry led to a revised view of the role of the Abyssinian envoy. The book of Goes was condemned by the Court of the Inquisition in 1541, after Zaab's death, because it contained statements likely to disturb the loyalty of the average man to Church and State. This censorship was mild compared to the wholesale suppression of books, newspapers and wireless messages by all great States of the twentieth century, through the censorship of ideologies⁴⁹⁹ which they considered dangerous to the loyalty of their subjects. In fact, no modern government would tolerate the gentleness of the Inquisitor-General, Cardinal Henry. Though Chief Censor, he wrote a friendly letter to Goes, explaining that by the condemnation of the book he did not mean to censure Goes personally. "You have been too confiding in the good faith of the envoy of Prester John. He was a bad man, quite immoral. I have censored only the second part of your book."⁵⁰⁰

Though Zaga Zaab was dead at this time, the Cardinal's letter indicates that the authorities had gradually come to take a less favourable view of Zaab's character. That accounts for the ease with which they acquiesced at first in his arrest and imprisonment by another envoy of Prester John, who appeared suddenly at Lisbon in the year 1537. His name was John Bermudes, and he claimed to be Patriarch of Abyssinia and special envoy of the Negus, David II.

By order of his master, Bermudes arrested Zaab for neglect in the execution of his mission. But at the request of King John, as an act of grace, he was soon set free again, because King John did not share the very unfavourable view of Zaab's character expressed by his brother, Cardinal Henry.

The mysterious stranger had come from Rome, but his arrival in Lisbon meant that he had circumnavigated Africa. As a physician, Bermudes entered Abyssinia with the expedition of Father Alvares in 1520,⁵⁰¹ and now he returned to Lisbon claiming to be patriarch and ambassador. Gibbon⁵⁰² in a hasty note has prejudiced his case by writing that "he may be suspected of deceiving Abyssinia, Rome and Portugal". A more careful scrutiny of the full records does not justify the suspicions of the historian of the Roman Empire.

Bermudes was no deceiver.⁵⁰³ Having spent six years in Abyssinia at the time when the embassy of Roderick de Lima left the country in 1562, he had become so interested in its people that he decided to remain, and with him the Portuguese artist, Lazarus de Andrade. As a doctor, Bermudes had won the confidence of all the better classes. The name of Master John, as Father Alvares calls him, was a household word in a country where there was no native who knew the elements of the art of healing.

Just when Father Alvares reached Lisbon and Rome was being sacked, a dangerous crisis arose also in Abyssinia. The neighbouring Somali tribes under a leader from Harrar, whom the Abyssinians called Granye, or the Left-handed, organised a series of massed attacks against Abyssinia, on a long front from the banks of the Webi River to the sea at Massawa. Ahmed ibn Ibrahim al-Ghazi, to give this Muslim leader his full name, married a daughter of Mahfuz whom King David had so brilliantly defeated and killed at the beginning of his reign. The victorious Turks of Egypt and Arabia came to Ahmed's assistance with men and artillery. The Ethiopian Chronicle of those days is one long story of disaster.⁵⁰⁴ Among the heroes killed in action during this long campaign we may perhaps reckon Pedro da

Covilhā, who went there in 1488 and had become a great land-owner.

These Muslim raids went on for eight years, and every year the Negus hoped that reinforcements would come from his ally, the King of Portugal, in response to the letters that he had sent by his envoys. In 1535, when the native Patriarch Marcus was about to die, King David resolved to make another attempt to secure the immediate support of Christian Europe. He ordered Marcus to consecrate Bermudes as his successor, in order that he might gain recognition from the Pope, and then make a desperate appeal for help to the King of Portugal. The dignity thus conferred upon him would enable him to plead with an authority that no previous envoy had possessed. Pope Leo X in 1514 had adopted Marcus as papal legate in Abyssinia, and had given him jurisdiction to do anything necessary for the welfare of souls.⁵⁰⁵ This step of consecrating a successor would certainly come within that wide mandate.

John Bermudes has been called an ignorant and ambitious man, but neither epithet fits his conduct.⁵⁰⁶ Of course, he was not a trained theologian, nor had he made any special study of the intricacies of Canon Law. But these are drawbacks that he shares with many of our most modern historians of this period. Yet he was so well instructed in the liturgy of the Church, that he was one of the six persons selected by Father Alvares to take part in the impressive High Mass celebrated before the Negus according to the Latin rite. If nothing but his own book remained, the charge of ignorance could not be sustained. His main ambition was plainly to promote the welfare of the Abyssinians, both temporal and spiritual.

A man of courage and character, he left nothing undone to help them to regain their freedom from the barbarous semi-Bantu of Somaliland and their Turkish auxiliaries. But he also desired to bring them within the orbit of Christian civilisation, the best thing that he knew. With his long experience on the spot, he also knew that separation from Alexandria and affiliation with Rome would be a long step in the direction of a higher culture. For the moment, however, the urgent question was material help from Europe.

With this end in view, he left Abyssinia in 1535,⁵⁰⁷ just before the death of the old Patriarch. "I made the journey by land," he writes, "coming by Cairo and Jerusalem, and was imprisoned by the Turks, being badly treated by them. But with God's help I reached Rome in the time of the Holy Father Paul

III." He adds that his appointment as Patriarch was ratified by the Pope in Rome, and recognised in Lisbon by the King.

The fact of the Pope's confirmation has been questioned, but there is no doubt that Bermudes honestly believed that it had been given, and under the circumstances there were grounds for nourishing that belief. "I know no more of him," the King wrote ten years later, "than that he is a simple priest." But King John's doubts were then founded on technical points raised much later, which were being fanned by political opponents of Bermudes. At this time King John took it for granted that he was the Patriarch, as we shall see.

Bermudes arrived in Rome at the beginning of 1537, as we learn from a letter of the Emperor Charles V.⁵⁰⁸ He went straight to the Abyssinian hostel of San Stefano, where at that moment there were about a dozen pilgrims in residence.⁵⁰⁹ Among them was the famous Tesfa Sion, a refugee from the province of Adel, which was one of the first districts of Abyssinia devastated by the Somali. "Nowhere did I find rest for body or soul except in Rome," Tesfa Sion wrote in his Epilogue to the first Amharic translation of the Epistles of Saint Paul, published by him in Rome.⁵¹⁰ It was he also who translated into Italian the letters that Bermudes brought from the Abyssinian King. The two Abyssinian members of his party died on the journey.

If Father Alvares had been alive at this time, there can be little doubt that he would have been requisitioned, either to present his old friend Master John to the Pope, or to say that he was making unsubstantial claims. Bermudes obtained an audience of Paul III through one of the leading Catholic Reformers, Cardinal Caraffa, then head of the newly established order of the Theatines, whose object was to stimulate the piety of the clergy. On this Cardinal's staff was a priest who took a keen interest in the Abyssinian language and literature, and he introduced Bermudes to the influential Caraffa, who afterwards became Pope as Paul IV.

Pope Paul III gave Bermudes a most gracious hearing. But there is much confusion among contemporaries as to what Bermudes asked of the Pope, because most of them did not know definitely. But the Jesuit Father Salmeron, has preserved the substance of a conversation with Cardinal di Santa Croce, as Caraffa was popularly called from his titular church.⁵¹¹ Its gist was that Bermudes simply begged the Pope to confirm him in the office of Patriarch, which he already held. Only after he had left Rome did any doubts arise, when the Provincial of the

Franciscans came from Jerusalem and asked whether he was really Patriarch.

To settle the doubt, the Pope appointed a commission of cardinals. Even this commission assumed that Bermudes had been properly consecrated, and that Marcus had chosen him for his successor. The main difficulty appeared to be in regard to his fitness for the office. The commission recommended that a bishop be sent to Abyssinia to make full enquiries on the spot; if the conduct and methods of Bermudes were found worthy, and if the other facts were as stated in his letters, he should be quietly and formally confirmed in the office of Patriarch.

Then the Roman officials discovered to their surprise that Bermudes had left Rome for Lisbon without waiting for the formal and final decision. Why did he do this? Unversed as he was in the ways of chancellaries, he evidently believed that he had received the authorisation which he had come to seek. That he had received letters of some kind, it is not possible to doubt;⁵¹² and also that they were considered sufficient for his purpose by those to whom he showed them in Lisbon. These letters were lost in the rout of the army of Christopher da Gama some years later. Having secured the blessing of the Pope, he turned to his more difficult task of special envoy to the Court of Portugal.

All this is confirmed by the way in which Bermudes was received in Lisbon, when he hastened there at the end of 1537. On his arrival he found that the papal nuncio, Monsignor Capo di Ferro, had reached Lisbon some months before.⁵¹³ The King was living in the palace of the Duke of Braganza. There he received Bermudes, placing him next to the Nuncio, and giving him precedence over Dom Martin of Portugal, who was only an archbishop, which is a grade lower than that of patriarch.

Most of the Portuguese chroniclers agree that he sailed for India as patriarch, and acted as such in India with the consent of all the officials, secular and ecclesiastical.⁵¹⁴ As late as 1557, Bishop Oviedo tells the young Negus how Bermudes exercised the patriarchate with his father's approval. Even Castanhoso, who justly resented the action of Bermudes in preferring the half-caste Ayres Dias to himself as captain, always speaks of Bermudes as the Patriarch, and always with respect. Couto informs us that, when Bermudes landed at Massawa in 1540 with Stephen da Gama, the Barnagash knelt and asked his blessing as patriarch and papal nuncio. Technically it may be true, as Father Salmeron states, that he was an intruder, because all the canonical forms were not observed. But he was no fraud. It can even be sustained that he was the legal patriarch, as he had

what the canonists call "titulus coloratus cum errore communi", to put his claim on the lowest ground.

But as special envoy to speed up reinforcements for the defence of Abyssinia, his success admits of no doubt. All arrangements were made for him to sail for India with a strong force in the fleet of Garcia de Noronha, which was to start on the sixth of April, 1538; and he thus accomplished in a few months what Zaga Zaab had failed to do in eleven years. King John provided the money to equip and arm 450 matchlockmen with their officers. At the last moment, however, Bermudes was unable to sail with them, as he fell seriously ill. The illness he ascribes, rightly or wrongly, to an attempt to poison him, instigated by Zaga Zaab. But the band of heroes who had enlisted to save Abyssinia went before him. More unselfish and victorious than the heroes of Thermopylæ, they sailed to defend the freedom and faith of a foreign land more than ten thousand miles away by sea, because the word of Portugal had been pledged to protect it.

The following year (1539) Bermudes sailed in the fleet of Peter Lopes de Sousa. He claims that at Goa he was received with full honours by the local authorities.⁵¹⁵ "The Bishop of Goa with his Canons came to receive me in procession, with cross on high; and they conducted me from the seashore to the Cathedral in a chair presented to me for this purpose by the King your grandfather (this report was written for King Sebastian), the Viceroy Dom Garcia being on one side of me and on the other side the Captain of Goa, John de Sá. Acknowledging me as patriarch, they paid me the honour due to my rank."

Bermudes was a little dazzled with the thought of the great dignity conferred upon him. On this account he has been dismissed by some writers as a vain creature, unworthy of credence. But what would happen to most of our political idols of recent times, if such a standard were applied to them? How few would be left on their pedestals! You rise from reading the narrative of Bermudes with memories of a brave and loyal man, who was prepared to risk everything, even his own petty vanities, in order to answer the call of a poor and distressed people who could not help themselves.

When he reached Goa on the tenth of September, 1539, after a brief stay at Mozambique, he found India tingling with the joy of victory.⁵¹⁶ The city was crowded with the ambassadors of Indian rajahs, seeking humbly for peace. As his ship entered

the port, he saw the arrival of the peace delegation from the Samuri of Calicut, the leading rajah of this coast.

A few days later Bermudes saw the octogenarian Viceroy, Garcia de Noronha, with his snow-white beard and standing head and shoulders above all the *fidalgos*, whilst he received the suppliant Indians with the courtesy of a reconciled friend, but in impressive state. "The Samuri will not make war on any friend of Portugal; and if he should quarrel with any of them, he will notify the Viceroy and they will discuss and settle the matter." This was the foundation clause of a generous and lasting peace. The sudden death of Garcia de Noronha, on the third of April following, gave matters a rapid and unexpected turn in favour of the mission of Bermudes.

The late Viceroy was not hostile to this mission of Abyssinia, but he had been absorbed in the measures necessary for settling India. When the letters of succession were opened, it was found that the King had nominated for Governor-General a son of Vasco da Gama, Stephen. Being young and adventurous, he decided to act at once upon an instruction of the King which he found among the papers of the dead Viceroy. This was to pursue the Turkish fleet, which had fled from Diu, into the Red Sea, and to destroy it. Further letters that arrived in September confirmed this order.

Meantime, Bermudes had received a letter from Lebna Denghel (King David) urging him to send as many men as he could, in addition to the three hundred promised, since the position was critical in the extreme.⁵¹⁷ But soon after sending this letter Lebna Denghel died and was succeeded by his son, Claudius. We learn from Bermudes himself that his travelling expenses were now to be paid out of the pocket of Stephen da Gama, who did not wish to charge them to the Indian exchequer.

At last, on New Year's Day, 1541, the fleet of seventy-two ships left Goa with two thousand of the best fighters in India. They reached the ports of Arkiko and Massawa on the eighteenth of February with the loss of only one ship.⁵¹⁸ Here they learned that the Sultan of Suakin had gone over to the Turks, and this was a threat to his suzerain, Claudius, as it cut his lines of communication with the Portuguese. Christopher da Gama, with twelve fast ships, was sent to deal with Suakin, but the Sultan fled and warned the Turks that the Portuguese were coming.

When the Governor decided to attack Suakin, Tor and Suez, he left his uncle, Manuel da Gama, in charge of all the big ships and six hundred men, whom he left behind at Arkiko and

Massawa. To his care the Patriarch was also confided. But during the four months that the Governor was cleaning up the Red Sea to the north, troubles multiplied in the camp of his uncle.

The first bad news they received was the death of King David. "The sorrow I felt on learning this news was so great that I almost desired death myself," writes Bermudes. He not only mourned the loss of a friend, but he feared that the loss of an experienced leader at this critical stage might mean demoralisation for the harried Abyssinians. Soon, however, two Abyssinian friars, pilgrims on their way to Jerusalem, brought the reassuring message that the Queen Mother and her son were holding their own in the mountains against the Muslim forces. To cheer them in their struggle, Bermudes says that he sent a dark man from Coimbra, named Ayres Dias, to assure them that help was on the way. The colour of this half-caste, and his knowledge of the local languages, made him the perfect scout for such an errand. Being also a resourceful person, and educated in Portugal, he had all the ways of a cultured European. This curious personage had entered Abyssinia with Roderick de Lima as a dependent of John Escolar, and he became known to the Abyssinians as Marcos.

Whilst waiting at Massawa for the return of Stephen da Gama, the Patriarch thought that he saw a way of augmenting the relief force which was being prepared by touting for volunteers in the camp. But here his zeal outran his discretion. He talked to the idle and under-fed men so glowingly about the wealth and opportunities of Prester John's kingdom, that many wished to start at once for this Eldorado. They began to look about for guides, intending to desert. Manuel da Gama tried to counteract the effect of these recruiting harangues by giving the soldiers and sailors better rations. In spite of all that he could do, he discovered that one hundred of them were actively preparing an expedition of their own into the interior. They had not been deterred by his severity in hanging five who were caught in the act of deserting. Now he felt compelled to go further, in order to preserve the discipline of his camp. He ordered the mobilisation of all the ships outside the ports, thinking that he would have them all aboard and so prevent the mutineers from carrying out their plans. But even this measure did not settle the unrest, or prevent some from making for the interior in small bands.⁵¹⁹

During this period of commotion, Ayres Dias returned with letters from the young Negus, calling more vehemently than ever

for prompt help. Dias brought sobering news for the mutineers, or at least news that should have sobered them. On all the principal roads he had found the Arabs out for plunder, and he believed that all the Portuguese deserters had fallen into their hands and were murdered. But so restless had some of the soldiers become, that they refused to believe him. All that the Commandant could do now was to exhort them to be patient until the return of the Governor.

Many thought that Manuel da Gama made an irreparable blunder by his harshness when the unrest first broke out. The five men whom he sentenced to be hanged, just before their execution, summoned him dramatically before the judgment seat of God. The impression thus created was strongly emphasised by the fact that the nerves of the aged Commandant collapsed under the strain of life in the gruelling conditions of this tropical and barren land. Within a month he lost his reason and died. Even his nephew, the Governor, on his return had felt obliged to rebuke him publicly. All the officers then tried to efface the memory of these untoward events by giving the men free entertainment, and conciliating them in every way.⁵²⁰

It is much to the credit of Bermudes that he alone records the good that Manuel da Gama did. They constantly consulted together about the best methods of dealing with the Muslim rulers, who barred their way to the headquarters of the remnant of the Abyssinian army in the interior of the country. The Patriarch has preserved the memory of a considerable triumph of the unhappy Commandant, who defeated and killed the Commander of the Muslim district of Zeila. Thus he was able to hand over to the Abyssinian Governor, Tigre Makuanen, this part of his province which had been lost. This conduct was typical of Bermudes, who kept out of the quarrels of the Portuguese captains, in so far as he could.

He was also prompt to second any man who could help him in his life's aim of liberating Abyssinia. The great test of his singleness of purpose was now to come. Stephen da Gama returned to Massawa on the twenty-second of May, 1541.⁵²¹ He immediately prepared to expedite the great relief force for which Bermudes had striven so long. Its exploits are so important that they need a chapter to themselves.

CHAPTER XII.

THE EPIC OF THE FOUR HUNDRED.

THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL, Stephen da Gama, called a meeting of his council at Massawa, consisting of the captains and *fidalgos*, as was the custom of the Portuguese in all difficult undertakings. He placed before them a letter which he had just received from the dowager Queen of Abyssinia, Ite Sabla Wangel, or Isabel of the Gospel as the Portuguese translated her name.⁵²² Hearing that Gama had arrived, she sent her Viceroy, called the Barnagash, from her refuge in the mountains to implore help "by the Cross upon which Christ suffered, lest the remnants of a Christian people should perish".

The response of the Council was immediate. "We cannot leave this Christian nation in the lurch, and we must show them how highly we value the interests of our religion." That was the unanimous verdict of the men assembled on the flagship. There was instant harmony and joy among the rank and file when the decision was promulgated. Whilst Bermudes was delighted with the resolution to help the Negus, he became troubled in mind when he heard that they were to be led against the Arabs and Turks by a youth of twenty-four years. This was Vasco da Gama's fourth son, Christopher. Brave and capable as he was, would he have the prestige to maintain the allegiance of so many experienced captains, now to be placed under his command? In the public interest, Bermudes decided that he must make a stand.

To avoid this risk of failure, he now claimed that King John had invested him with the right of nominating the captain of any expedition that should take this work in hand, and that he had already promised the command to Peter Borges Anriques. The Governor replied that this highly equipped expedition was not the one that the King had in view, and that Bermudes was being consulted merely as a matter of courtesy. When he refused to agree to the Governor's first request, the latter sent his brother Christopher to make the same request in his own name; and a third time the Governor came in person to make it. But the reply of Bermudes was always the same.

Then the Governor exerted his authority, since his Council supported his decision for grave reasons of public policy. Their project was almost a forlorn hope, as Prester John's own

subjects were mostly traitors. Its only chance of success was to have a dashing leader to command the veteran troops who were enlisted, in place of the untried men whom Bermudes had recruited in Portugal. "If this Christian land goes under, I should feel responsible for its loss," said Stephen da Gama. Finally he convinced Bermudes that neither the King nor Anriques would press an appointment made under such different circumstances.

Thus, on the ninth of July, 1541, under the supreme command of Christopher da Gama, they marched out of Arkiko, 450 men in all, headed by the banner of the Order of Christ. Five of the captains led fifty men, each under his own banner; Christopher had 150 under his banner, and the other fifty were volunteer *fidalgos* like the chronicler Castanhoso with their own batmen. Bermudes was in the company of the Barnagash, who supplied the camels and oxen for transport. They had eight large field guns and about one hundred small cannon with an ample supply of ammunition. Before starting, the Governor-General asked the Patriarch to give them all his blessing, which he did in the most solemn form.

It was the rainy season when they set out, late in the day. The heat in this tropical land of bush and shrubs was so intense that they could only march by night, resting during the day in the cool ravines. Christopher da Gama soon showed his qualities as a valiant leader. By his own example he doubled the energy of the men, writes Castanhoso in his diary. Knowing that there was a dangerous pass ahead, in a gap of one of the mountains across their path, he sent captains John de Fonseca and Michael da Cunha with their companies to seize it and guard it, whilst the main body passed over in safety. In this way they travelled for five days, finding unexpected refreshment in the abundant hares and partridges.

The whole of the sixth day was spent in scaling a mountain seven thousand feet high, whose summit formed a cool and pleasant plateau, from which they caught glimpses of the Red Sea whence they had started. Here, too, they met the first evidences of the Muslim vandals who had ravaged the land, in the ruins of the large church of Asmara. It was one of those built by the Venetian artist, Brancaleone, whom the Abyssinians called Marcoreos. The raiders had carried away everything of value, leaving the walls and roof only, which, however, were enough to furnish a grateful shelter for the expeditionary force during the two days of their sojourn.

They then turned south, along rough and twisting roads of piebald soil, reddish and white, where the cactus and aloe abounded. The mountains on the near horizon varied between bare kopjes and frequent tablelands. On the twentieth of July they reached Debarwa, the headquarters of the Barnagash who was travelling with them. For those days it might be called a large town, of the Moorish type with stone houses and flat roofs. But now it presented a sorry sight of desolate ruin.

Only the beautiful river full of fish, which bounded the town on one side, was a welcome sight. The farming population of the whole neighbourhood had fled to the remoter mountains with their flocks, for fear of the Arab raiders. As soon as the presence of the Christian army became known, the fugitives began to return, in dribs and drabs at first. A procession of monks headed by a cross issued from the wrecked monastery of the place to welcome Christopher da Gama and his men. But all were in the sad plight of hunted refugees. Bermudes went out to meet them in the impressive garb that he had brought from India: a white cassock with a white cloak, a leather girdle covered with silk, tassels of gold and a decorated skull-cap.⁵²³

The Portuguese at first were somewhat nettled at what seemed a lack of courage and loyalty on the part of the people they had come to help. The common soldiers began to grumble that these men hardly looked like Christians with their strange rites, so unlike those of Rome. The Commander himself complained that the Barnagash had not warned his subjects to prepare a more enthusiastic welcome for the army, which had endured so much and come so far to succour them.

Here the Patriarch came to the rescue. His age entitled him to speak to Christopher like a father, and his long years in Abyssinia had made him indulgent even towards the faults of the people whose spiritual father he was. Therefore, he begged the young Commander to remember that he must work in harmony with the Barnagash,⁵²⁴ if his expedition was to succeed. To his other countrymen he pointed out that they must have patience with these poor people. The deceased Negus, David, had promised that his people should adopt the more advanced ways of Rome in religion; and his son, Claudius now hiding in the southern mountains of Shoa, would no doubt follow in his father's footsteps. "We must not offend this people with harsh criticism, otherwise we shall drive them into the hands of the Muslim."

When the Portuguese had pitched their camp, and restored as best as they could one of the chapels for daily Mass, Christopher da Gama invited the Barnagash and two local chiefs

to discuss the plan of campaign. These natives were emphatic that nothing could be done until October. The rainy season was beginning; and as long as it lasted the roads would be water-logged, so that military operations could only end in disaster. But meantime they suggested that the Queen should be invited to the Portuguese camp from her refuge in the hill of Debra Damo. Her presence would convince the inhabitants that the Portuguese were friends, would rally the men in hiding, and would induce the farmers along their route to furnish supplies of food.

The Queen had remained in this safe retreat ever since the defeat and death of her husband, Lebna Denghel, who died on the second of September, 1540. From there she wrote the moving appeal to the Governor-General of India which had hastened this expedition. Debra Damo⁵²⁵ was a hill of such precipitous sides, that ten determined men could hold it against an army. It was like a stone hat placed upon the valley with its brim upwards, writes Couto. The only possible ascent was a winding path to a point in the brim, where nature used the scissors to cut a hole like the hatchway of a ship. This aperture was closed by an iron gate. There were large cisterns for rain water on the summit, and several large lakes which were constantly replenished by the winter rains, so that cattle and crops were secure against a long siege.

This impregnable fortress was sixty miles from Debarwa, which the Abyssinians counted a day's journey, despite the steep ravines of the River Marib that intervened. In the month of September Christopher sent two of his leading captains, Manuel da Cunha and Francis Velho, to invite the Queen to his camp. It would seem that Bermudes had already found a way of sending her a friendly greeting, saying how greatly she would encourage the Portuguese if she joined them at Debarwa.

When the two captains reached Debra Damo, they found that they were joyfully expected. The hundred men whom they brought with them bivouacked at the bottom of the hill, whilst the captains were invited to make the ascent. There was a small level space near the top, on which only one man at a time could dismount from a basket hauled through a hole in the rock.

The Queen was found ready to leave at once with all her women and servants, leaving her second son on the mountain along with two beautiful daughters and her mother, all amply guarded.⁵²⁶ Castanhoso notes that the second son was guarded not only against the Arabs, but against his own people. The loyalty of the chiefs to the heir was so unstable that in the event of a quarrel with him, they were prone to rebel by setting up

another brother as a rival. It was a bad habit that they shared with the Bantu tribes.

The suite of the Queen consisted of thirty women and fifty men, all mounted on mules which the Barnagash had provided for their use. Her reception at the camp was in the best style of Portuguese chivalry. The whole army was drawn up to salute her, in double file, forming a double avenue for her to pass through. Officers and men were in gala uniforms, unfurling all their banners of crimson, blue and white. The Commander, "looking every inch the gentleman he was" (as one of his officers wrote), wore hose and doublet of gold brocade and red satin with variegated cords and a black cap with a very rich medal. Two salvoes were fired as the Queen approached. She was a beautiful woman of the oriental type, but her charms were enhanced by a cloak of black satin with flowers and borders of very fine gold, thrown over a dress of thin white Indian cloth, whilst her hair was arranged in the Portuguese fashion. The sleek mule that carried her was caparisoned in silk hangings down to the ground, and a canopy of silk was held over her head.⁵²⁷

Christopher da Gama welcomed her in a noble speech as "most Christian Queen", and it was translated into her language by an interpreter. She replied that only the Lord of Heaven could repay the King of Portugal and his subjects for all that they had done for her kingdom. Then, with her party, she retired to the tents that had been prepared for them.

The Barnagash and the Patriarch were those whom she consulted most, because the latter understood her language, and she loved to hear him tell of the glories of Portugal; whilst the former was her chief minister. Hence, we may well credit Bermudes when he states that she and her suite attended his Mass, and took part in intercessory processions for the success of their common crusade during the weeks of waiting for the onward march. "As a woman she recoiled from war," wrote Bermudes, "and told us that we need not hurry." She steeled herself, however, for the ordeal, the dangers of which she knew only too well from her past experiences.⁵²⁸

But Dom Christopher was in no humour for delay. On the fifteenth of December, 1541, his preparations were completed, and the Portuguese army resumed the march, reinforced by two hundred Abyssinians for transport work. The Queen and her party were in the rear under the protection of fifty Portuguese soldiers commanded by Michael de Castanhoso, whose diary is one of our chief sources of information about the events of this expedition. Christopher himself, with a bodyguard of four

soldiers on swift mounts,⁵²⁹ inspected the whole cavalcade twice a day. Their scouts were a few miles in advance seeking for news about the Sultan of Zeila, the main enemy whom they sought to drive out of the lands which he had devastated.

For eight days they marched along the plateau upon the chain of mountains which form the watershed between the Red Sea and the Blue Nile, thus avoiding the necessity of crossing the many rivers that flowed east and west. The advent of the Queen was noised abroad; and as she advanced her subjects rallied to the royal standard, asking pardon for their defection to the Moors.

The day before Christmas Eve they halted on a pleasant hill, where they decided to spend Christmas. Castanhoso, soldier though he was, describes with evident pride the solemnity of these celebrations, the stirring music of the midnight Mass celebrated by the Patriarch, and how the novelty of it all fascinated the Queen and her friends, accustomed to the cruder rites of the Ethiopian Church.⁵³⁰ But all this was only the prelude of sterner work.

On New Year's Day of 1542 the Crusaders set out again. After a march of two days they were confronted with an enormous mass of a mountain, over which the beaten track passed. It took them three days to scale it, dragging their artillery up the steep. "It was a bigger feat for us with our poor resources to reach this top in three days, than for Hannibal to cross the Alps in a month." The cold at that altitude was so intense that "we thought we should all die", says Castanhoso.

This is the famous hill of Barakit, near Senafé, which has since been described by so many travellers. The Portuguese were puzzled by the Chapel of Saint Romanus, hewn out of the rock, and the bodies of three hundred white men preserved intact in the dry atmosphere. "The Abyssinians said that they were martyrs, and so some of our men took relics of them; but there was no document to prove who they were."⁵³¹

Their onward march was interrupted once more on the feast of the Epiphany, which is celebrated by the Abyssinians with greater solemnity than the feast of Christmas. Since, according to Christian tradition, the day of the Three Kings is the same day of the year as that on which Christ was baptised in the Jordan, the Abyssinians celebrate it with a symbolical renewal of their baptismal vows by immersion in the nearest river. The Portuguese adapted themselves to this ancient custom of their hosts.

Whilst they were on the march again, the scouts brought news of a fortified hill in the middle of a plain through which they would have to pass. It was held by a force of 1,500 archers under an Arab captain of the Sultan of Zeila. Its broad summit was a natural fortress, to which three narrow, steep and well-guarded bridle-paths led. The scouts reported that this was the crowning place of the kings of Abyssinia, but they evidently confused it with Aksum, nearly forty miles away.

Counsels were divided as to whether they should stop to take it. The Queen was nervous about it, as the Portuguese army was so small; so she urged waiting until they could join forces with her son Claudio. Christopher da Gama, however, his captains and the Patriarch agreed that they could not leave this nest of fierce enemies in their rear. "We are only a handful of men, but we are Portuguese," said Christopher to reassure the Queen, "and we shall die before any harm is done to you."⁵³²

They pitched their camp near the foot of the hill on the first of February, 1542. An infantry assault was made late that evening, whilst the gunners brought the artillery into its place. This first assault was merely a feint, to draw the arrows and stones from the defenders on the summit, so that the Commander might discover which of the three paths was the easiest for the besiegers to use. The Queen was dejected when she saw them retiring, thinking that they had been beaten, as she had been watching the battle with great anxiety. But Christopher himself went to her tent to explain that next day, which was the feast of the Purification of Our Lady, the Queen would see how Portuguese fought when they meant business.

This second assault was made early in the morning, just after Mass had been celebrated by the Patriarch. As soon as the besiegers were seen at the foot of the pathways, such a rain of arrows, stones and boulders poured down the hill, that it seemed the end of everything.⁵³³ Two Portuguese were killed and many hurt. But, seeing now how few they were, the Muslim changed their tactics. They retired into the centre of the plateau, hoping that they would overwhelm the Portuguese with numbers, when they met on the level. They had reckoned without the bravery of the attacking army and its matchlocks. "At this juncture the Commander of the Muslim fought like a very brave man," writes Castanhoso, "and he killed two Portuguese with his own hand."

But he was soon struck down, and the whole force entrapped by the three divisions of the Portuguese army, which had entered at different gates. When the Muslim camp was rifled, many

Christian women were found who had been prisoners. The mosque, which had been a Christian church, was restored to its proper use. The Queen was astonished at the ease with which these formidable enemies of her country had been overcome; but she declined Christopher's invitation to visit the scene of victory, as she could not bear the sight of so many dead. They remained more than a month resting at the foot of this hill of Basanete. Before leaving, the Queen appointed one of her chiefs captain of the hill with a sufficient garrison to hold it.

At the end of February they were cheered to find that they had not been forgotten by the Governor of India, Stephen da Gama. Two Portuguese, guided by two Abyssinians, arrived in the camp from Massawa, where Manuel de Vasconellos was waiting with five ships to know how he was to send the clothes and ammunition which he had brought. He also promised reinforcements if they were needed. The messengers were doubly welcome because they brought letters from friends in India and from home.

Francis Velho, with forty men, was dispatched at once to Massawa, in order to take delivery of the welcome supplies. With two native guides, and without any encumbrance of equipment, they set out on quick-trotting mules. It was hoped that they would be back in a fortnight. But when they reached Massawa they found that the Turks, who were then in force in the Red Sea, had driven Vasconellos out of the port, and occupied it. These messengers rejoined the army empty-handed on the seventeenth of April, the day after its second victory over Ahmed Granye of Zeila.

Soon after Velho and his party left, the army began its march towards Wajarat,⁵³⁴ as the Queen had received a message from Calide, governor of that district and a cousin of the Barnagash, begging to return to her allegiance and regretting that he had gone over to the Arabs when they were victorious. After a march of two days in this direction, the Commander ordered the bivouac for a rest, when a courier from the south brought a message from the Negus Claudius. He warned them that the Sultan of Zeila was on the move with a powerful force to attack them, as he had been stung into action by their capture of Basanete. For the Portuguese to engage them alone would be perilous. They should therefore force the pace in marching until they could join him (Claudius), and then deliver a combined attack.

This news was confirmed a few days later by Calide,⁵³⁵ who had come to greet the Portuguese, and he presented four Arab

horses to Christopher da Gama to smooth his own difficult path of repentance. Bermudes is at no pains to conceal his distrust of this time-server, but admits that he came to the rescue at a critical moment with a supply of badly needed food. What Christopher equally appreciated was the help of Calide's spies. After scouting for two days, they returned with the news that Ahmed Granye and his army were within a day's march, and would attack at once.

Next day, however, the Sultan did not take the offensive. He had intended doing so at nightfall, but in the gathering darkness the Portuguese camp, with its many tents and hundreds of lights, looked ominously formidable in a land where these amenities were rare. The Portuguese gunners were all ready with lighted matches, and so many shots were fired that the Arabs gained the impression of an army larger and more powerful than what they expected. Meantime the Queen, the Patriarch and some of the *fidalgos* endeavoured to persuade the Commander to use every stratagem in order to decline battle until reinforcements should come, as the Negus had advised.

If ever Christopher da Gama had entertained such a plan, it was dissipated next morning by an insulting message which he received from Ahmed Granye. The Sultan pitied him for being so young and inexperienced, and for having such a miserable force at his disposal; but if he would surrender like a sensible man and become a Muslim, he would guarantee him a high position among the Turks. That was the kind of language to infuriate a son of Vasco da Gama. But Ahmed capped his insults by adding that Christopher was in his green years, and had just lost his head over the beautiful Queen of Abyssinia. Christopher answered him in the same oriental style of humour. He sent him a parcel of toilet requisites that women used then for their adornment, and suggested that these would suit him better than a trial of strength with a captain of the King of Portugal.

The Portuguese Commander was under no illusions as to the enormous odds against him. He knew that the Patriarch was right when he reported that "the Abyssinians were in a panic and would be sure to bolt at a crisis, whilst we alone should be left to bear the brunt of the hammer strokes of the enemy". But he was rightly convinced that if he retreated before challenging the Moors, the Abyssinians would desert at once, and the honour of Portugal would be tarnished. His duty was plain. Victory was in the hands of God, but he would rather die fighting than be captured retreating. His decision was endorsed by the majority of the captains and *fidalgos*.

The Portuguese had pitched their camp on a hill near the River Afgol, and close to the monastery of Nazareth, on the first of April, 1542, which was the Saturday before Holy Week.⁵³⁶ The Turkish sharpshooters kept up a constant fire, whilst their army was gradually drawing a closer net round the hill, threatening to blockade the Portuguese and so starve them out. Time was on the side of the Turks. So the Portuguese Commander resolved to take the offensive, in order to break the strong cord that threatened to strangle them. He spent the previous night organising the plan of attack.

At dawn the Portuguese charged down the hill rapidly, and rushed into the open where the enemy was in greatest strength. Manuel da Cunha with fifty men was sent to lead this attack. So fierce was the resistance that the Turks captured a standard, forced Cunha to retire with a wound in the leg, and wounded Christopher da Gama. But he refused to withdraw, despite the agony of his wound. The handful of Portuguese seemed about to be overwhelmed, when at midday a *fidalgo* named John de Sá saw the Sultan himself charging down upon them with picked troops and shot him through the thigh, killing his horse. The lucky shot turned the tide of battle, and the Muslim retired to save the life of the Commander.

Eleven Portuguese had been killed and about forty of the enemy. Of the Portuguese, fifty had been wounded. Calide advised them to move the camp at once to the bank of the river, two gunshots away, where there was abundant food, grass for the mules, and a range of hills behind them for protection. Christopher immediately sent a messenger to Massawa, urging them to speed up the reinforcements and supplies, "in order that we may complete our victory".⁵³⁷

The Portuguese sang their alleluias with more than ordinary joy on the following Sunday, which was Easter Sunday. But they realised how precarious their position was, as long as the large army of the Sultan of Zeila was within striking distance. The irrepressible courage of the Portuguese Commander was once more the salvation of his army. The Queen was terrified when she heard that another attack was being planned, and was restrained with difficulty by the persuasions of the Patriarch from fleeing back to her safe refuge at Debra Damo.

Apparently to pacify the Queen,⁵³⁸ and at the intigation of Bermudes, Christopher da Gama delayed his risky but imperative onslaught for a few days. Scouts reported that fresh men were daily joining the Sultan's army, so that a long delay would be fatal. On Low Sunday, therefore, the sixteenth of April,

Christopher da Gama led his army down the terraced slopes of the hill into the open plain, where the enemy was encamped.

As Ahmed Granye had not yet recovered from his wound, the Muslim were under the command of Garad Emar, the southern chief who had defeated Claudius in this very month of last year, as he had defeated Claudius's father in 1539, according to the native chronicles.⁵³⁹ But the Sultan was carried into the field in a litter to encourage his men, a measure hardly necessary, writes Castanhoso, "because the small number of our men might well have been sufficient encouragement".

A cavalry charge of five hundred Muslim seemed to betoken the destruction of the Portuguese army, when an accident occurred which naturally seemed a miracle to the Portuguese. Some powder exploded, killing two of them and burning eight; but it set up such a conflagration and thunder just where the Turkish cavalry were carrying all before them, that the horses bolted with their riders. The Portuguese were able to work havoc with those that remained. Many declared that they saw St. James, the patron saint of Portugal,⁵⁴⁰ on a white horse dealing deadly retribution to the enemies of Christian civilisation. So complete was the rout, according to an eye-witness, that not one Muslim would have escaped if the Portuguese had possessed one hundred horses. As they had only eight, they were perforce satisfied with capturing the enemy camp and much booty. The large quantity of food left behind was what they needed most. When the roll call was made, fourteen Portuguese were found killed and sixty wounded: not an excessive price to pay for the rout of such a formidable adversary.

Two days after this battle, the messengers who had gone to Massawa returned.⁵⁴¹ They were doubly sad, because they had missed these victorious battles, and because they came back empty-handed. The Turkish galleys were so strong in the Red Sea, that Vasconcellos had been compelled to return to India before they reached Massawa.

The torrential rains of May compelled both sides to seek winter quarters for the next four months. The Ethiopian annalists make it quite clear that Ahmed camped at Zabul, east of the high mountain range and eight days' journey west of the Straits of Babelmandeb. The spot was well chosen, because there at his ease he could draw upon the resources of the Turkish garrisons along the coast of the Red Sea. Experience had taught him the bitter lesson that his two hundred Turkish sharpshooters were insufficient to deal with the small Portuguese army, even though they had sufficed for years to cow the

Abyssinians in their thousands. He would utilise the winter, unobserved, in recruiting a large regiment of men trained to use the matchlock.

The Queen assured Dom Christopher that the best site for the Portuguese camp was Wofla,⁵⁴² south of the small Lake Ashangi, where food was plentiful. Wood and straw were also abundant in this locality, so that during the wet season the soldiers would have serviceable huts. But they were not to have complete rest even in this safe spot.

In August one of the black Jews, whom the Abyssinians call Falasha,⁵⁴³ came to interview Christopher da Gama, and informed him that the Negus Claudius would never be able to join him, unless the road down south were cleared by taking possession of a hill called Jalaka Amba,⁵⁴⁴ near the source of the River Ensea. It had belonged to a Jewish captain loyal to the Negus, but he had been driven out by the Moors.

Christopher was also shocked to hear from this well-informed native that Claudius had only a small army with him, and could not hope to remove this obstacle from his path. Calling out one hundred of his men with two captains, Manuel da Cunha and John de Fonseca, he ordered them to start with him at midnight so as to conceal their mission from Ahmed. Their instructions were to capture the hill of Jalaka Amba. On the way they crossed many rivers, some by swimming, but most of them by improvised rafts. They brought skins with them, to keep dry their matchlocks, powder and fuses. Their Jewish guide led up a concealed path at the dead of night, and they were on the top of the hill before the garrison was aware of their presence. A hard fight followed, but the 3,400⁵⁴⁵ Muslim were no match for the Portuguese, who had the advantage of guns and of a surprise attack. Much booty was taken, but what the Portugese valued most were eighty horses, three hundred mules and much cattle.

They placed their Falasha friend in charge of the hill as captain, as all the inhabitants of the country round for twelve miles were of the same race. Castanhoso tells us that this man was so overwhelmed with the miracle of Portuguese valour, and so grateful for his good treatment, that he became a Christian. This would not be a long step for a Falasha, as they knew nothing of the Talmud, using the same liturgical language as the Abyssinians, and knew only the Christian Bible in that language.

Leaving Afonso Caldeira to carry or drive the cumbersome booty, the Commander hurried back to camp with the rest of his men, as he feared an early attack from Zabul. He arrived only just in time, as that very night the Sultan of Zeila, with one

thousand gunmen, pitched his camp within sight of the Portuguese zareba on the hill. Ahmed had used his enforced leisure to some purpose. The Arabs of Zabid sent him many horsemen, whilst the Turks added ten field guns to the other equipment that they provided. The sight of this formidable array goaded the youthful Commander into his habitual preference for the sudden offensive.

The historian Couto voices the opposition of some of the older captains to this strategy. They would have preferred him to act "like a good chess player, more intent on the moves of the adversary than his own, thinking more of the future than of the present. Hence the great Menelaus esteemed one Nestor more than ten Ajaxes; and Hannibal was more afraid of Fabius when he did not fight, than of his colleague, Minucius, who attacked every day." Most of the captains, in fact, advised Dom Christopher that, in view of the overwhelming strength against them, it would be best in the long run either to attack at night or to retreat temporarily to the larger hills behind.

At dawn on the twenty-ninth of August,⁴⁵⁶ Gama ordered the attack, and brought his men down into the plain to forestall the onslaught of the enemy. "They could not resist the first onset of any body of Portuguese," he said. There he was justified. But they were numerous enough to reform after they were driven back. A hand-to-hand fight ensued, and when it had lasted some hours Christopher da Gama was wounded badly, and nearly all his men. The Queen and her women were binding up the wounds of those completely disabled, in the huts on the hill. But the men in the field were nearly all bleeding and weary. When Christopher's horse was killed, and bullets had smashed his arms and leg, his bodyguard of fourteen men placed him on a mule in a fainting condition, and fought a rearguard action until they had got behind the camp. As soon as the Turks reached the camp, they ceased to press the attack, devoting themselves to the loot of the huts. The Queen, with the Patriarch, guarded by a company under the command of Castanhoso, who was also wounded, succeeded in crossing the hills behind, thus reaching the road to the north.

But a wounded soldier in the camp did a last heroic deed to help his comrades. He lay within sight of the Queen's huts, where forty helpless men had been left when their wounds were dressed; and he saw some of the Turks beginning to slaughter them. Knowing that one of these huts contained the main store of powder, he crept round on all fours and set a match to the powder. At one blow he chastised these ghouls, delayed the

pursuit of the Portuguese fugitives, and prevented the enemy utilising the large store of powder.

Two young Portuguese of the Queen's cavalcade, Ferdinand Cardoso and Lopo de Almansa, saved her from captivity by risking their own lives. Hearing the clatter of iron horse-shoes in pursuit, which meant Turkish riders, as the Abyssinians did not shoe their mounts, these men urged their friends to hurry on whilst they turned on the pursuers. They found only two men on horseback, followed by a distant crowd on foot. At first the Portuguese offered to surrender, hoping thus to delay the pursuit. But when the Turkish riders were on the ground, like themselves, they challenged them to fight, killing one and wounding the other. Mounting their horses, they then charged the advancing infantry, who fled. Thus the Queen and her party were able to reach a fortified hill in the land of the Barnagash, exhausted but safe.

There they heard of the death of Christopher da Gama from two of his bodyguard,⁵⁴⁷ who escaped after their master's death. At first the Queen had refused to leave him behind. He was carried on a stretcher, and she dressed his wounds herself, for she looked upon him as the bravest of her sons. But the Patriarch urged that she had no right to risk the destruction of the whole army, and consequently of the whole country, even to be with the Commander to the end. His bodyguard would do for him all that was humanly possible. Christopher himself then issued his last command.⁵⁴⁸ Worn out with the agony of being jolted on the terrible roads, he ordered all but his bodyguard to march on. Having made his confession to the Patriarch, he ordered a couch for himself in the thicket, and that was the last that the Queen and his army saw of him.

The rest of the melancholy tale they now heard from eye-witnesses, Alvaro Dinis and John Gonsalves. When the enemy had looted the camp, twenty Arabs on horseback followed the trail of Christopher da Gama. They had gone far beyond where he lay, and were returning disconsolate, when they saw an old negro woman on the road, who took fright and ran into the nearest thicket. Thinking that she had some guilty secret, they pursued her, and were led where the Commander lay. "She must have been the Demon in that ugly form," was the opinion of many. Christopher's fate was a foregone conclusion, and these sad messengers related it with tears.

The youngest son of Vasco da Gama was a type that every nation must prize which knows the things that are to its peace of soul. Young, noble born, cultured and handsome, he threw all

that he possessed into the fight, to save a black race from being overwhelmed by those whom he regarded as the enemies of Christ and true civilisation. No torture was spared him by the savages who captured him, after the only lost battle in a campaign which ended after his death in the triumph of his cause. The details of his torture are too harrowing to be related here. But he drank the bitter cup to the dregs with a nobler joy than the cold comfort with which Socrates drank his hemlock.

Look at the other picture of youth in the first World War, painted for us by a galaxy of English writers.⁵⁴⁹ We are told that the youth of both sexes detested the task in which they were engaged, and despised the elders who had given them this task. They denied the God Who had permitted this denial of the pleasures which they loved so well, and enjoyed before 1914. In their wrath they demanded the right to cover up the horrors of war, even for half an hour, by any pleasure that their lust or unreason prompted. There was, of course, an elite of youth that endured all things for high ideals of their own. But the majority regarded them as cranks, whereas the Portuguese looked upon Christopher da Gama as their beloved leader and model.

Next day the Queen sent for all the Portuguese who had escaped, 120 in all.⁵⁵⁰ She addressed them "in very appropriate words", mourning the death of their Commander, praising the courage of the Portuguese, and thanking them for their support. The Patriarch responded on behalf of the Portuguese, and promised her that they would complete the purpose of their dead leader: the destruction of the Muslim powers that sought to enslave her kingdom. Then a council of war was held, and it was decided to retire to the hill of Jalaka Amba, so as to renew the war as soon as possible. The stragglers who came in later brought the survivors of the Portuguese army up to three hundred.

Whilst waiting for the Negus Claudius to arrive, Bermudes suggested that the new Commander should be Afonso Caldeira, "because he had shown character, had experience of actual warfare, was prompt in judgment and had the knack of leadership". Some of the *fidalgos* objected to this appointment. Castanhoso says that no election was made, and maintains that their only leader for the moment was the banner of the Brothers of Mercy. Perhaps the matter was only definitely settled when Castanhoso, Pereira and some other sick men were away recruiting in the hospitable home of the Governor of Tigre.⁵⁵¹ For Caldeira seems to have been elected Commander.

Ten days after the Portuguese army had settled on Jews Hill, the Negus arrived with a lamentably small army. The Portuguese went to meet him at the bottom of the hill, and

escorted him with military honours to his hut on the plateau. Then they fully realised the wisdom of Christopher da Gama in seizing this stronghold. If the Muslim garrison had still been there in force, they could easily have crushed the meagre forces of the Negus, and prevented any junction with the Portuguese. It was the end of November, and Claudio decided that no forward movement should be made until they had celebrated in their traditional way the festival of Christmas.

Meantime, the subjects of the Negus were flocking to his standard from all directions, and there was much preparation to increase not merely the numbers, but the striking power of the army. Carriers were sent to fetch the reserve of weapons which Gama had left in safe deposit on the hill of Debra Damo. Salt-petre, sulphur and other ingredients of gunpowder were plentiful in the neighbourhood, so that they were able to manufacture a fresh supply of powder.

They were heartened, too, by the news that the Sultan of Zeila had disbanded his Turkish regiment, thinking that two hundred men were enough to hold the country after his recent victory. He was with his family, resting confidently on the banks of Lake Tsana. But the Negus did not limit himself to thanking the Portuguese for their past services in princely words. "He gave each man a mule; and also to everyone silken tunics and breeches, for such is the fashion of the country; to every two men a tent, and servants in abundance to attend us, carpets and mattresses and all we needed." By the end of the year, eight thousand foot soldiers of his Abyssinian subjects had offered their services, and five hundred men with horses. This was rather a sign of faith in the star of the Portuguese than an effective instrument of victory. No one knew better than the Negus Claudio, how little staying power there was in his battalions of native troops.

Bermudes chose this unpropitious moment to request that the Negus should renew publicly the allegiance that his father had acknowledged in regard to the Church of Rome and its head the Pope. Perhaps one ought to say that Bermudes was forced by circumstances to make this demand.⁵⁵² The Portuguese were beginning to murmur, now that they had consorted with the Abyssinians for more than a year, that these people were not Christians at all, and that decent Portuguese were only squandering their lives for a race of barbarians, who cared nothing for the things they held sacred. Some even said that the Patriarch had deceived the Pope, King John and themselves.

The Patriarch tried to defend his flock by admitting that it contained many black sheep. But you cannot in a moment

clean up the garden of a whole nation by rooting up the weeds, as Christ Himself said. Patience was imperative. As long as the Negus was one with them, it was only a question of time when the people would follow. The devil would no longer have all the sowing to himself, as had been the case for centuries. To justify this minimum claim, and to keep the army from grumbling, Bermudes, accompanied by the Queen Mother, went to the tent of Claudius, in order to ask him for an explicit statement on the subject.

But, much to his mother's alarm, he insulted the Patriarch for making such a request, and denied his jurisdiction within the kingdom. When this became known to the Portuguese, there was serious danger of a revolt against Claudius. Hearing this, he tried to pacify the army by sending as gifts three thousand ounces of gold for the men, and a golden ewer for each captain, begging them not to desert him. All the gifts were sent back at once. Then the Queen became active as a peacemaker. She begged the Portuguese to have patience with the ignorance and inexperience of her son, who was only a boy. By her persuasion, he was induced to make the required statement in writing, and it was solemnly read by one of the Abyssinian governors before all the people assembled.

Soon after this Captain Afonso Caldeira was killed by falling from his horse, and difficulties of a new kind arose. Here the Patriarch was led into an error of judgment which was to cost him a heavy price. He concurred with Claudius in the appointment of Ayres Dias as the new Commander of the Portuguese. Bermudes claims to have made the appointment himself as the King's representative in this expedition. But Claudius, in a letter to King John III, says that the nomination was his.⁵⁵³ In a sense this is true. The full truth is that these two men, Claudius and Bermudes, being the two most influential persons in the camp, and agreeing that Ayres Dias was "a reliable man and thorough knight", there was no one who could oppose their will with any hope of prevailing.

But Claudius was exaggerating when he informed the Portuguese King that there was complete satisfaction with the new Commander. Ayres Dias was born in Coimbra of a Portuguese father and an Arab mother. Bermudes and he were the only members of this expedition who had taken part in the first mission of Father Alvares in 1520. The Patriarch had sent Ayres from India to get into touch with Lebna Denghel, and he returned to Massawa with letters and presents, just in time to join the present expedition as interpreter.

After the second victory over the Sultan of Zeila at Tigre, Christopher da Gama sent Dias to inform Claudius, "because by reason of his colour and his good accent in Arabic and Ethiopian"⁵⁵⁴ he might pass for a Moor". The King felt that this man was nearer to him in nature than any of the Europeans. Bermudes, too, had found him a capable subordinate. But Castanhoso voiced the real views of the *fidalgos* and captains when he asked: "How is it possible to appoint a mulatto captain over Portuguese?"

Even Bermudes was to discern in time the truth hidden under the pun of another *fidalgo*: "You will find, sir, that this mule (mulatto) will kick." Respectfully but firmly these men refused to receive him as their captain, because he had not been nominated by the King of Portugal. But this did not prevent them from obeying the orders received in connection with the coming campaign against the Sultan of Zeila. They marched, as Castanhoso put it, under the banner of the *Misericordia*, which was carried before the army into battle and stood for the authority of the King. "The Prester John wished to appoint one of us to be captain; but we only wanted the standard, if Prester John himself would not lead us."

On Shrove Tuesday, the sixth of February, 1543, the army marched to settle accounts with the Sultan of Zeila without that unity of command which it had when Christopher da Gama lived.⁵⁵⁵ Claudius was incapable of leading trained men like the Portuguese. He was nervous about the chances of success, and even thought of flight before the battle began,⁵⁵⁶ whilst the Barnagash confessed that the eight thousand Abyssinians would not survive an initial check.

But fortunately the small band of 120 Portuguese carried all before them. Though many were still suffering from the unhealed wounds of the last battle, they were steeled by the determination to avenge the cruelties done to their dead Commander. The decisive turn of the battle was given by one of Christopher's old bodyguard. This Peter de Lião was a small man, but a crack shot. The native troops of Ahmed Granye had been driven back in confusion, when Ahmed himself came to the rescue at the head of two hundred brave Turkish cavalry. It was the chance that Peter had been waiting for. He shot Ahmed through the breast, and he fell forward lifeless upon his own saddlebow. A charge of the Portuguese horsemen completed the confusion, and only forty Turks escaped.

Thus was the enemy camp captured and the army of Zeila dispersed at Wainadega, in the hills overlooking Lake Tsana, on

the Blue Nile. Among the prisoners was the son of the Sultan. Claudioius was determined that the whole kingdom should know of his victory. He ordered Ahmed's head to be spitted upon a spear and carried round the land, so that his people might see with their own eyes that their oppressor was dead.

When victory was achieved, the heated feeling about Ayres Dias flared up again.⁵⁵⁷ The spark that kindled this new heat was the arrival of some twenty Portuguese, who had not been heard of since Dom Christopher's defeat and death. In their flight they had taken the distant road to Debarwa, and only now found their comrades again. With Castanhoso, they went to the Patriarch and protested that "it was a disgrace that a mulatto of low birth should be their captain". But the Patriarch, supported by the Negus, called a meeting of the Portuguese, and all but the complainants endorsed the appointment of Dias. Then the Patriarch took a strong line, and declared that he would have the minority arrested as deserters if they did not accept the authority of Ayres Dias. The men obeyed.

But Castanhoso, as their spokesman, asked permission to return to India, ostensibly for other reasons. "There was nothing more to be done in the country, as it was now delivered out of the hands of its enemies. My wound would not heal, and there was no medicine nor doctor in the country." But he did nothing abruptly. After the Easter celebration he went with Claudioius to the winter quarters of the army near a large town on the shores of Lake Tsana. There they celebrated in royal fashion the religious obsequies of Christopher da Gama in August.

On the eighth of October the Negus began his summer migrations with a following that now numbered one hundred thousand. As farm produce was plentiful at this season, they all lived comfortably on the gifts of food that were made them. At Lalibela, over one hundred miles from the Lake, they visited the famous rock churches. In the province of Adel they halted at a place called Jartafaa, where the Muslim who had rebelled and joined the Sultan of Zeila came to seek pardon, and to renew their allegiance. Claudioius was gracious to them on the advice of the Portuguese. These rebels were mostly Arabs from the sea coast. They brought a certain prosperity to the country, as they were traders on the maritime border in somewhat primitive ships, whilst the Abyssinians proper had no inclination for navigation.

At this time Claudioius was endeavouring to persuade the Portuguese *fidalgos* to remain in his country with large promises of gold and favour. Most of the rank and file remained and

married Abyssinian wives. Couto tells us that he afterwards met some of these families in Goa, where they settled during the viceroyalty of Constantine de Braganza (1558-1561). Two of their children attained wealth and honour in the service of the King.⁵⁵⁸

But nothing would induce Castanhoso, Manuel da Cunha and fifty others to settle. Very reluctantly, the Negus gave his consent for their departure after Christmas. At the beginning of February, 1544, they journeyed down to Massawa in the hope of finding a passage to India in one of the boats that called annually at this season. In the diary of this journey, a merely incidental reference reveals the important fact that two secular priests, whose names are forgotten, had done real evangelical work among the Portuguese, Abyssinians and Arabs, during the three years that Christopher da Gama's expedition lasted. It is the soldier Castanhoso who tells us that these devoted men "had reaped a rich harvest, rooting out many evil practices and making many converts to Christianity".

But for Portuguese shipping this was a quiet year in the Red Sea.⁵⁵⁹ The Governor-General of India, Martin Afonso de Sousa, was negotiating a treaty of peace with the Sultan of Turkey. He had sent Diogo de Mesquita to Constantinople; and whilst discussions were in progress, it was agreed that Portuguese ships should keep from raiding the Red Sea and Turkish ships should refrain from operations in the Indian Ocean. Diogo de Reinoso was sent to the Red Sea entrance at Babelmandeb, to see that the Turks kept their part of the agreement, and to get news of the Portuguese in Abyssinia.

Being young and ambitious, however, Reinoso fretted under his instructions to keep out of the northern ports of the Red Sea, where so many heroes had distinguished themselves and so many others brought back rich booty. Like, too, many heroes of empire in all ages, he hoped that success would blot out his sins in the eyes of both rulers and mobs. So he struck out on a round of such attacks upon shipping craft and trade ports as his small boat permitted.

Two days after Castanhoso and his fifty comrades reached Massawa, Reinoso arrived to discharge the legitimate part of his mission. The Portuguese had been hospitably received in a Christian village near Massawa, but they were all full of joy at the prospect of returning home. Their disappointment can be measured consequently, when they learned that the *catur* of Reinoso had room for one passenger only. Of course, Castanhoso was chosen by common consent to take this berth, because he had documents for the King, and because he was the most distin-

guished leader of the company. He left Massawa on the sixteenth of February, 1544.

The little ship was detained a while at Socotra, waiting for the favourable winds from the west, and took over a month to reach Goa. There Reinoso was immediately imprisoned. The Sultan had protested against his piracies. To his first protests the Portuguese ambassador replied that it must be a question of some Portuguese rebel. But now the Governor sent a special envoy, the Jew Solyman, brother of Isaac of Cairo, to say that it was all the work of a bold and light-headed youth, who would be duly punished.

One of the letters to John III from the Negus Claudius, of which Castanhoso was the bearer,⁵⁶⁰ contains these significant sentences: "This Michael (Castanhoso) has shown great affection for Abyssinia, and fought for Christ against the Muslim, facing danger frequently until his left arm was broken by a matchlock bullet. Treat him well, remembering the love of Christ, and also for love of us. For he fulfilled the mission that you gave him, like Peter chief of the Apostles, and like Paul with the tongue of balsam."

By this victorious war of liberation, the Portuguese showed once more how untrue to life is the Persian saying quoted with approval by Herodotus, that the same land cannot produce delicate fruits and men valiant in war.⁵⁶¹

Bermudes, whose amazing energy had done so much to bring about the expedition of Christopher da Gama, remained behind with the large remnant of Portuguese veterans. Ayres Dias was still the officer in command. But Bermudes exercised without a rival at this time all the prerogatives of Patriarch of Abyssinia. He was the connecting link between the noble effort of the four hundred and the more systematic efforts, made later, to bring Abyssinia within the orbit of western civilisation. The work of Bermudes during the next thirteen years was so important in its consequences, that it deserves a chapter to itself.

Meantime, we may fittingly recall the words with which Luiz de Sousa⁵⁶² terminates a similar narrative of victory through heroic defeat. Perhaps some future Ahasuerus, writes the chronicler, in his sleepless nights will take up my Annals and read the tale of these disasters, the most unfailing merchandise that the Portuguese brought back from India with unfailing courage. And perhaps that future sovereign will learn to value the services of the few who survive these horrors. Even amongst the body of our citizens there will be some who, though they may never know such sufferings, will shed a tear of sympathy for those who have known them.

CHAPTER XIII.

BERMUDES AND THE FIRST JESUITS.

NOT MANY WEEKS PASSED after Castanhoso's departure, when Bermudes began to realise the mistake he had made in supporting Ayres Dias for the office of Commandant of the remnant of the Portuguese army in the land of Prester John. The Patriarch confesses this disillusionment in his memoirs. The half-caste captain gradually unfolded the other side of his character when he was brought into closer contact with the blacks. The claims of that strain in his blood led him to a course of action which surprised and saddened his patron and benefactor.

It all began after the battle with the Sultan Abbas, whom Bermudes calls the King of Aden. He was really the Chief of the province of Bali, and he regarded himself as the heir of the Sultan of Zeila. As such he moved up with a large force to challenge the Portuguese,⁵⁶³ and to retrieve the defeat of Zeila. This was early in 1545. By daring strategy and night fighting, which puzzled the Abyssinians, Ayres Dias and his men routed the Muslim army and killed Abbas. His Queen was given to Dias in marriage by Claudius. In fact, the Negus now began to treat Dias as if he were his own general, and only agreed with a bad grace that the banner of Portugal should be carried in this battle, which Portuguese skill and bravery won.

When the last of the Negus's powerful enemies was thus prostrated, he thought it safe to take a firmer stand with the Portuguese, being fully conscious of his superiority in numbers, and feeling that in the long run he could wear them down. Then the doughty Bermudes not only accused him openly of ingratitude towards his rescuers, but of perfidy in repudiating the religious engagements that his father had made with the Portuguese. Somewhat unwillingly, as the Patriarch admits,⁵⁶⁴ the Negus had ratified his father's promise to enter into full communion with the Church of Europe, and to repudiate the heresies of the Jacobites. Now he was arranging to bring a new Patriarch from Alexandria, to supersede Bermudes. The latter denounced him as a rebel, and threatened him with dire penalties, temporal and spiritual.

What must strike any impartial reader of the narrative of Bermudes is the moderation of word and action displayed by both

the Patriarch and the Negus, though both men were very much in earnest. The former was zealous about the interests of the Catholic faith, for which he had suffered so much; the latter was determined to maintain in his illiterate way the dependence of his country upon the mother Church of Alexandria, though she despised this uncultured child. Compare the stern but respectful language of Bermudes with the unmannerly epithets that John Knox was hurling at his own sovereign, Mary Queen of Scots, during these very years. In the milder polemics of contemporary Abyssinia, Bermudes never forgot that he was a father in God, and that the Negus deserved respect as the wielder of legitimate authority. The Queen Mother of Abyssinia intervened at times, by request of the Patriarch, to smooth his personal relations with Claudio.

Once indeed there was a skirmish between the Portuguese and the Abyssinians; and here Ayres Dias played a worthy part, as he impressed upon the Negus that victory in battle would not be a gain to either side. Claudio then sent for the Patriarch to say that "God had shown him his error in not fulfilling his promises, and that he was now prepared to do so." What he really intended to do was to outwit the Portuguese by stratagem rather than by the shedding of blood.

Marcos (the Abyssinian name for Ayres Dias) pointed out to Claudio that he had two effective means of coercing the Portuguese into agreement with his policy without shedding blood. He could forbid his subjects to supply them with food; or he could heap such favours upon them, especially in gold, that they would be only too glad to fall in with his wishes. He decided to use the second method as a rule, and the food-blockade only when unavoidable.

There can be no doubt that Claudio was sincerely grateful to the Portuguese for what they had done for him, and admired not only their bravery, but their fine loyalty to friends, a trait rare enough in the oriental atmosphere in which he had grown up. His chief lieutenant, the Barnagash Isaac, who had first invited the Portuguese into the land when Stephen da Gama came to Massawa, now stirred himself to bring about a reconciliation. He assured Bermudes that the Negus was genuinely sorry for his rudeness and violence, whilst determined to resist what the Abyssinian chroniclers call the tenets of the Franks.⁵⁶⁶ The unlettered priestly caste in Abyssinia were up in arms against this, and were rousing the people, a prospect which naturally frightened the much-chivvied Claudio.

His proposal to Bermudes was generous from the political standpoint. The Patriarch admits this. "The King sent us a safe-conduct with a considerable sum of money for our people; and for me a valuable present of cows, sheep and other necessary supplies, promising me that all would be arranged as I wished." The aim of Claudius was evidently to divide up the colony of Portuguese. He gave their leaders honourable commands, but in widely separated parts of the country.

To Bermudes was assigned the land of the Gafates,⁵⁶⁷ a barbarian tribe he calls them, living in a deep valley "among mountains that seemed to touch the skies". A few hours after he heard of his own appointment, he learned from Balthasar Monteiro, Anthony Ferreira, Simon de Andrade, Diogo de Brito and Anthony Vaz, that they had been assigned separate and distant provinces. All suspected Ayres Dias of wanting to destroy them. These suspicions were natural enough under the circumstances; but there seems no good reason for doubting the Negus's kindly (the word is Bermudes's) explanation, that he wished to gather all his available forces against the invading Gallas. "You, reverend Father," added Claudius in addressing the Patriarch, "will pray to God for me, and you will live on the income of Gabat. This will be amply sufficient for you and yours, as in days gone by it was sufficient for me and mine when I took refuge there."

These Gallas were a savage tribe of Bantu from the east coast of Africa, from the present Kenya or Somaliland. Theirs was not an invasion for mere plunder, like that of the Muslim from the north; it was more like the barbarian invasion of the Roman empire, which destroyed all before it, and remained. They first crossed the Webi River into Bali⁵⁶⁸ in the days of the Negus David. Now his son Claudius, in 1545, fixed his headquarters at the border town of Dawaro, where he remained three full years fighting the Gallas, holding them back. Bermudes met him on his return, and found him worn and dejected, because he had accomplished so little against these Bantu hordes. To make matters worse, Ayres Dias died during this campaign, and Claudius lost heart because he had been accustomed to lean upon him for advice and strategy.

Most of this time Bermudes seems to have spent in retirement at or near Entalo, though he tells us that he actually resided in that town only seven months.⁵⁶⁹ "I took with me all my servants, slaves and books; also a man of that country called Francis Mathew, formerly a servant of the ambassador Mathew, whom Queen Helena in the days of King Manuel had sent to

represent her in Portugal. Francis was discreet and learned, so I entrusted to him the care of my household." But now that Dias was dead, Bermudes thought that he saw a chance of being once more installed as the friend and adviser of Claudio, if he could get to the court. Not wishing to defy openly the order of the Negus, that he was to remain in the province of the Gafates, he resorted to a strange trick on the suggestion of his Abyssinian major-domo, Francis Matthew. He began to bully the people of the country so annoyingly that they begged him to go.

It was an eight days journey to the court of the Negus, but the route lay through the lands of friendly tribes. On the way Bermudes met Francis de Magalhaes, one of the Portuguese whom the Negus had settled upon broad lands, which he granted him. From him he learned that in place of Ayres Dias Claudio had wished to appoint two equal captains, Gaspar de Sousa and Lopo Dalmansa.⁵⁷⁰ But the Portuguese refused to agree to the latter appointment, because Lopo was a foreigner, a Spaniard. As Gaspar de Sousa was a nephew of Bermudes, this was cheering news. The Patriarch claimed that he never had real trouble with any Portuguese, only with Castanhoso, who was a Spaniard, Dalmansa, who was a Galician, and Ayres Dias, who was a half-breed.

Claudio was angry when he heard that Bermudes was approaching the royal headquarters. But all the Portuguese showed such evident pleasure that he dissembled. He sent a page to welcome the Patriarch, but he ordered lashes for the Abyssinian captain who had served him as guide. Claudio also sent a present of clothing and five hundred ounces of gold, inviting him to stay with an old friend, the Governor of Tigre, whose name was Robel.

There was diplomacy in these courtesies, as Bermudes soon discovered. Claudio was expecting the arrival of a Coptic patriarch from Alexandria, the Abuna Joseph. But Bermudes was a man of rare courage. He was determined that the Negus should not break his plighted word in this matter without a vigorous protest from him. So he went to court in defiance of the royal orders, in order to thrash out the position of the usurper, as he honestly believed the Abuna Joseph to be. This was in the year 1548, and three years later the Coptic Patriarch brought an assistant from Egypt, who was to have the right of succession.⁵⁷¹

It was well for Bermudes that he had such a friend at court as the Portuguese Captain of the Negus, Gaspar de Sousa; otherwise this might have been the end of his career. The Negus

was highly incensed. He cooled down, however, when he saw that the Portuguese would resist the dismissal of their Patriarch, and that Bermudes no longer pressed to be considered Patriarch of the Abyssinians, "as they do not want me."

An admirable compromise was arranged, which we have in the words of Bermudes himself. "The King ordered that Joseph, whom he had summoned from Alexandria, should be his Patriarch, and I only that of the Portuguese." What Bermudes felt as a personal grief was the loss of his archdeacon, Francis Matthew.⁵⁷² Claudius insisted that all the Abyssinians on the staff of Bermudes should be transferred to the service of the Abuna Joseph.

He also ordered that all the Portuguese, about 150 of them, should settle with their Patriarch in the district of Dowaro, whose frontiers faced the two great enemies of Abyssinia, the Arabs of Zeila and the Gallas from near Malindi. As a military measure, this was certainly the best way to take advantage of the valour of the Portuguese. But it also placed them under the command of the most treacherous of the district chiefs of the Negus, that Calide who had several times betrayed his sovereign and changed his religion.

As Calide's income was lessened by having to feed the Portuguese, he secretly recruited a large army to attack the Portuguese unawares and eliminate them from his budget. But Portuguese veterans were more than a match for Abyssinian scouts in vigilance. Seeing what was coming, the Portuguese got their blow in first, and Calide was killed in the battle that ensued.⁵⁷³ Claudius was really delighted when this news reached him, as he never trusted Calide, both for personal reasons and because he was the nearest heir to the throne on the paternal side.

There was peace for four months after this battle. Then Claudius sent word to the Portuguese that the Bantu were again on the warpath, and that they might expect an attack any day from the direction of Mogadishu. "It would seem that these tribes have the same origin as the Zumbas⁵⁷⁴ who are destroying Guinea," writes Bermudes, "for in cruelty they are akin." The Portuguese prepared at once by making a large supply of gunpowder, as the country contained all the necessary materials. They also cleared the neighbourhood of all women, and boys too young to fight, as the Gallas had a terrible reputation for mis-handling the helpless. The camp of the defenders was pitched on rising ground. Bermudes notes that these tribes of Bantu rushed into battle so recklessly, that every gunshot took a tremendous toll of the massed assailants.

But even their large supply of powder gave out after about twelve days, and the reinforcements that Claudius promised did not arrive. As there seemed no end of the Bantu reserves, the Portuguese decided to retire, which they did in good order. They had, however, struck such terror into the Gallas, that they showed no inclination to follow them up. This forced retreat of great soldiers like the Portuguese brought tears to the eyes of the Negus, as a signal of impending doom. No wonder! says Bermudes. The Gallas had now overrun three large kingdoms: two of them, Bali and Dowaro, as large as Castile and Portugal, and Hadia alone as large as France.

The retreating band of brave fighters shows vividly what Abyssinia lost in freedom and culture by the feckless folly of her semi-barbarian king. If he had supported wholeheartedly the company of crusaders under Gaspar de Sousa, he could have driven the barbarian Bantu finally back to their lairs in Somaliland. If he had seconded wholeheartedly the unselfish efforts of Bermudes, his country would have been brought into the orbit of one of the most cultured nations of the day. He preferred the guidance of a backward sect of the Christian church, a sect which was too contemptuous of its Abyssinian offshoot to take any practical interest in it. So rigid were the ideas of Claudius and his spiritual advisers, that they soon quarrelled even with the Coptic Patriarch because of a few moderate reforms that he proposed to introduce.⁵⁷⁵ Their only ideal was a vague sentiment hostile to all change.

Whilst the Portuguese respected this sentiment, the Bantu would not wait. It was not, however, a faint heart that prompted Claudius at this moment to abandon the fight against the Gallas. Since his accession to the throne he had not been able to visit the outlying portion of the empire. He now invited the Portuguese to accompany him in the visits, as he knew that their appearance and fame would give him a prestige with his own people such as no former Negus had enjoyed, provided that these noble strangers were clearly under his orders. King John III inculcated upon his captains abroad that they should be deferential to the local sovereigns, unless these were aggressively hostile.

Bermudes accompanied the Negus Claudius on this trip, which lasted about twelve months, and he has left us four chapters of description.⁵⁷⁶ Like the most modern of travellers, he indulges in an occasional "they say". But he adds sagely that all African tales are not worth repeating, even though "Africa is called with good reason the mother of prodigies". Of course, he does not profess to be a geographer, as his main

interest was humanity in Alexander Pope's sense of "the noblest study of mankind", not in the mere anthropological sense.

When they came to the cataracts of the Blue Nile, he feels certain that these falling waters are what Cicero had in mind in his *Somnium Scipionis*, where he says that noises of the earth make us deaf to the music of the spheres,⁵⁷⁷ since these cataracts produce even physical deafness. Bermudes is perhaps the first traveller to give a hint of the true reason for the periodic rising of the waters of the Nile, and there is some reason for his scorn of the guesses of men who never saw the Nile. "The Nile is a mighty river and difficult to investigate. Hence I have digressed briefly from my history to tell of things that I have seen; since perhaps there is no one else in these parts except myself who knows them by sight, as I lived there more than thirty years." He tells us also of the ruins of the churches of the early Christianity of Nubia, which began in the fourth century, and was overwhelmed by raids of the Muslim a century before this visit of Bermudes to Khartum. More curious still, we hear of the existence of a small group of native Catholics in the kingdom of the Gafates, otherwise pagan or Jewish. This community, in common with the whole of Abyssinia, had submitted to Rome at the Council of Florence in 1439; and it refused to revoke its allegiance to the Pope, when the Negus changed his mind. About the trade and staples of the country, especially its gold, its flora and fauna, there are some first-hand notes. This round of visits seems to have taken Bermudes well into the year 1552.

The Negus Cladius was immovable on two points of policy when dealing with the Portuguese. He would not allow them to leave his country, once there; and he always assigned them a definite place which they could not leave without his permission. At the conclusion of this round of visits he sent them to Bethmariam, apparently just below the high mountains where the Blue Nile rises.⁵⁷⁸ This convinced Bermudes that his efforts to regenerate Abyssinia had definitely failed, and that he had exhausted every legitimate means of reforming their religion and of bringing them into a saving contact with Europe. He now begged Cladius's permission to return home to Portugal, knowing that it would be refused.

But he had learned something of the wily methods of these Africans, and made up his mind to circumvent them in their own subtle way. Nothing could be done in the winter; so he spent these months in distributing gifts of all kinds with a lavish hand, out of the revenues of the lands which Cladius had given him. Then he feigned an attack of gout which kept him in bed, and he

described graphically to those who came to see him how difficult it was for him to walk. When the warm season of 1553 opened, he informed the leading men of his district that as the doctors could do nothing for him, he must be carried as a pilgrim to the shrine of Debra Lebanos. He really intended making for Debarwa, which was only sixty miles from Massawa. There he could watch for the chance of a Portuguese ship and a passage to the homeland.

After several hairbreadth escapes from the officers of the Negus he succeeded in reaching Debarwa, and was hospitably received by several Portuguese resident there. But it was now the turn of the Barnagash to be upset. Calling upon Bermudes, he implored him to go back lest Claudio should visit him (the Barnagash) with the penalties of this escapade. As a beginning of appeasement, the latter suggested that the Patriarch should withdraw formally the anathemas he had hurled at the Negus and his advisers. To this Bermudes seems to have agreed, as in a few days a messenger arrived with royal licence for Bermudes to remain in Debarwa under the surveillance of the Barnagash.

There he settled for two years, saying Mass regularly for the nine or ten Portuguese who had fled here after the battle in which Christopher da Gama was killed. During this time an incident occurred which throws a vivid light upon the better side of the Negus's character, and shows that with all his strange vagaries he had the heart of a true Christian. A Venetian merchant named Zuncar⁵⁷⁹ came from Cairo on behalf of a group of Venetians there, who had gone bail for forty Portuguese captured by the Turks near Ormuz. The Turks demanded thirty thousand *cruzados* to ransom them from slavery in the galleys. As Claudio had the reputation of possessing much gold, from his province of Demut, they begged him out of Christian charity to provide the ransom. Not only did he do this, but he added some three thousand *cruzados* for expenses.

A still more startling event was the arrival of Father Gonsalo Rodrigues on the seventeenth of May, 1555, who announced himself a priest of the Company of Jesus. It was the first time that Bermudes had heard of the existence of this order of priests, as Europe had no Jesuits in his day. But the newcomer was a likeable man, and they got on well together.

Rodrigues had been sent from India, having worked there and in Persia for some years. Accompanied by a lay brother, Fulgentius Freire, he was assistant to a distinguished public servant, Diogo Dias, who had taken part in the expedition of Christopher da Gama. The Governor of India instructed this

mission to report upon the prospects of success for the work of a Jesuit Patriarch and his staff,⁵⁸⁰ who were now on the water somewhere between Lisbon and the Cape of Good Hope. Bermudes thought at first that Rodrigues was a casual visitor, but the long train of remarkable events in Europe which had led to this fresh development will be best described when we have narrated the friendly intercourse between Bermudes and Rodrigues.

The Patriarch told his story, and it was scant encouragement for the visitors. But Father Rodrigues insisted upon discussing matters with the Negus himself. Claudius received him courteously, but replied that though loyal friends of John III and grateful for what the Portuguese had done for them, neither he nor his priests desired any closer union with Portugal or Rome.⁵⁸¹ Later, however, he relented to the extent of agreeing to admit the Portuguese Jesuits into his kingdom. Whilst waiting, Rodrigues had caused to be translated into Ethiopian a book which he composed on Christian doctrine. This was presented to the Abyssinian priests, and a discussion took place on its contents. The only result was greater exasperation on the part of the Abyssinians, even threats of death to the visitors. In taking leave of Father Rodrigues, the Negus said that he never had any intention of changing the customs of his Church; and if there was any letter of his to the contrary, it must have been written by his secretary without his knowledge.⁵⁸² We have seen how carefully they superintended the composition of the letter to the Pope. Had he forgotten? Or was he just a modern-minded politician in a tight corner, where he would not allow "conventional" ideas of morality in regard to truth to stand in the way of what he regarded as the interests of his country? Perhaps he would have gasped, like many of our contemporary statesmen, if any man expected him to tell the truth which would have lost him the support of a turbulent and vocal group at home.

Bermudes now wished to return to India, as he heard that Captain John Peixoto's ship was still at Massawa.⁵⁸³ Once more it became necessary to circumvent the Barnagash, whose instructions were to prevent this. A few days before this the Chapel of Our Lady had been burned down. Bermudes asked for permission and transport, in order to go to Massawa and collect funds for rebuilding the chapel. To make sure that he should not escape, as the Barnagash thought, he sent with him the Abyssinian ambassador sailing for India, an Abyssinian priest and a guard of seven soldiers. Peixoto gave a berth to the Patriarch at once, even though the ambassador in disgust refused

to sail, and reported immediately to the Negus. Portuguese captains were not easily overawed by foreigners of any kind. The Negus gave the Jesuit letters offering to receive the Latin Patriarch honourably, but pledging himself no further.⁵⁸⁴

They were all back in Goa in May of 1556, and were warmly welcomed by the new Governor, Francis Barreto, who had succeeded Peter Mascarenhas during their absence. The Jesuits took Bermudes as a guest into their College of Saint Paul at Goa; and in the pulpit of the Cathedral Father Rodrigues spoke eloquently of the great services to the Church that Bermudes had rendered in Abyssinia. He was worn out and glad to leave to others the continuation of the work, which he had begun in such high hopes, and with a greater measure of success than he himself could then gauge.

He sailed almost at once for Cochin, because the spice fleets were loaded there annually for Lisbon. Early in 1557 he sailed for home in one of the ships commanded by John de Meneses. When they reached the island of Saint Helena, he was so impressed with the calm and plenty of the place, that he resolved to spend the rest of his life there, "away from the disorders of the world". Meneses was horrified, and tried to dissuade him, but in vain. In spite of the lack of civilised society and a shortage of supplies that he had not suspected, Bermudes declared that he could have been happy there. What compelled him to leave were some fugitive slaves who had settled on the island and became turbulent. They began to tamper with his own slaves;⁵⁸⁵ and he was afraid that he might be deserted by his own slaves, and left alone in sickness or old age. Once more he took ship, this time with Captain Rui de Mello, and reached Lisbon in August of 1558.

In the last chapter of his *Memoirs* he puts his finger on the basic cause of the failures in his work, namely, the lack of reinforcements. He thought that a number of good preachers and able teachers would easily have led the Abyssinians into the full Faith, "because they have no haughty and obstinate learned men among them, only devout and very humble men of a religious life, who desire to serve God in real simplicity, and easily receive the true doctrine, and subject their intellect to it."

That, however, was only half the story. Intellectual difficulties the Abyssinians clearly did not have, nor has the mass of any nation at any time real difficulties of this nature. Intellectual tradition, and not reasoning, is the practical guide of nations; and that tradition is always shaped by a small group with power, against which it is a real difficulty to react. It was the old brigade

of Abyssinia, such as it was, that fashioned the anti-European tradition which was a steady obstacle to the acceptance of any customs from Europe, civil or ecclesiastical. The successors of Bermudes were to discover in the hard school of experience this second half of the mystery.

Politically, Bermudes maintained that Abyssinia was the key of the Red Sea, and the best defence of India. In wealth, neither Peru with its precious metals, nor India with its great trade, would in the long run be superior. But to this unselfish secular priest, wealth alone was not an aim for decent men to waste their time in pursuing.

He had hoped to bring spiritual treasures to the Abyssinians.⁵⁸⁶ Thus he was the first Christian to discover by a lifelong experiment, that their Christianity was an utterly undisciplined and uninformed sect, at the mercy of a few ignorant leaders. Speaking to them with his mind attuned to the definite teaching of the Catholic Church and her assured discipline, he took their word for promises which they often did not understand, and for solemn assurances which they had no intention of keeping. On returning home he found that he had been forgotten, but he nourished no bitterness against those who pushed him aside. The boy King Sebastian, grandson and successor of John III, often visited him in his cottage near the Church of Saint Sebastian da Pedreira, where he died in 1570. He dedicated his *Memoirs* to the boy King who had loved to listen to them. Father Luiz de Sousa⁵⁸⁷ once wrote that "nature is not stingy in producing men of great talents, but often fails to provide an audience for them." That was the case of John Bermudes.

But whilst in Abyssinia, and without his knowledge, he was being provided with successors by a remarkable chain of circumstances in Europe. When he left Rome for Lisbon, the Pope had already appointed a commission of cardinals to enquire into his report about Abyssinia, and to suggest the best measures that the Pope could take.⁵⁸⁸ Their finding was that a bishop should be sent to get first-hand information on the spot about the Patriarch and his methods of exercising his pastoral office. If he were found discharging his duties worthily, he should be quietly confirmed in his office. But no action was taken in the matter for some time.

Meantime, at the beginning of November of the same year, a young Spanish student from the university of Paris entered Rome on foot with two friends, in order to obtain the Pope's blessing for a project which he had conceived in the companionship of a small band of young men like himself. This youth,

Ignatius of Loyola, knew hardly anybody in Rome, and he was struggling against the currents of distrust that any religious innovations set going ; ever since Martin Luther had aroused the suspicions of those Christians who were satisfied with the ancient pieties of the Church. They started at the sound of novelties, just as the Press, peoples and governments did in Western Europe and North America in the years after the Russian revolution of 1917. It took time for Ignatius to convince the Catholic world that he had only two leading ideas in mind : to serve God and the Church by placing his little band of stalwarts at the service of the Pope, and if possible to preach the Gospel to pagans and the Muslim in the East. Whilst waiting for the papal decision about their plans, they preached the Gospel to the poor in Rome and attended to the sick in the hospitals.

One of the first friends that Ignatius made in Rome was Tesfa Sion, the Abyssinian monk of the hostel of San Stefano, near the Church of St. Peter's. Through conversation with this exile, Ignatius became deeply interested in the spiritual welfare of his distant people. When, therefore, Francis Xavier sailed for the voyage round the Cape of Good Hope in 1541, it was hoped that he might visit Abyssinia from Mozambique. Ignatius procured from Pope Paul III a special letter to the Negus David, commanding the missionary and his work. But when Xavier reached Mozambique, David was dead, his son Cladius was a fugitive in the mountains of Abyssinia, and the chief provinces of the kingdom were overrun by the Muslim of Zeila.

Not until the end of 1544 did any definite or encouraging news come from Abyssinia. Then the Pope seems to have received some appeals from Cladius himself through Jerusalem ; and the following year the Pope replied that he would send some men of virtue and knowledge with a papal nuncio, to meet the King's wishes. This means that complaints about Bermudes were already reaching the Pope, such as those made later in explicit terms by Tesfa Sion to Pope Julius III : "that Bermudes was a most worthy man, but he was better versed in military methods than in ecclesiastical ways."⁵⁸⁹

Castanhoso's letters of complaint, including one from Cladius, reached King John III at the end of 1544. The King's reply to the Negus, sent with the March fleet of 1546, shows how he had already come to the conclusion that Bermudes could no longer be of real service to Portugal or the Church.⁵⁹⁰ Assuming, as he was bound to do, whatever he may have thought, that the complaints of the Negus were well founded, he puts in a plea for mild chastisement of the Patriarch, lest their common

religion should suffer in public estimation through any degrading punishment inflicted upon a dignitary of the Church. In place of Bermudes, he promises to send next year a patriarch who will give him the soundest advice about the Catholic Church.

Meantime, John III assures the Negus of his firm friendship. Though the Portuguese King grieves for the death of Christopher da Gama and his men, he does not regret the sacrifices they made. "I consider their lives well expended, as they died in the service of Our Lord Christ, and in the defence of your country, which I regard as if it were my own." Moreover, "I have ordered my Portuguese subjects in your country not to return, but to obey you in all things concerning your State."

But Claudius seems to have been playing a double game. Whilst he was negotiating with King John for someone to replace Bermudes, he was arranging for a new patriarch from Alexandria.⁵⁹¹ The former proposal was made explicitly by the envoy of Claudius, an Abyssinian friar and bishop named Paul, who came to Lisbon in 1545 after having interviewed the Pope.

So impressed was King John with the favourable opportunity thus opened, that in August, 1546, he wrote to his ambassador in Rome, Balthasar de Faria, to see the Pope and beg him to appoint as patriarch Father Peter Favre, of the Society of Jesus. From what he knows and hears of this priest, he believes him to have all the qualifications for the work in hand. Meantime, the Jesuit Father, Simon Rodrigues, at the court of Lisbon was urging the King to leave the choice in the hands of Loyola himself, who had now been definitely elected head of the new Society.

The heart of Ignatius of Loyola was so touched with the spiritual needs of the Abyssinian people, that he offered to go himself to serve them. But when he called his council together to deliberate on the subject, their choice fell upon a Frenchman, Paschase Broët, as Favre had died a few weeks before the King's letter was written.⁵⁹² No Frenchman, however, could be acceptable to John III, because at this very moment the King of France was mobilising a fleet of twenty-eight ships against the colony of Brazil.⁵⁹³ This may seem strange when we remember that the King was prepared to accept Favre, who was from Savoy. But Savoy at that time did not belong to France, but to Spain, as it was a province of the kingdom of Sardinia.

The companions of Loyola were almost certain in 1547 that the following year would see Broët installed as Patriarch of Ethiopia.⁵⁹⁴ In August, 1548, however, Simon Rodrigues in Lisbon noticed that the King's zeal for sending a Jesuit had cooled. Rodrigues writes to Rome for Ethiopian books, hoping to

save the project by offering his services to the King, he being a Portuguese.⁵⁹⁵ But by this time John III was toying with new ideas.

Two other proposals were being made to the Pope. A Spanish Dominican came to Rome in March, 1546, gathering friars to join in the missionary work that the Dominicans had been doing in jerks, because of the herculean difficulties of the conditions of the immense country. The moment seemed favourable for a forward movement. He suggested that two of his friars might be made bishops, and take over the spiritual government of the kingdom. "Shall I help or hinder?" asked the Portuguese ambassador in Rome, when he reported the matter to King John.⁵⁹⁶ It was shelved in the end, but it is quite probable that the King gave it some consideration, as the Dominicans had many wealthy convents in Portugal.

Much more important was the proposal of Tesfa Sion, or Friar Peter of India, as the Italians preferred to call him, head of the Abyssinian College in Rome. Since 1539, when he arrived in Rome from Abyssinia, he had been preparing with the aid of Italian scholars a new Ethiopian translation of most of the New Testament, and of the ritual of baptism, as well as a grammar of the Ethiopian language. All these were published later. His most influential supporter was Cardinal Farnese, the Pope's nephew; and in Ignatius of Loyola he had a friend willing to give all he possessed to save the soul of Abyssinia.

When, therefore, Tesfa Sion proposed that five of his Abyssinian colleagues should be appointed bishops, and that the choice of a patriarch from among them should be left to the Negus, this seemed an important contribution to the solution of the problem. But before the Pope had time to make up his mind on the subject, both Cardinal Farnese and Tesfa Sion died.⁵⁹⁷ Ignatius was not against the proposal, but he reports that it would have been killed by the opposition of John III.⁵⁹⁸ The Church had invested him with its *jus patronatus* in the East; and he refused to surrender his right of choosing, with the Pope's consent, the most suitable candidate for the office of patriarch. It was certainly not in the interest of Abyssinian civilisation, or of the Church, that the choice should rest in the hands of a fickle semi-barbarian.

A period of financial depression supervened, to increase the reluctance of the King of Portugal to take action that would involve him in any large expenditure. Seven years passed before he felt able to take the matter up again; and then he was so intent upon it that he was prepared to accept a non-Portuguese

patriarch. As always, Ignatius of Loyola was ready to meet the King in every reasonable way. In response to the King's invitation, he chose as patriarch a Portuguese priest of his order who had spent six years shepherding the Christian slaves of Tetuan, the principal base of the Muslim pirates in Morocco.⁵⁹⁹ These men hunted the shores of the Mediterranean for European slaves, just as they scoured the forests of West Africa for black slaves.

To the slave market of Tetuan priests from Europe were accustomed to go with charitable funds, collected in order to ransom these white slaves. Some remained to comfort with the ministrations of the Church those whom they could not afford to liberate. One of these was the candidate for the office of patriarch whom Ignatius now suggested to the King. He was John Nunes Barreto, a graduate of Salamanca university, who had won the esteem of the Moors of Tetuan, because he learned not only their language, but also much sympathy with their racial mentality. This training and the fact that he was born in Oporto were enough to secure the vote of the King.

On the twenty-fourth of July, 1553, the King wrote to Ignatius, asking him to give him a dozen priests for the work in Abyssinia. Among these he would choose a patriarch for presentation to the Pope. Ignatius was a rare judge of men's capacities. When the King's brother, Prince Luis, saw the selected list, he wrote to the Governor-General of India.⁶⁰⁰ "The King is sending you a dozen priests of the Society of Jesus who are enough to convert the world. They will do more for you than many soldiers." These high hopes concealed the fact that these men were about to enter one of those lanes of life that end in a dead wall, at the hidden end of which no courage or character could force a passage. Their work seemed to die, and was buried like the grain of corn, but it had a marvellous rebirth in a later generation. The partial failure of such a company must make us hesitate to ascribe the failures of Bermudes chiefly to his personal shortcomings.

The Pope confirmed the appointment of Barreto as patriarch on the twenty-third of January, 1555, and he was given two episcopal coadjutors, a Spaniard, Andrew de Oviedo, and Belchior Michael Carneiro.⁶⁰¹ They received royal letters to the Governor of India, ordering him to provide them with transport to Abyssinia and an escort of five hundred men. When Carneiro heard later of this last well-meant order of the King, he refused to accept it, as being unsuitable for preachers of the Gospel. They were prepared to die as witnesses of the Gospel, but they would not buttress it with the aid of soldiers.

Carneiro was the first to leave. Though not consecrated bishop until 1560, he sailed on the first of April, 1555, in a fleet of five ships under Captain Leonard de Sousa. Next year the Patriarch followed. He was the guest of the admiral John de Meneses de Sequeira on the flagship. Oviedo, the Spanish coadjutor-bishop, was on another ship of the same fleet; and a third carried Father Gonsalo da Silveira, who was going out as Provincial of India, though he was to be martyred on the Zambesi five years later. They reached Goa on the fifteenth of September, to find that the Governor, Francis Barreto, refused to allow them to sail for Abyssinia just yet. A few years later Barreto was to conduct a daring military campaign on the Zambesi, but at this moment he was disheartened by the pessimistic report brought back the month before by Diogo Dias and Father Gonsalo Rodrigues. This report created in the Governor's mind the impression that this mission could only result in a waste of valuable lives, and he declined the responsibility of sending them on.⁶⁰²

In order to convince them that Abyssinia was not stretching forth its arms to them, as they thought, the Governor presented them with a copy of the confession of faith that Claudius had made, and signed on the very day of the death of the Viceroy, Barreto's predecessor.⁶⁰³ It was not only a clear statement of Monophysite heresy, but it defended the rite of circumcision and the observance of the Saturday, not because they were Jewish institutions, merely because they were local customs to which they were attached. Barreto maintained that in the low condition of the Indian exchequer, and in view of the insults to which the Patriarch would be subjected, it would be unwise to carry out the original plan of missionary campaign. The cordial letters of the Negus were just acts of primitive politeness, and must not be taken too seriously.⁶⁰⁴

The prelates of Goa, however, and the Jesuits still pressed for the original scheme, and the impetuous Father Gonsalo Silveira departed for Cochin in disgust at what he thought was the lack of Christian zeal on the part of the Governor. Being thus pressed, Barreto called together his India Council to discuss the report once more with the Bishop of Goa, the theologians and the senior *fidalgos*. Although Father Rodrigues now added that he thought the advent of the Patriarch might help to change the views of the Negus, the Council confirmed its former decision about the Patriarch. But it made the new recommendation that any results obtainable could be secured by sending Bishop de

Oviedo with a few helpers, to work quietly among the Abyssinians in due subordination to the Negus.

Before leaving for North India, Barreto gave orders to prepare such an expedition. Thus, on Ash Wednesday, the twenty-sixth of February, 1557, Oviedo was able to say Mass on the island of Socotra, and on the eighteenth of March he landed at Arkiko, the seaport of Abyssinia on the Red Sea. The old soldiers of Christopher da Gama went out to meet the Bishop, and were honoured to give him and his party hospitality in their homes.⁶⁰⁵ Many of them had grown prosperous, even rich. Some came with cavalcades of Abyssinian followers, dressed like local chiefs in silks and brocades, on richly caparisoned horses, with mules for their Abyssinian wives. The Bishop had ample work for a considerable time in regularising their marriages according to Catholic ritual, baptising their children, teaching the older ones and preparing them to receive the sacraments.

King John of Portugal died three months after Oviedo landed in Abyssinia. No one was more genuinely grieved than Claudio when he heard this news, because (as the Jesuit Father Manuel Fernandes wrote) he knew how much he owed to King John, and was generous in acknowledging it.⁶⁰⁶ "Except for his shiftiness, Claudio was of such a character that in all Abyssinia I do not believe there was a wiser man or one more fitted to be king." As long as he lived he treated the Bishop with courtesy, and insisted that the poorly bred friars and priests of the country should refrain from insulting him, much as they hated him.

The Portuguese settlers accompanied the Bishop when he went to pay his respects to the Barnagash, and they spent Easter together at Debarwa. A week after Easter, which fell on the eleventh of April that year, news came that a Turkish pasha had landed at Arkiko, and was on his way to attack the Negus.⁶⁰⁷ So Oviedo and his party hurried to the court at Axum, and Claudio came half-way to welcome them. There they learned that the Gallas were also pressing north again. The large forces that the Turks now mustered were defeated by the ravages of a severe epidemic of influenza, but not before Claudio was killed on Holy Thursday, the twenty-third of March, 1559. But that was twenty months after the death of King John, and it was the end of an era for the relations between Portuguese and Abyssinians.

The Patriarch never entered the country. Waiting for the right moment, which did not come in his lifetime, he worked zealously among the Hindus of Goa, and died there at the end of 1562.⁶⁰⁸ The same weary task of waiting for years fell to the

lot of his other coadjutor, Belchior Carneiro, as we shall see elsewhere.

The burden and heat of the day were willingly borne by Bishop de Oviedo. He took with him Fathers Manuel Fernandes and Andrew Gualdames, as well as three lay brothers. When the Bishop had organised the Portuguese Catholics, with his headquarters at the little church of Debarwa, and under the friendly eye of the Abyssinian Governor of Tigre, he turned his thoughts towards the dissident Abyssinians. This work he inaugurated with a most respectful letter to the Negus, dated the twenty-second of June, 1557.⁶⁰⁹

He opens by explaining that they had come to Abyssinia because they had been invited by Claudio himself and by his father. They desired no grants of land nor positions of gain nor dignities nor money. These things Claudio had generously given the worthy Patriarch, John Bermudes. "It is commonly believed in Europe, and it is notorious here, that Your Royal Highness publicly promised obedience to the Holy See. I ask Your Majesty in the Pope's name to tell me what I am to do in this matter." If the Negus has any difficulty in matters of Christian doctrine, Oviedo offers to discuss such points in a friendly manner with his theologians. But merely to plead the customs of our ancestors is no justification for rejecting the plain teaching of Christ.

Hasty critics have wondered why the Bishop should have raised these controversies, whilst the enemies of Abyssinia were knocking at her gates, north and south. But those who have followed the vicissitudes of the World War, or any war, know that even the fiercest war usually affects only a fringe of the country, despite the lurid descriptions of war correspondents. Internal controversies cease only in so far as they affect the war adversely. But no one knew better than Claudio that the Portuguese were his firm friends, who would throw in all they had to help him to preserve the freedom of his country. Oviedo might annoy him with inconvenient requests, but he was sure that he would never betray him.

The Negus was not quite so sure of the loyalty of some of his own chiefs, and especially of two Abyssinian friars who detested foreigners. These friars, Abba Zekre and Abba Paulos, would hear of no change of any kind in the usages that had been handed down to them by their fathers-in-God of Alexandria. Much as Claudio was attached to the ways of his fathers, his respect for the Portuguese had inclined him to consider, and even to desire, the more attractive practices of Catholic Europe. But he feared the influence of these friars with the mob.

Soon the local authorities in Goggiam,⁶¹⁰ north and south of the Blue Nile, forbade any Abyssinian to enter the Catholic church under pain of death. This goaded Bishop de Oviedo into a public protest, which he affixed to the door of his chapel on the second of April, 1559. It stated that this attempt to suppress Catholic truth by violence showed how its opponents were no longer in good faith.

In order to warn the Portuguese against the errors current in the country, this episcopal charge publishes a list of them: the observance of the Jewish Sabbath, circumcision, the prohibition of pork, easy divorce by lay judges, and finally the heresy of the Monophysites. "We leave judgment upon the Abyssinians to the Church and its leaders so that they may be punished (whether in their persons or goods, publicly or privately) or pardoned, as may be most fitting." There is something of menace in these words, but so vague and mild, that it must have looked rather academic to the fierce warriors of Abyssinia and their leaders. Yet it annoyed the Negus, though not so much as the liberal excommunications of Bermudes did. But neither Bermudes nor the Bishop forfeited by these acts his personal respect, or even affection. They were tantalising friends, but he remained convinced of their sincere friendship.

"Poor Bishop! What will become of him when I die?" That exclamation of Claudius,⁶¹¹ when he was about to leave for one of his expeditions, speaks volumes as to the nature of the personal relations between them. It also indicates that the Negus knew that only his influence was holding in check the mortal hatred of the more fanatical of the popular leaders.

Bishop Andrew de Oviedo remained at his difficult post for twenty years, until his death; but his further exploits belong to the reign of King Sebastian of Portugal. Both he and Bermudes seem to have made a fundamental mistake in relying so much upon the active support of the Negus in their work. It is easy for us to be wise after the event. The friendship of the sovereign was, of course, indispensable. But, more important still, was the active goodwill of the masses.

This might have come sooner, and lasted longer, if these early teachers had not been so insistent upon the Latin rite. The Abyssinians had some reason for pride in their Coptic liturgy, which the monks of Upper Egypt had brought them from Alexandria, at a time this patriarchate was the greatest in the Christian world after Rome. The Ethiopian language of their liturgy was a sacred thing, and represented the best in their scanty culture.

In 1548 Tesfa Sion in Rome, with the assistance of two Italian scholars, brought out a New Testament in Ethiopic.⁶¹² One of these Italian helpers was Peter Paul Gualteri, a secular priest and canon of Santa Maria in Via Lata. He had translated into Latin the Ethiopian Ritual and a part of the Mass.⁶¹³ The other scholar was also a secular priest, Mariano Vittori, who afterwards became Bishop of Rieti. If these men had been utilised to prepare the missionaries for their work by a thorough acquaintance with the Coptic rite and its Ethiopian language, their work would have been eased and become more fruitful.

But Ignatius of Loyola laid down some excellent rules for the guidance of his Society which would have helped Oviedo in his work, if he had appreciated their importance and value as much as Father Peter Paez did later.⁶¹⁴ As an intimate friend of Tesfa Sion, Ignatius had learned to understand the Abyssinian mentality, generated in an atmosphere filled with the conflicting ideas of Jews, Muslim and pagans. We know definitely that Ignatius had read the work of Father Alvares, those of Damian de Goes, probably some manuscript copy of Castanhoso's report to John III, and the letters which Father Gaspar Baertz wrote from Ormuz between 1549 and 1552. Ignatius warned the men whom he sent out that to reform the whimsical customs of these Christians of arrested growth was a more delicate task than the conversion of pagans.⁶¹⁵ He therefore suggested the slow formation of a young generation imbued with European culture. An indigenous clergy should be educated to take over all offices in the local Church. A branch of the Society of Jesus should be developed from among the Abyssinians. Methods of persuasion and the increase of knowledge were the best weapons.

Pioneers like Bermudes and Oviedo must experiment, and experiment means error both in science and in missionary work. What compels our admiration is their undeviating purpose, and the enormous labour they endured for the regeneration of a suspicious people, who had nothing to give them that a self-seeking man could desire. In the Jesuit Bishop's first letter to Claudius, he quoted this appropriate verse from *Ecclesiasticus*:⁶¹⁶ "Be in peace with many, but let one of a thousand be thy counsellor." Yet the Negus continued to waver between the main groups of his advisers: the Queen Mother and the Portuguese on the one side, and the die-hards amongst his chiefs and clergy on the other. The bulk of the people were indifferent to the real issues involved, though long isolation behind their formidable mountains had made them almost instinctively hostile to strangers.

In the last year of the reign of John III, Bishop de Oviedo was so disheartened with the results achieved, that he spoke openly of leaving the country. What disappointed him most was the lack of support from the Portuguese leader, Gaspar de Sousa, who not unnaturally refused to influence the Negus in religious matters. Possibly, too, the Bishop saw evidence of lukewarmness on the part of Sousa in the fate that overtook a messenger that the Bishop sent with letters to the Governor of India. This messenger was a famous Italian physician, Master Bartholomew of Naples, who had spent some time in Abyssinia, and volunteered to carry the letters. He was betrayed by his Muslim guide to the Sultan of Zeila, who offered him lands and position on condition that he would embrace the tenets of Islam. On his refusal he was murdered, and the news caused great indignation among the rank and file of the Portuguese; but no steps were taken by Gaspar de Sousa to chastise those guilty of the crime.

When it was known that the Bishop was about to leave, a deputation of the Portuguese settlers went to him, begging that he would stay. Couto has preserved their names: Gonsalo Ferreira, Simon de Soveral, Christopher Nunes, Antonio Vaz, Juzarte Madeira, John Gonsalves, George Nogueira and Peter de Lião. They pointed out that the wives and children of the original four hundred Portuguese of Christopher da Gama's expedition had increased the colony to 1,200. The Bishop's labours would be amply compensated by keeping alive the faith of this Catholic community, which needed his guidance.

The Bishop was persuaded. But he retired from the coast, and pitched his tents at Decomo on the lands of Peter de Lião, who invited him there. Out of the rock Lião hewed a chapel at his own expense, and it was dedicated to Saint Peter. Some Abyssinian Catholics used to join the Portuguese at Mass and catechism on Sundays, and soon the zealous Bishop became convinced that this might well constitute the work of a lifetime.

There was a moment during the last year of the reign of Claudius when it looked as if the prophecy of John Bermudes was about to be fulfilled, "that the black ants would overwhelm the land of Abyssinia". The Bantu tribes from the south made another victorious raid into the province of Bali, where the Apostle Saint Matthew first preached the Gospel, according to the tradition and written legends of the Abyssinians. Taking the leading Portuguese with him, the Negus was able to drive the Gallas back.

On his return from the field, he sent for the Bishop. Claudio was evidently nettled with his dependence on the military power of the Portuguese to hold his own against foreign foes,⁶¹⁷ whilst he could not defy the national zealots of his own land; and the result was a heated discussion with Oviedo on ecclesiastical topics. The Bishop left with the impression that the Negus was forcing a quarrel upon him, and he unwisely replied by forbidding the Portuguese to serve him, an order which they quietly ignored, knowing that it did not come within the Bishop's jurisdiction to issue such an order. As Claudio had also fallen out with the Queen Mother over money matters, dynastic troubles as well seemed to be brewing. Just before the death of Claudio, Oviedo wrote to the Viceroy of India that all hope of profitable labour in Abyssinia was at an end. The report proved unduly dark. We must now pass to Mozambique, in order to learn what the prospects in Abyssinia really were.

CHAPTER XIV.

MOZAMBIQUE AND ABYSSINIA.

MOZAMBIQUE WAS ALIVE WITH VISITORS during the early part of August in the year 1555. At the end of July five ships had arrived from home, with all the bustle that this annual event entailed. But these ships brought passengers whose mission had created a hubbub throughout the whole Christian world of Europe. They were twelve priests of the new Jesuit Society, ten of whom were destined to bring Abyssinia back to full religious intercourse with Europe, which it had once enjoyed for a brief spell.

A younger brother of the King, Cardinal Henry, desired to send all the Jesuits to India. Portugal did not need them, he said, as it had its own excellent secular clergy; and he was suspicious of the new-fangled notions of these new men. Seeing them in action, however, he lived to become a warm supporter of theirs. The selection of these new preachers of the Gospel had been made with great care. Amongst the letters that they carried was one to the Viceroy of India from the King's eldest brother, Prince Luis, which ended with these words: "I cannot remember any body of twelve men that have gone to India, of whom it could be said with greater likelihood that they have no selfish aims in view." They were going to carry on the noble work of the secular priests, Father Alvares and the Patriarch John Bermudes.⁶¹⁸

The fleet which now put into harbour at Mozambique for repairs and refreshment was under the command of Leonard de Sousa, whose flagship was named *Our Lady of Barca*. Chaplains of this ship for the voyage were the Jesuits, Michael Barul and Anthony de Quadros. The latter was going out to be Provincial of the Society in India, and was a son of the Commissary General of Santarem and brother of the Bishop of Guarda.⁶¹⁹ At the university of Coimbra, Quadros had outdistanced all his contemporaries, and renounced brilliant prospects. During the fourteen years that he worked in India, he was Provincial all the time except nine months, when the office was held by Gonsalo da Silveira, whose name was to be eternally linked with the Zambesi. But at this time Quadros was the leader of the band destined for the land of Prester John.

The second ship, the *Saint Philip*, carried as chaplains Belchior Carneiro and Manuel Fernandes. The former was bishop elect of the titular see of Nicaea, and had just been nominated one of the assistant bishops to the Jesuit Patriarch of Ethiopia, John Nunes Barreto. But the papal bull authorising this consecration had not arrived on the first of April, 1555, when the fleet was ready to sail. Lest a whole year should be lost, Carneiro was ordered to sail at once, and await the bull in India, where the Bishop of Goa would consecrate him. The Patriarch and his other assistant bishop remained behind, and were consecrated in Lisbon, sailing the following year.

The other two ships that had Jesuit chaplains were the *Assumption* and the *Conception*. In the former were Jerome de Cuenca and the Belgian, John Bocchi. The latter ship had two Spanish priests aboard, Andrew Gonsalvez and Paschal Catalan, with a student of theology, Afonso Lopes. The fifth ship had chaplains of the Franciscan Order, going to reinforce the successful work of their brethren in India.

No suspicion of the sad fate that was to overtake the *Conception* overshadowed the joy of their meeting at Mozambique. A few weeks later, on the way to Goa, this ship was wrecked on a desert and uncharted island. The pilot made a raft out of the fragments of his ship, but it was not large enough for all. About fifty were left on the island, among them the three Jesuits, and the pilot promised to rescue them if he reached land. Only after fifteen months did the emaciated survivors of the raft reach Cochin, more dead than alive. All the skill of the Portuguese pilots failed to locate the desert island, and in any case it would have been too late to save the derelicts.⁶²⁰

As long as the ships were at Mozambique, the whole settlement was agog with excitement about the great projects that were afoot. The advent of so many popular preachers from the homeland promised the devout merchants and permanent officials a rare treat. The religious processions, with their colour, music and swinging censers, brought back the fragrant memories of Coimbra, of Mafra or even Lisbon. For the Jesuits had come well equipped with the accessories of art, with which the Church preached the eternal Gospel to men of our earthly mould.

Mozambique at this time was the whispering gallery of the Portuguese empire in the East. The inhabitants were neither as numerous nor as rich as those of Ormuz or Goa, but their central position made their town the focus of news from everywhere. What Lisbon, the Turk, the Shah, Ormuz, India and the Malays thought was gathered more rapidly, at a given moment,

in Mozambique than in any other centre of Portuguese activity. Diogo de Sousa, who was governor of Mozambique, and his wife were probably more widely informed of the general situation in the East than the King or the Viceroy, because they had mails from east and west within a few months of every year. The gossips of both fleets filled up the gaps in the official news.

Thus the Jesuit travellers newly arrived in Mozambique came to learn in a few weeks more about their order's work than Europe then knew. And this despite the fact that their founder and general, Ignatius of Loyola, was an assiduous letter-writer, and pressed his associates in all parts of the world to remember that no father was more anxious for tidings of his scattered family than he was of their news. But the warmest of family feeling could not annihilate the distances of India, Africa, Arabia and China.

Ignatius had established in 1537 an unique system of interchange of news.⁶²¹ Every house of the Society in Italy was bound to write to him in Rome once a week, other European houses once a month, those in India and the Far East once a year. Besides the answers to these letters, a quarterly report containing the summary of all interesting and instructive matters in the letters was issued in a circular from Rome. This helped to preserve the family feeling of all those who began to call themselves sons of Ignatius.

In the last letter that Francis Xavier wrote to him, he thanks him "with tears in my eyes at the blessed remembrance of past days, and of the sincere and sacred affection with which you have always enfolded me, and which follows me still."⁶²² The vehement and humorous Alfonso Cypriano, who was already fifty years old when he joined the circle of Ignatius's young men, wrote from Mailapur:⁶²³ "India seems the gate of hell for a great many of our Europeans here. I am now sixty-five years old, not as robust as you remember me in Europe, many of my teeth have gone, but my foot is still in the stirrup." Next after their loyalty to Christ and His Church, these men nourished an amazing sense of personal loyalty to the general who had trained them. Under his leadership nothing daunted them, not even the horror of sometimes seeing their work undermined by the brazen lives of unworthy Christians.

But no letters could fully describe the new atmosphere which many of these pioneers of the Society created in the unfamiliar East. By entering this atmosphere at Mozambique, the new arrivals began to learn what a Reformation had already been

wrought in the space of fifteen years by the men who had preceded them.

One of their number, Father Manuel Fernandez, has recorded his impressions.⁶²⁴ Writing from Mozambique to the Provincial of Portugal, Diogo Miron, he expresses his joyful amazement at the reverence with which the names of his old friends, Francis Xavier and the Dutchman Gaspar Baertz, were mentioned by the soldiers, sailors, traders, Arabs and blacks of this east coast of Africa. Both priests had spent some time in Mozambique, though their longest service was further east. Both had died recently, though the death of the Dutch priest was not yet known in Europe.

Xavier had died in December of the year 1552, but on account of the circumstances of his death on the lonely island of San Chan, little was yet known in Europe about the details of this last expedition of his. But Asia, Christian and heathen, had already placed him amongst the saints. This was what Mozambique then knew about Xavier's death.

The half moon of three almost uninhabited islands, which the Portuguese called San Chan, was a strategic point of economic importance in the efforts of the Portuguese merchants to open up trade with China. "I am ignorant of these matters of trade," wrote Xavier. For him the attraction of this uninviting spot was that it formed the only feasible opening to preach the Gospel in China. In his travels through the East he had gained the impression that "China is crowded to a great degree with men of sharp wits and much learning."⁶²⁵ The Chinese whom he had met in Japan and elsewhere impressed him as anxious to hear what the Christian religion was like. Only the Chinese Government was hostile for trade reasons. Xavier hoped to convince them that trade was no concern of his, and need not therefore be an obstacle to his expedition. To make this plain to the meanest intelligence, he arranged to go on the staff of the first Portuguese ambassador to China, who was his friend Diogo Pereira.

We have already described the opposition of the Governor of Malacca, Alvaro da Gama,⁶²⁶ to this project, which Ferdinand Mendes Pinto ascribes to his jealousy of the promotion of a plebeian like Pereira. At any rate, Xavier was kept waiting for over three months at San Chan, worn out with ceaseless work and periodic attacks of fever. Though he was comforted with the thought that the flame of Christian faith which he had kindled in Japan was burning steadily, he saw the prospect of work in China growing daily less. In the shelter of a straw hut

he was awaiting the ship of a Chinese trader, who for the sum of 360 *pardaos* had agreed to land him in Canton. He expected to be arrested in Canton. "But better to be in gaol for the love of Christ, than to be free and flying from the Cross," were among the last words of his last letter.⁶²⁷ He ended by saying that if the Chinese pilot did not come, he hoped to go next year to Siam, and thus to Canton in a ship of the friendly King of Siam.

But death came before the Chinaman, and the only persons present on that second day of December were a Chinese lad, Antonio,⁶²⁸ and a Portuguese named Christopher. Up to a fortnight before his death he was writing admirable letters from San Chan to all his subordinates in the Indian province, full of wise counsel and fatherly affection. But this venture into China was such a lonely expedition, that five days after the death of Xavier the annual mail brought to Portugal news like this: "Our standard-bearer Francis Xavier is now opening up the lands where we may sow the seeds."⁶²⁹

One of his letters, written in April of the year of his death, had a tragic sequel on the Mozambique coast a few months before the Abyssinian contingent arrived; and at first sight it seemed to belie his wide sympathy for all manner of men, and his infinite patience with the erring. He ordered the Rector of Goa to expel from the Jesuit Society Father Anthony Gomes, once acting Rector of Goa and head of the seminary for native clergy there.

There was no moral accusation against Gomes, who was a priest of exemplary life personally. But he had insisted, after frequent warning, in carrying out a line of policy towards Indian aspirants to the priesthood which threatened to destroy any chance of a native Indian clergy. His avowed aim was to make the Goa Seminary an exact copy of the Coimbra College.⁶³⁰ He was a splendid preacher, learned as well, a sound business man and full of disinterested zeal.⁶³¹ But from the Indian students he demanded the high standards and refinements which required a European atmosphere, such as time alone could evolve in these newly converted communities. Not finding these results, he came to the arrogant conclusion so common among writers of our day: that East and West can never meet in a common culture,⁶³² and that they belong to civilisations which must ever clash.

His exactions drove many Indian boys to run away, and he expelled the rest, filling the seminary with the sons of Portuguese in India. In a letter to Ignatius himself, Gomes declared that

Indian boys were quite unfit to be Jesuits.⁶³³ Xavier hated arrogance of all kinds, but most of all in the pulpit and in Church government. King John III had endowed with ample funds this college for Indian boys, so that they might receive a liberal education and sound moral training, and become priests worthy to minister to their own kith and kin. Few Portuguese doubted that they were quite capable of exercising this ministry with credit; though the ways of India must differ from those of Portugal, as even France differed from Spain in its national trimmings of the same Catholic priesthood.

When Francis Xavier heard of the havoc that had been wrought in Goa, he returned post-haste from Cochin, and re-established the Indian Seminary, sending Gomes to Diu.⁶³⁴ But later acts of this determined man showed that he was so wedded to the idea of an inherent inferiority of the eastern races, that his ministry would only be a drag on the kind of work that the Jesuits had come to develop. Xavier's decision to expel him made possible the fine expansion of the Goa Church, and the splendid Goanese clergy which has fully justified his confidence in its future. In this rare instance of his exemplary severity, a true instinct prompted him to save the ship by removing the pilot who was heading for disaster.

It would seem that Xavier hoped that Gomes would remain in India, working as a secular priest among his fellow-countrymen under the Bishop of Goa. But Gomes himself had other ideas. He determined to go to Europe and appeal personally to Ignatius for reinstatement in the Society.⁶³⁵ It is just possible that he may have received the message of Ignatius, that he would obtain a hearing if he came to Rome. For this purpose in 1554 he took passage in the ship *Saint Benedict*, which was wrecked on the coast of the Transkei. The few survivors, who reached Mozambique four months before Father Manuel Fernandes, told him how Father Anthony Gomes was one of the first drowned when the great galleon was shivered upon the rocks at the mouth of the Umtata River.

Those who knew the inner tragedy of this good man must have felt that this was greater than his death by shipwreck. Born of a well-to-do family of Madeira, he had been a leading light of Coimbra university, and a popular preacher in the Minho province.⁶³⁶ Amongst the Portuguese in India he exerted a great influence for good. Thomas Lobo, a hard-headed merchant who had been in commerce there for thirty years, declared that the sermons of Gomes would soften a heart of stone. But in a field unsuitable for his special talents, these were not enough

to prevent him from lowering the prestige of the Jesuits among the Indians, as the Viceroy, Anthony de Noronha, expressed it.⁶³⁷

A more personal grief for the members of the Jesuit mission to Abyssinia was the news of the death of Father Gaspar Baertz, which they first received in Mozambique. They expected to find in him an invaluable mentor, to guide them in facing the problems of a land which as yet they only knew by hearsay. Xavier had delegated him as his successor in the event of death, and Baertz had followed with keen interest the doings in Abyssinia since the departure of John Bermudes.

Besides this, among his colleagues in the Society he had the reputation of a cheerful and wise counsellor.⁶³⁸ His picturesque career opened in the village of Ter Goes,⁶³⁹ near Middelburg, in the south of Holland, where he was born. Beginning his studies at the university of Louvain when he was twenty years old, Gaspar Baertz threw them up to join the army of the Emperor at Köln, when it crossed the Alps to drive the French out of Milan. But military glory soon palled upon him, and he was attracted by the monks of Saint Bernard of Montserrat. This vocation, however, proved too remote from the company of ordinary men, and he realised that monastic life did not suit his temperament. But at Lisbon he met the Apostles, as the people called the Jesuits; and he decided once and for all that this was the life to which God and nature called him, an evangelical life, but militant among men with spiritual arms.

His first contact with the Jesuits was in the person of Simon Rodrigues, one of the original nine companions of Ignatius of Loyola. Rodrigues had become tutor of the King's son, and Baertz was on the staff of the King's treasurer, Sebastian de Moraes, whose wife was a Dutch lady. Almost every day Baertz had occasion to visit the Court with his chief. Becoming a fast friend of Rodrigues, he learned how these men had planned to bring the new world under the standard of Christ, and to begin by reforming their own individual lives into harmony with the Gospel.

This plan roused all the man and the Christian in him, and he joined the Society as a lay brother in 1546. After two years Rodrigues discovered that the popular lay brother had an unusual gift of natural eloquence.⁶⁴⁰ His Portuguese was still much interlarded with Dutch, but there was no mistaking the spirit and the power of exposition behind it. He was ordered to resume the studies which he had begun in Louvain, and, being ordained priest, he was sent to Ormuz in 1548. On the way to Persia

he spent sixteen days of August in Mozambique,⁶⁴¹ and there were many who remembered his strenuous work and how he took over the management of the hospital during his stay. There were three mails to India that year, 1548, so that Ignatius was able to prepare Xavier for the helpers who were coming, among whom was the unhappy Anthony Gomes.

This is not the place to sketch the solid results that issued from the energy of Father Baertz in Persia and India during the five years of his missionary life.⁶⁴² What concerns us here is that he had begun to see the possibilities of fruitful work in the land of Prester John, when he first entered the Society, and we find it noted in a memorandum of his, dated 1546.⁶⁴³

Three years later, when he was in charge of Ormuz, he tells his friends in Goa that he is making use of every opportunity to discuss the Christian faith not only with Arabs, Jews, Persians, Turks, Russians, Brahmins and Yogis, but also with Abyssinians, who came to India from Jerusalem, armed with a papal letter authorising them to collect funds for the Holy House of Jerusalem. The Governor, George Cabral, presented them with copies of the papal letters to Prester John,⁶⁴⁴ and we may be sure that Father Baertz improved the opportunity of exchanging ideas with them. At the beginning of 1551 some of the Portuguese settlers at Barawa, in Abyssinia, returned to India, and were furnished by the Negus Claudius with a letter of recommendation. These men helped to spread a knowledge of the true conditions of Abyssinia.

By this time, even the Jesuits in Lisbon had become fully convinced that Christianity in the land of Prester John was in need of drastic reformation.⁶⁴⁵ Education was clearly the first requisite. In Tuscany the Duke Cosmo de' Medici was exhorted by the Jesuits to imitate the generosity of the King of Portugal, who had founded so many colleges in India and Africa.⁶⁴⁶ Even in Augsburg they were impressing upon the Duke of Bavaria what great service he could render to God by providing funds for a college of Abyssinian missionaries. The Chancellor of Louvain, Richard Tapper, in a sermon before the university, praised the Jesuits for their work in Ethiopia, as they called Abyssinia, and in India.⁶⁴⁷ Meantime, the revised statutes of the Abyssinian College of San Stefano in Rome were drawn up by Tesfa Sion and his colleagues, and duly promulgated with the Pope's approval, ending with the oriental equivalent of "God save Pope Julius III and our Emperor Claudius."⁶⁴⁸

Whilst a great part of Christian Europe was being thus stirred by the cheering news of the advance of the Faith in

Abyssinia, India, Brazil and Japan, Father Baertz was transferred from his busy field in the Persian Gulf to Goa. Francis Xavier wrote to him on the sixth of April, 1552: "As I am going to China, I appoint you vice-provincial with jurisdiction from the Cape of Good Hope to Japan."⁶⁴⁹

At Goa Father Baertz heard so much from the Portuguese returned from Abyssinia about the ardent desire of the Negus for union with the Western Church, and about the little encouragement that he had received, that he wrote to Claudio in November: "I have asked leave to go to your kingdom, and I hope to do so within two years."⁶⁵⁰ He had, in fact, written both to Ignatius of Loyola and to the Provincial of Portugal, asking to be allowed to extend his labours to the lands of Prester John.

The latest news, however, that he received from Europe seemed to indicate a lull in the negotiations about sending a Jesuit patriarch to Abyssinia, because King John III, in addition to the world-wide cares of his empire, was now saddled with the heavy financial arrangements for the marriage of his sister to Prince Philip of Spain; and because Pope Julius III had been in bed for weeks with a severe attack of gout.⁶⁵¹ In these circumstances, all that Father Baertz could do was to write a letter of encouragement to the Portuguese correspondents of his in Abyssinia.

This he did on the fifth of November, 1552.⁶⁵² "I have been told by Portuguese from the land of the Negus how far short of the pure Gospel the native priests fall. I would come at once to help you, if I could. But I am writing for leave to King John and the General of my Society. The priest (John Bermudes) who came from you was very sorry to leave you. Give good example as soldiers of the Catholic Church, and serve the Negus loyally. I beg Captain Gaspar de Sousa, and all of you, to write to me by the next boat. The messenger who will give you this letter is also bringing a letter from me to the Emperor Claudio." It will be seen from this letter what a Portuguese colleague of this warm-hearted Dutch priest meant when he said⁶⁵³ that Father Baertz was a magnet that drew all men along with him, such was the steady glow of his brotherly feeling.

At the beginning of 1553 the robust constitution began to fail. Dutch and German missionaries are best suited for work in Japan, Xavier wrote to his superiors more than once, because they can stand the cold and are physically strong. But the fevers of Ormuz and the Choromandel coast were no respecters of persons or of nations. During the first weeks of December, Father Baertz seemed about to collapse, but at Christmas time

he roused himself by a superhuman effort, preaching nine times in five days.⁶⁵⁴ The annual mail of the following year, 1553, brought him the comforting news that Ignatius had formally accepted from the Pope the onus of providing a patriarch and two assistant bishops for Abyssinia. Although the Jesuits had vowed never to accept dignities in the Church, in this case there seemed so little worldly pomp and so much prospect of suffering, that they felt they were fulfilling the spirit of the vow in neglecting the letter.

Before this good news reached Father Baertz, he had written two reports about Abyssinia.⁶⁵⁵ One described the usages and pointed out the errors of the native Christians, the other related in detail the activities of the three last patriarchs: Osefee, or Josab, who came from Alexandria in 1548; Petros, who was appointed his assistant in 1551; and John Bermudes. The two first he describes from conversations with Portuguese who knew them. The last he knew personally, and paints from life. It is plain from his account also that one of the things that contributed to the failure of Bermudes was his lack of training in the priestly life.⁶⁵⁶ This beloved physician of the Negus became priest and bishop by the call of the Negus and the imposition of hands of the Abuna. These were insufficient to confer the theological knowledge and missionary method required for such a thorny task. His isolation from Europe stereotyped these failings, and his consuming zeal was on their account partly misdirected.

Every mail Father Baertz had been expecting orders from home to go to Abyssinia, in order to prepare the way for the great mission that was being expedited in Rome and Lisbon. A few days before his death, which took place at Goa on the twelfth of October, 1553, he received a letter that put his mind at ease on this subject so near to his heart. It was addressed to the departed Francis Xavier, whose successor Baertz had become. In this letter Ignatius summoned Xavier to Lisbon at once, because both the Pope and the King desired to hear his personal views about the state and needs of the missions of the East. Ignatius himself was anxious that Xavier should select the next missionaries, and help to speed up the Abyssinian enterprise.⁶⁵⁷ He was reminded that it would be easier for him to govern the province of India from Lisbon than from China or Japan.

Two months after the death of Baertz, another letter was written by Ignatius, giving Baertz the permission he desired to enter Abyssinia with the Patriarch, when he should arrive. The Patriarch was unable to sail until the year 1556.⁶⁵⁸ But his assistant, Bishop Carneiro, who set out in 1555, received the first of a series of disappointments at Mozambique when he learned

that the veteran Father Baertz was dead. It was fated, moreover, that only one of the Jesuits in this fleet should ever see Abyssinia, Father Manuel Fernandes; and that the work there should be done mainly by those who followed in the fleet of the next year under Bishop Andrew de Oviedo, as we have already narrated.

What happened to Bishop Michael Carneiro was this. In Goa the Viceroy convoked a Council of all those interested in Abyssinia, or with a knowledge of the country; and after long deliberation it was decided that three bishops were not justified in that land at a time when the many churches in the Malay Islands and the growing Christian population of Japan and China had no bishop nearer than Goa.

Since the death of Francis Xavier, the island of Macao in China had risen rapidly in importance, and created an urgent problem for the Church authorities. The Chinese rulers, finding themselves helpless against a nest of sea-robbers ensconced there, had begged the assistance of the Portuguese, who drove the pirates out.⁶⁵⁹ In recompense for this signal service to Chinese trade, the Portuguese received the gift of the island, their first peaceful settlement in China. In 1554 there were in residence about six hundred Portuguese traders and officials, who were building homes for themselves with every sense of permanent security.

To this fruitful scene of labour Bishop Carneiro was sent. Whilst his headquarters were in Macao, he was installed as Bishop of Malacca,⁶⁶⁰ because the native Malays who had already become Christians formed the largest part of his diocese. There were already 300,000 Malay Christians, whilst in China missionary work had only just begun, and the few Christians there were mainly Portuguese. The diocese of Malacca was formed to include the coasts of Burma and China with all the islands of the Malay Archipelago.

From that day to this, Macao has remained a Christian city, and is to-day a delightful facsimile of old Portugal transported to the East. Its buildings, especially the churches, its monuments, its language and customs, are redolent of Portuguese culture; where so much else of Christian culture that was once firmly established amongst the native inhabitants in China and Japan has been swept away by the later European rivals of Portugal in the East.

From Mozambique to India and China, Bishop Carneiro believed that he was following in the footsteps of the Apostle Saint Thomas. The Portuguese generally found no difficulty in accepting the ancient tradition of the Thomas Christians in India,

that this Apostle had been there before them. Knowing the New Testament well, they refused to think in Portugal that Saint Thomas had been less daring than Saints Peter and Paul, who travelled so much. Did not Saint Thomas show himself more daring than the rest, when he urged them to join Christ in the dangerous journey to Bethany? "Let us also go that we may die with Him," were his words according to the Gospel of Saint John. As the Bible tells us nothing of his missionary work, the character of this Apostle was enough to convince the Portuguese that he did not let the grass grow beneath his feet, when Christ sent him forth to preach the Gospel.

Diogo de Couto has left us a full account of contemporary opinion on this subject, in so far as it affected the Mozambique coast.⁶⁶¹ After telling how Saint Thomas came from Jerusalem through the Red Sea to the island of Socotra, he mentions that he built a church on the island. "Then the Apostle sailed for the Malindi coast and Kaffraria, where there were said to be many idolators. The literature of the Chaldeans says that he came to a kingdom called Paces, which seems to be Ampaza by reason of the similarity of the names; and from there he went to another place called Zarique, which I can only think must be Mozambique. Because that place has always been a port of call for ships sailing on this coast, and it was well known to the ships of Solomon, which traded here for gold and ebony used in the construction of the Temple of Jerusalem."

It is interesting to note in the letters of these missionaries that they nourished the hope of being able to return to Europe without having to come back to Mozambique. They reflected the views of intelligent men about China at this date. Thus Francis Xavier writes to Ignatius from Goa in 1552: "Everybody here says that one can go from China to Jerusalem. If I find out that this is true, I shall write and tell you what the distance is."⁶⁶²

Father Baertz was even more explicit a year earlier. "I believe that China, or at least Greater Tartary, borders on Germany, as you can see from the rhubarb stalk that I am sending you with this letter. These plants are like turnips, and they come to Ormuz through the land of the Tartars of China. I hope to write to you (Ignatius) from China. When I shall have converted the Chinese, I hope to pass through Greater Tartary to Rome." No doubt he had better reasons for his conviction than the botanical argument advanced in this letter. In China the Portuguese had probably heard that Catholic missionaries from Europe visited Pekin in the thirteenth century, and that

they found traces of German Christians having settled there even before that.⁶⁶³

These Jesuit missionaries were not greatly interested in the reasons that made Mozambique a vital link in the vigorous trade expansion of Portugal. These were matters that they gladly left to the King and his councillors. But for Ignatius and his companions, Rome and Jerusalem were the twin pivots of the Christian world. They were grateful to John III for the lavish way in which he spent his money in the service of the Gospel, and in their opinion no man deserved better to have wealth bestowed upon him. They were also grateful because he was the first sovereign to welcome their modern and unconventional methods, at a time when they were regarded as dangerous innovations by such eminent conservatives as the Archbishop of Toledo and Father Diogo Bermudes, Provincial of the Dominicans in India.⁶⁶⁴

Whether they were in Mozambique or Abyssinia or Ormuz or Goa or Yamaguchi or Madagascar, their concern was to find fields ripe for the Gospel, and to put their sickles into them without delay. Rome of the Popes was their main hope of orderly development, because they believed its bishop to be the appointed Vicar of Christ. Indiscipline of action and of mind appeared as the backwash of the healthy tide-wave of the Renaissance. To counteract the effects of this backwash upon religion, they looked to the tried discipline of Rome. In the missionary sphere it was an invaluable source of unity and strength. Their first fifteen years of experiment had now convinced them more than ever that Rome on the Tiber, with all its human frailties, was the true guide to that heavenly "Rome of which Christ is the real Roman", as Dante had phrased it three centuries before.⁶⁶⁵

This eagerness for the wide and ripe fields of the harvest urged Bishop Carneiro and his colleagues to lose no time at Mozambique. For a moment the Bishop weighed the plan of turning back to Madagascar, because an intelligent man at Mozambique told him the fairy tale, that a white race of Chinese extraction there could easily be converted to the true Faith.⁶⁶⁶ Fortunately he recalled his instructions, which were to make for Goa and to take advice there about their first steps in Abyssinia. All the officials of the Mozambique coast confirmed the opinion of both Lisbon and Rome, that the life of the Bantu tribes was too elusive and turbulent to justify any diversion of energy from the fruitful fields of India, Japan, China and the Spice Islands. In these regions churches, schools, hospitals and

*misericordias*⁶⁶⁷ were springing up every day, as if by magic; and the only limit lay in the dearth of workers. This was also the reason why they sighed for some shorter route, even if it led through the deserts of Tartary, to their General in Rome.

The Jesuits, however, were by no means the first to begin missionary work on the coast of Mozambique and in India. The foundations had been well and truly laid by many secular priests, Franciscans and Dominicans. With characteristic generosity, Francis Xavier not only chronicles the help received from them, but urges the priests of his Society to visit these fellow-workers at least once a week, both to keep up brotherly relations and to interchange ideas.

Ardent biographers of some of these missionary heroes seem occasionally to forget that the controller of all these missionary activities on the spot was the Franciscan Bishop of Goa, John de Albuquerque. He made his first visit to Mozambique on his way to India in 1539. Just after Easter of the year 1537, Pope Paul III appointed him Bishop of Goa, a new diocese lately separated from the archdiocese of Madeira, and comprising the whole Portuguese East from the Cape of Good Hope to China. He was consecrated in Lisbon on the thirteenth of January of the following year by Dr. Diogo Ortiz de Villegas, nephew of another bishop of the same name who had been the chief scientific adviser of John II in the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope.⁶⁶⁸

The Pope had taken a personal interest in this see, despite the grievous questions that were agitating his mind in Europe at the moment. Great difficulties had arisen in convoking the first session of the Council of Trent, the cardinals were divided as to whether the Pope himself should preside at the Council, the Lutherans had declined the invitation to attend, and the Pope's attempt to constitute a common front against the menace of Turkish invasion seemed about to fail. Yet the Ambassador of Portugal in Rome has recorded how carefully the Pope enquired into the qualifications of the Franciscan friar, John de Albuquerque, whom the King of Portugal presented for the Pope's approval.

At first Paul III refused to agree to the appointment, because he had already informed the King of Portugal that he would appoint no more friars to bishoprics as long as there was a secular priest available for the post. In this case, replied Cardinal Santiquattro, who represented King John in Rome, none of the secular priests whom they had in mind could leave for India. "Moreover this friar is a capable person, and is prepared to

reside permanently in the East."⁶⁶⁹ That promise was fulfilled to the letter. For twenty years nearly, the first of the great bishops of Goa remained in his diocese, dying in the same year as King John.

Though his diocese included Monomotapa (which was considered to extend from the borders of Abyssinia to the Cape of Good Hope), Arabia, Persia and India, he did not neglect the Mozambique coast. But the supply of trained workers was limited, and the demands of Goa unlimited. The energy and resourcefulness of the preachers were amazing. Amongst the priests that the Bishop brought with him was the renowned Franciscan preacher, Vincent de Lagos, who founded many colleges for Indian boys and many communities of Indian Christians. He once wrote to the King that his Jesuit colleague, Francis Xavier, was a living torch that was kindling all India with the light of faith; and he begged the King not to allow him to dissipate his energies in Japan and China.⁶⁷⁰

On arrival in India, however, Bishop de Albuquerque found a large Christian community of native Indians in Goa, and a considerable number of native Indian priests; and it was for this reason that the Pope selected Goa for the seat of the bishopric. All this was the fruit of the preaching and work of many men like the Dominican Father Dominic Homem, who had been there since the days of the great Afonso de Albuquerque.

But another eminent Dominican, Diogo Bermudes, became somewhat critical of the ecclesiastical policy of the good bishop in later years. In a letter that he knew would reach the King, he declared that "the Bishop was an excellent man personally, but a poor bishop because too lenient." Diogo was one of those sons of thunder who would have liked the Bishop to deal drastically with certain officials in Ceylon "who would sell their own souls and all Ceylon to the devil for sixpence." He also maintained that the Jesuits should not be allowed to baptise Indians so easily and with so little instruction.⁶⁷¹

In one matter the Dominican's protest had some justification. The child King of Ceylon was taken by the Portuguese governor from the custody of his father, a treacherous enemy of Portugal, baptised and brought up a Christian, so that he might rule as a friend of the Portuguese, his father having been deposed. It was a deed of violence similar to that perpetrated ten years later in Scotland, when the baby boy, King James, who had been baptised a Catholic, was taken away from his Catholic mother, Mary Queen of Scots, and educated in the religion of his mother's enemies. In Scotland no protest came from the triumphant

party, not even from the humanist George Buchanan, who was charged with teaching James the new religion.

In Portugal, however, many protests reached the King, both from the clergy and the laity, against the violence of the Governor of Ceylon. The Bishop of Goa knew that, as Saint Thomas⁶⁷² stated clearly, the custom of the Church of God forbade the baptism of infant children of infidels without the consent of their parents, because this was contrary to the principles of natural justice, and because it might become a danger to religion. Some great doctors had compromised in this matter; but Aquinas said boldly that they do not represent the tradition of the Church, which must be our guide. If Bermudes had been bishop, he would clearly have excommunicated these men. Having a more intimate acquaintance with all the circumstances, Bishop de Albuquerque was satisfied to leave the matter in the hands of the King. But even Father Bermudes pressed for the punishment of the King of Ceylon, because he had persecuted those natives who chose to become Christians of their own free will. He also urged disciplinary measures against Portuguese officials who declined to protect native converts.

But the Bishop was not prepared, at the suggestion of Diogo Bermudes, to condemn the new methods of evangelisation that the Jesuits used. They were rapid and untried; but the Bishop was willing to give them a trial, especially as he saw that a man like Francis Xavier was able to achieve the impossible. He also welcomed the traditional ways of the Dominicans, and of his own order the Franciscans; and he gave ample scope to the many excellent secular priests whom he found in India. His duty as a bishop was to oversee the minor shepherds of the flock, knowing that there are diversities of gifts even where there is the same spirit of faith and zeal.

This fatherly attitude was what commended him to all manner of men. We see it in a resolution passed by the Town Council of Goa in 1547,⁶⁷³ when there was a rumour that the Bishop was to be promoted to some important see in Portugal. They petitioned the King to let him remain with them. "Our Bishop is a comfort to us through his life, his ways and his method of administering the Sacraments, ministering in the confessional equally to native Christians and slaves."

He decentralised the work of his vast diocese by appointing vicars with the fullest powers in every important centre.⁶⁷⁴ In Mozambique and Sofala his vicars were native Goanese priests, who ministered to the local Christians and kept him informed about the prospects of helping the Bantu tribes.

Europe, of course, had to supply the sinews of war in this battle with paganism, as well as new workers to take the place of those Europeans who fell rapidly under the burden of fever and hard work. For this purpose it was necessary to keep in constant touch with Portugal and Rome. A native Indian clergy was being built up, but it would take generations to make them numerically sufficient for the needs of India. But the contact with Europe was also maintained by sending home from time to time experienced workers, to report upon the state of affairs in India and Monomotapa.

The most notable of these was Michael Vaz Coutinho, the Vicar-General of Goa. His career is worthy of notice here because it furnishes important, if largely negative, evidence of the state of missionary work on the Mozambique coast. As far back as 1534, seven years before the Jesuits came, this zealous secular priest was plying John III with schemes as to how missionary work in India could be developed. Nine years later he writes to give the King early news of the liberation of Abyssinia from the Muslim yoke by the brave company of Christopher da Gama. All these years he was extremely active in preaching, teaching and providing schools and churches for thousands of converts in widely separated districts of India. His fellow-priests in India wrote of him to the King in 1544, that he "was burning with zeal for the spread of the Faith, devoid of all personal ambition, tactful and exemplary in conduct."⁶⁷⁵

When he left for Lisbon in the last weeks of that year, the one fear of Francis Xavier was that the King might keep him in Portugal as an expert adviser. "I conjure Your Highness both in the interest of the Church and as a real kindness to me, to order Dom Michael Vaz to return here. He will be greatly missed here, and he is in fact essential for the spread of the Faith." These facts indicate the importance of the memorandum which Vaz presented to the King at Evora in November of the year 1545.

In this document he surveys the needs of the whole mission field of India, taking as a basis the actual work already done. Four months later the King issues an order to provide men and means for reinforcing the various centres of missionary activity.⁶⁷⁶ But no mention is made of any missionary station on the Mozambique coast. Socotra is the only such place that could in any sense be called African.

These men showed themselves fully conscious that the quality of the missionaries was even more important than their number. The humorous Bishop of Goa put this quaintly in a letter that he sent to the King.⁶⁷⁷ "For this species of music, which consists

in converting the heathen, much endurance and tact are indispensable in the missionaries, and some of us here are lacking in these traits of character." Francis Xavier, himself an old student of the university of Paris, wrote to the doctors there urging that the ministry of the Word in Abyssinia, South Africa and India would do them more honour than all the barren controversies of the Sorbonne and other colleges.⁶⁷⁸

If the Vicar-General had survived a few years after his double visit to Mozambique, going and coming, it is quite likely that his restless zeal would have prompted some beginning of missionary work among the Bantu by means of the native Goanese priests. But he died of cholera at Chaul two months after his return from Europe.⁶⁷⁹ It was probably the dramatic narratives of the two wrecks off the coasts of Natal and the Cape of Good Hope in 1552 and 1554, that first focused public opinion upon the number and variety of the Bantu tribes; and thus led to the forward policy of the next reign on the part of the Dominicans and Jesuits.

In Portugal they were now able to read for the first time lively narratives of the customs and barbaric life of these nomadic tribes. Seeing that they were without culture, or anything that the Portuguese would dignify with the name of religion, some began to ponder the prospect of bringing them to the Gospel, which was the basis of Portugal's real greatness. The first of these practical thinkers was Father Gonsalo Silveira,⁶⁸⁰ who had become Provincial of the Jesuits of India in 1557, the last year of King John's reign.

This was evidently the year in which he whispered into the friendly ear of Father Andrew Fernandez his divine dissatisfaction with the comfortable life of a college, after he had seen the spiritual desert of the African tribes, as he passed through Mozambique. "I detest nothing so much as a merely devout man," he said, "all of you are wallowing in devotion to your college, a sty full of figs and radishes."⁶⁸¹ The expression is vehement, perhaps even rash; but it represents the genuine feeling of a man who was ready to back his words with the sacrifice of his life. That story, however, belongs to the next reign.

Looking back upon the activities of Portugal in Abyssinia during this reign, the attentive observer is struck by the number of tragic might-have-beens. If in 1524 Captain Hector da Silveira had come a little earlier to Massawa for Father Alvares and Roderick da Lima, in time to take them straight home; if Father Alvares had returned at once as patriarch with a dozen priests like himself, and the artisans that the Negus had asked

for; and if some brigade of Portuguese like the Four Hundred of Christopher da Gama had rushed to support Lebna Denghel against his Somali invaders; what a different history the land of Prester John might have had!

It was certainly not the fault of King John that these possibilities did not become facts. In 1546 he showed that he discerned the root of the principal difficulties, which frustrated so much of the goodwill that the leaders of Portugal nourished towards the Abyssinians. He urged the Negus Cladius (Lebna Denghel) to open up some expeditious road from Malindi into his country, some road that would not be dominated by the Arabs or the Gallas. Roads are the great bearers of civilisation, as the old Romans proved. It was reserved for the twentieth century and the new Romans to make Abyssinia thus accessible to the full influences of European culture.

CHAPTER XV.

ORIGINS OF LOURENCO MARQUES.

THE TOWN OF Lourenco Marques began its commercial existence in this reign, as a trading centre for the barter of ivory. The beautiful site of the town and the glorious bay upon which it stands were first discovered by John da Nova in 1501.⁶⁸² This fact has been preserved by the diligence of the Lisbon agent of the Duke of Ferrara, Albert Cantino. In 1502 he bought a map, just engraved, which marks the Rio da Lagoa, or the River of the Lake. The enterprising engraver who made this map could not have obtained this detail from Vasco da Gama or Peter Alvares Cabral, because their log books definitely rule it out, and show that neither of them called there. Nova returned to Lisbon in September of 1502, and would be just in time to help this nameless Portuguese cartographer, who was evidently on the watch for the latest information from overseas.

The bay received its name from this river that flows into it. Under the modern and mutilated form of Delagoa Bay this name has endured. The lake which, according to the first tribes that the Portuguese first met here, was the source of the Rio da Lagoa, was far inland. Bit by bit the map-makers improved their maps, as new data were brought to Lisbon.

Meantime the scientific writers pieced together the information that filtered through, and tried new hypotheses to reconcile it with other facts that ancient scientists seemed to have established. It is the same process used by our contemporary teachers of science for the people. In this way John de Barros thought he described new facts to confirm the old views of the Greek geographer, Claude Ptolemy.⁶⁸³ Here was the great southern lake of Ptolemy near the Mountains of the Moon. Two rivers issued from it. By hidden channels one went north and became the Nile. The River of the Lake came south, and evidently had two arms: the Zambesi, and this new Rio da Lagoa which the Portuguese later called the River of the Holy Ghost. But before long the Portuguese discovered that there were really four large rivers here, and that the Lake was a myth of the Tembe tribes, whilst the Zambesi had a separate and independent life of its own. Thus the bottom fell out of the latest theory of the science of that day, because the fact upon which it was based did not bear

the test of more thorough examination. Like the discovery of the N-rays by the scientists of the year 1900, this theory of Barros fell to pieces.

Ivory was found on the Zambesi River before the great market of ivory was opened at Delagoa Bay. This is clear from a letter that Gonsalo Pinto d'Araujo wrote to the King in 1545, informing him that a new trading station had been opened on the Cuama River, as they then called the Zambesi.⁶⁸⁴ "If I had three thousand *pardaos*, I could bring from there two hundred bars of ivory." This would seem to indicate some private enterprise of nameless persons, before the royal trading station was inaugurated by Lourenço Marques.

Such private ventures were common enough in those daring times. Ivory was one of the staples of ancient trade that the Portuguese expected to find on the Sofala coast. Duarte Pacheco Pereira had written and must often have declared in the hearing of his men, that from Sofala "the very wise King Solomon obtained 420 talents of gold."⁶⁸⁵ What more natural to expect than that the same ships of Tarshish brought ivory also from the same coast? The author of the *Third Book of Kings*,⁶⁸⁶ quoted by Pacheco, stated distinctly that Hiram's navy was freighted with ivory as well as gold. "Moreover, the King (Solomon) made a great throne of ivory and overlaid it with the best gold."

In addition to this, nearly all the Portuguese captains had studied the works of the younger Pliny at school, and some of them carried copies of them in their trunks when they went overseas. Pliny himself had shown them how a man could enjoy his writing-tablets in the intervals of fishing and hunting.⁶⁸⁷ In the much longer intervals of leisure during the long voyage round the Cape of Good Hope, and in the long warm nights on the Mozambique coast, more than ever was it possible to enjoy Pliny's tales about the elephants of Africa and their ivory. Pacheco, who went from school to sea, and spent most of his life exploring and fighting in the east and west, quotes Pliny often.

But the Portuguese did not swear by any author of past times when they had the opportunity of testing matters for themselves. An explicit warning in regard to Pliny is given by the scientist, Garcia de Orta, who at this time was working in India. He notes that Pliny's knowledge about elephants and ivory was confined to India and North Africa,⁶⁸⁸ and that much of what he relates is mere hearsay; as when he asserts that the soul of the elephant drags serpents out of their holes. "I know nothing of the kind," Orta added, "because I have never seen such a thing, nor have I even heard of it on reliable evidence." What Garcia de Orta

did gather from his own observations was that there existed a great demand for ivory in India both for artistic and medicinal use, that high prices were paid for it, and that the supply from India itself and from North Africa did not suffice to meet the demand.

Being a devoted physician and scientist, he cared little about making money, and was lavish in imparting the knowledge he acquired. But the conditions of life that he describes so vividly make it plain that many of the Portuguese traders in India must have cast longing eyes upon the coast of East Africa, and were anxious to explore its possibilities of supplying ivory to the Indian market. The letter of Gonsalo d'Araujo already mentioned records one of the private efforts made to enter that promising source of supply.

It also explains the letter that the Viceroy John de Castro wrote to the King in the first week of August, 1545.⁶⁸⁹ "Some days ago Dom George sent Captain Lourenço Marques in a pinnace to make investigations along two rivers beyond Cape Correntes, one in latitude 25 degrees and the other in 26 degrees, both thickly populated with blacks and well supplied with provisions. On the first river they were shown copper, and were told that many copper mines existed, so that they could have all that they were prepared to buy. On the second river they saw large troops of elephants, and the negroes offered to sell them ivory. They discussed prices, agreeing to accept a few beads valued at about three pence for one *bar* of ivory, which in India would fetch one hundred *cruzados* or thereabouts. I think that as soon as the Treasurer of India arrives here, he should send a pinnace to report, so that we may know how the matter really stands; because it would be a great advantage to the treasury of Your Highness if we could obtain this copper, especially if it be as good as this man says it is."

The Dom George mentioned in this letter was George Teles de Meneses, governor of the fortress of Mozambique, who had apparently heard of a private traffic already begun there. This we gather from the fact that the Bantu offered to do business in ivory and copper, presumably because they had done business with other whites. The captain of the fortress of Mozambique was also admiral of the patrol fleet of this coast; and it was his duty to enquire into such breaches of the national monopoly, and to report to Goa. The Viceroy's suggestion to the King meant that the best way to suppress this irregular traffic was to have a regular trade carried on by officials of the country.

It is characteristic of John de Castro that he should have taken more interest in the copper mines of Manisa than in the large income to be derived from a roaring trade in ivory with the Tembe tribes. The King's navy was for him the backbone of the Empire, and his chief aim was to keep it equipped to sustain any shock from Turks or hostile rajahs of India. Copper in abundance was needed for naval and fortress guns, for ship fittings, for muskets and for the warehouses of the fleet.

King John answered by the return mail,⁶⁹⁰ dating his letter the eighth of March, 1546, just seven months after the date of Castro's. In acknowledging the important possibilities of this new opening, the King ordered the Viceroy to make a trial expedition, furnishing Captain Lourenço Marques with all the merchandise necessary to make a full and profitable barter. In this way a practical test could be made of what amount of trade really existed there. "Although I suggest your entrusting this enterprise to Captain Lourenço Marques, as he has already had some experience in that region, you need not send him unless you are satisfied that you have on the spot no more competent person for the task."

This did not imply any doubt on the King's part about the capacity of Lourenço Marques himself. Of his capacity the King had personal knowledge. Nineteen years before this Lourenço had sailed from the Azores to Lisbon in a scout ship, to warn the King of the presence of French pirates lurking in the islands to attack the rich Indian fleet. The warning came in time to enable Castanheira to improvise a strong convoy under Diogo da Silva, and to bring the cargoes safe to the Lisbon market. The King had therefore reason to know that this captain was a man of energy.⁶⁹¹ Perhaps he merely wished to show his confidence in the Viceroy and the capable staff that he was training overseas.

At any rate, the yearly visits seem to have begun in 1548, and they took place in the early months of the year, sometimes twice a year. The handful of survivors of the wrecked galleon, *Saint John*, in 1553 were saved by one of these ivory ships, which was under the command of a relation of Diogo de Mesquita, then governor of Mozambique. The tusks of elephants were useful ballast in a caravel which had more than a fair share of passengers through the presence of these unexpected guests. By carefully packing and padding the broad packages of ivory, they were made to serve as couches for the exhausted men rescued.

Two years later the remnants of the passengers of the galleon *Saint Benedict* struggled as far as Delagoa Bay, and were surprised to find the Bantu of many tribes over-adorned

with beads from the King's warehouse. These were clear tokens of the liveliness of the ivory trade. That year the ivory ship was in charge of Sebastian de Lemos, who had been commissioned by Diogo de Sousa, governor of Mozambique. Once more the shipwrecked exiles had reason to thank God for the existence of the ivory trade.

Very little of this ivory went to Europe. We have a full account of its destination by the chatty scientist, Garcia de Orta, who was in Goa at this time, and in constant touch with all classes of the land, being a popular physician. Though busy in his profession, he had an attentive eye for every phenomenon of interest to the average man. The universities of Salamanca, Alcalá and Coimbra had trained his powers of observation, and taught him how important personal experiment was in matters scientific; but everything human remained a matter of interest to him during his thirty years of residence in that caravansarai of all humanity, Portuguese India.

What happens to all the ivory from Delagoa Bay? Orta was asked this question by a person who was surprised that it came to India at all, as there seemed to be enough elephants in the country to supply all needs. They were to be found in Ceylon, Bengal, the Deccan, Orissa, Pegu, Siam and many other places. These countries absorbed the local production of ivory in the manufacture of ornamental boxes and combs. Practically all the Sofala ivory went to the Cambaia province of India, though a small quantity went to China. Whether the annual cargo from East Africa was large or small, it was snapped up at once for making bracelets, most fashionable among the wives and daughters of the rich Hindu merchants, who were called Banyans. One lady would wear as many as twenty of these; and "the Zoroastrian religion," says Orta, "had a ritual that induced them to destroy their armlets often, and then renew them."

If the price mentioned in John de Castro's letter was maintained, as seems likely from the steady demand, then the Indian market of Sofala ivory was most valuable. A *bar* of sixteen *arrateis* was worth one hundred *cruzados*.⁶⁹² The annual cargo amounted on the average to two thousand *bars*. Thus the gross value of a year's trade was 150,000 *cruzados*, or about one hundred thousand pounds. The only deductions to be made were the cost of transport (including wages and the maintenance of the crews), the value of the cheap beads purchased for barter, and the royalties for the benefit of the Government of India.

This last is probably the largest item on the debit side of the account. Though full reports are lacking, we learn from the letters of Simon Botelho,⁶⁹³ treasurer of India, that the Goa government collected a tax in kind of about 150 *bars* of ivory every year from the traders of Delagoa Bay. As this would amount to about ten per cent. of the net profit, it seems to confirm Orta's estimate of the total amount of the trade. For some reason not stated, only twenty *bars* of ivory were paid into the King's warehouse at Goa in the early months of the year 1552. Whether this shortage was made up later in the year, we do not know. But there seems no reason to doubt that the average mentioned by Garcia de Orta, who lived on the spot, was maintained over the long period that he had in mind when he wrote in 1563.

The profits of this trade seem sometimes to have been partly a perquisite of the Governor of Mozambique, who superintended all the details of the business and made the appointments of the officials who carried it out year by year.

But besides the manufacture of ornaments, were there not other uses to which the ivory of Sofala was put? This question was asked of Orta by a Spanish doctor, Dimas Bosque,⁶⁹⁴ who came to India for the purpose of special research in medicine. "Let us leave aside the teaching of the Arabs," continued the Spaniard, "as they blunder in describing the simplest things. They stumble so badly on the very threshold, that they give us nothing that we can trust or that we would risk the health of our patients by using." But Gerard of Cremona says that there is in India a valuable drug made from the tusks and bones of elephants, which is a species of the drug that we call *espodio*.

That is a mistake, replied Orta. There is only one real medicine of that name in the stock of genuine remedies, and it is a metal, as nothing of the kind is found in the vegetable world. It all arose out of a mistranslation of Avicenna by "that Terentian Davis called Gerard of Cremona, who muddled everything." Orta points out that the Arabs, Persians and Indians know nothing of this extract of elephant's bone.

"With the mineral *espodio* I once cured of cholera a Portuguese from Matosinhos, who had become confidential adviser of the Nizam Oxa⁶⁹⁵ of the Deccan. They were afraid that the Muslim doctors would finish him off through jealousy with poison. Although he conformed outwardly to Islam, at heart he remained a Christian; and he was a rich and generous benefactor to the Portuguese poor, to the churches and to our charities. He promised me to come home with me to Portugal,

and I had obtained a pardon for his apostasy from the Viceroy; but the Devil got the better of him at Calabarga, where he died in battle."

Then he adds emphatically that the elephant *espodio* is a fraud; "because when an elephant dies, the Kafirs eat the flesh and throw the bones away." But for purposes of trade, they do not wait for them to die. They catch them with snares made of the trunks of trees, and then kill them. This trade in ivory on the east coast of Africa was an ancient one, as all the Portuguese captains knew, because they had all read the famous voyages of Marco Polo. In all the rest of the world that Marco had visited, he declares that he never saw so many tusks of elephants for sale as at Zanzibar and Mogadishu.⁶⁹⁷ Yet in all India nobody thought of importing this ivory for medicinal use.

The experiences of the Portuguese on this coast of Africa, however, convinced Garcia de Orta that Pliny needed revision in two points at least. "It may be that somewhere medicine is made of elephant's liver and ivory scrapings; but I know nothing about it, and it is certainly not done here." Where Pliny was found positively wrong was when he asserted that the elephant goes in search of the wild olive for a cure when he is poisoned, and that he eats the juice of barley when he suffers from headache. Neither the wild olive nor barley are found in these regions of Africa, concludes Orta.

This frank writer illustrates in a lively way how genuine science in all times is a steady fight against scientific beliefs and conventions. These need to be constantly re-examined in the light of new experience, and if necessary revised. The crucial test must always be that of this Portuguese botanist of the sixteenth century: "If you talk to me of plants, produce a specimen." This principle he laid down in reply to a botanist of great repute in India, who asserted the existence of a new species, because he thought it ought to exist in Sofala. The famous man was a clever talker, a deep philosopher, and could quote many authors in Latin, Greek and Hebrew. Respectfully, but firmly, Orta replied that a minor luminary like himself might light upon some truth that had been hidden from the great luminaries of the past. "All my courtesies failed to convince him," adds Orta, "but at least I behaved myself sufficiently not to laugh in the great man's presence, though a lawyer who heard our debate was not so polite."

In no age can the average man attain much of this high quality of scientific knowledge, based on personal experiment. He lacks the time or the ability (sometimes both) necessary to

attain it. Science is for him what he believes on the authority of his favourite scientists, and it is therefore a species of faith. Every specialist is in the same position in regard to the sciences in which he is not a specialist. He accepts as proved the conclusions of other specialists in their own fields, having faith in their authority.

This is what Garcia de Orta was obliged to do with regard to the fauna of the watersheds of the various rivers behind Delagoa Bay. Travellers who had visited this territory assured him that this was the happy hunting ground of the unicorn, described by Pliny and Strabo. Many doubtful things he had been told which were not worth repeating, but men of standing had recounted this much. "Between the Cape of Good Hope and Cape Corrientes they saw wild beasts which, though they loved the water, were land animals. The head was shaped like a sea horse, and they had one horn which they raised and lowered, moving it right and left like a finger. This brute could fight an elephant savagely, and wound it with its horn, which is two spans long. The horn is said to be a cure for poisoning, when scraped and mixed with disulphide of arsenic."⁶⁹⁹ I leave others who know more than I do to say more. God grant that knowledge may be increased." He evidently means us to understand what he says expressly elsewhere, that "we can only credit what we see and hear" on good authority.

But what a striking account of South Africa and all India Garcia de Orta would have given us, if he had been able to carry out the wide plans of research which he sketched for himself! He laments the comparative failure himself, and gives two reasons for it. First there were the ties of his post as chief medical officer in India; and the government would not give him leave to visit Mozambique, the Zambesi and Delagoa Bay, as he desired to do. "It was not that there was a lack of learned doctors here, but on account of my age and experience the government insisted that I should remain at Goa."

Orta tried also to inspan the traders who visited the Sofala coast to supply him with data about the conditions of the trade there, its flowers and animals. But they were indifferent in spite of many promises, as their job was making money, and it absorbed all their energies. But luckily he has preserved such information as he was able to gather. What he feared most was the sarcasm of his fellow-scientists in Europe, when they did not always find in his pages the solemn conventionalities that they expected. The dangers of this firing line he also faced, and we owe him our thanks for his bravery in preserving so much of the

current talk of contemporary scientists about the rivers behind Delagoa Bay.

During the reign of John III the ivory traders do not seem to have erected any buildings in this area strong enough to be defended by a small force, as the traders always were. As late as 1555 we find the survivors of the wreck of the *Saint Benedict* housed on the ship of Sebastian de Lemos whilst waiting to sail, a sign that there were no suitable huts or warehouses to accommodate them.

Though most of the local tribes were friendly and anxious to do business, the Portuguese felt safer behind their own guns on the ship. They refused to risk the hostile attentions of some fickle induna like Masamana, who on this occasion made a murderous and unexpected attack upon them.⁷⁰⁰ His master, the Great Chief of the Tembe, was indignant indeed at the conduct of his vassals, which was calculated to ruin his share of the ivory trade. Yet he arrived too late on the scene to save the Portuguese, if they had not got their blow in first.

At this time the classical name of the Rio da Lagoa was already giving way to the popular name, River of Lourenço Marques. It first appears in a written document of 1554, when Alvaro Fernandes used it in describing how the survivors of the wreck of the *Saint John* arrived there after three months of suffering. But he wrongly identifies it with the River da Boa Paz.

This error was to cause some disappointment to the survivors of the next wreck, the *Saint Benedict*, because it had been incorporated in the charts by which they guided their movements towards the north. The names Watering Place of Sweet Peace (Boa Paz) and Land of the Friendly People (Boa Gente) were inherited from the days of Vasco da Gama.⁷⁰¹ They indicated the site of the present town of Inhambane; and the river mentioned was the Inharrime, which is nearly three hundred miles from the central river that flows into Delagoa Bay. When the weary travellers first discovered their mistake, it looked as if they still had to cover all this distance before they could reach the ships to take them to Mozambique. As we shall see later, however, it was a case of twin mistakes that cancelled one another.

Vasco da Gama gave the tribes of this area the good name that they fully deserved until 1894, when Gungunyana arose. Uncivilised races are exactly like civilised nations in one point: their character is not a fixed or constant set of qualities. Patriotic writers, indeed, speak of their own nations as liberty loving or

orderly; but such epithets fit all nations at some time, and no nation all the time. For good or for ill, the character of any group of human beings is formed largely by the leaders who somehow win their consent or dominate them, or even by the abnormal conditions of some long crisis in their history. Gungunyana was a forceful barbarian who hated the European, and for a generation roused his subjects against the Portuguese until he was subdued. But Junod, who spent his life in this area, tells us that for three centuries before Gungunyana the Bantu tribes had remained with the friendly qualities that Vasco da Gama's pilot had placed on record, and that they retained the same tribal names that are to be found in the descriptions of writers of the reign of John III.

"The people of this country (the Inhambane area) are of the Mocaranga nation, a nation friendly to us," writes Perestrelo in 1576,⁷⁰² when by royal command he made a detailed survey of the coast from the Cape of Good Hope to Cape Corrientes in a small ship. This was the same pilot who had tramped the whole way inland of the same coast in 1554, from the Transkei to Delagoa Bay. In his account of the country he mentions the names of five chiefs whom he met, whose tribes lived along the banks of the three rivers that flowed into Delagoa Bay. Their names are Tembe, Inyaka, Rumo, Lebombo and Manyisa.

Was Macaranga, our modern Makalanga, the generic name of all the tribes along these great rivers from the Zambesi to Delagoa Bay? It seems likely, because even to-day the name is applied to a large number of tribes in that part of Rhodesia which adjoins Portuguese territory.⁷⁰³ Theodore Bent found that all the tribes in the Zimbabwe area and down the Sabi River to the sea, when questioned as to their nationality, called themselves Makalangas. In the days of King John III their paramount chief seems to have been at the head of a loose confederation of tribes, which was commonly called the empire of Monomotapa. This obvious inference from the facts recorded is confirmed by Father John dos Santos, who wrote some thirty years after Perestrelo, "The Monomotapa and all his vassals are Mocarangas, a name which they have because they live in the land of Mocaranga, and talk the language called Mocaranga, which is the best and the most polished of all the Kafir languages that I have seen in this Ethiopia."

This last remark of Father dos Santos is typical of the care that these early Portuguese travellers took to be accurate in retailing the names of the new peoples and new things that they met. The historian Diogo de Couto shows how they found the Indian languages and customs more difficult to transliterate than

the Bantu. This important passage deserves to be translated in full.⁷⁰⁴

"In the course of this history we shall give many names of cities, towns, rivers, capes and many other things that are adulterated by the Italian writers who came to India before the Portuguese, such as the Venetian Marco Polo, Micer de 'Conti and others. Changing syllables and letters from one translation to another, they lost the true names altogether, and very few names that they gave are recognised to-day in the East. Let us say nothing of the Greeks and the Latins. That is an immense abyss out of which great confusion has arisen in the names of the drugs. The data furnished by the Muslim and the Hindus have given us no small labour. Because after writing a proper name with the very letters that they give us, they do not recognise it, when we repeat it using the pronunciation of our memorandum."

The Hindu languages, Arabic, Persian and Turkish, contained so many strange sounds and letters, that the Portuguese were as little able to transliterate them perfectly as we are to-day. But though the Kafirs indulged in many hiccups (as the Portuguese called the clicks), the generally liquid sounds of the Bantu dialects were easy to represent in the characters of a Romance language like Portuguese. Hence the great value of these records.

With these and the aid of the tribal traditions, we are able to trace back the history of these Delagoa Bay races almost to the beginning of the Avis dynasty of Portugal, the end of the fourteenth century.⁷⁰⁵ The idea of a great Bantu empire was a very natural delusion in the minds of the Portuguese pioneers, which gradually faded away as they came closer to the realities of Kafir life. There are, in fact, two such Bantu empires in the literature of the reign of John III.

The first was that of the Congo, popularly estimated to stretch from the estuary of the Gabun River, almost on the equator, down to the thirstland of the Kalahari desert. They called it Manicongo. The second was the empire of Monomotapa, which extended from Zanzibar to Natal. But the southern extremity of both these empires was vague and movable in detail. In both cases it was popularly stated to be the Cape of Good Hope.

But the inland area of the Cape Province of South Africa was so little visited by the Portuguese of this reign, that they never knew that there were no Bantu tribes there at all, and few within the area of the Union of South Africa.⁷⁰⁶ If they had known that it was mainly inhabited, in so far as it was inhabited

at all, by Bushmen and Hottentots, they might have conceived it as forming a third empire of light-skinned folk. Diogo Cão must have seen the Hottentots on the Damara coast in 1485, but he left no record of his journey. Bartholomew Dias saw them in a bay somewhere east of Cape Agulhas, which he called Angra dos Vaqueiros, the Bay of the Cowherds, because they seemed to possess abundant herds of cattle. But they were a shy people and fled on his approach. The Portuguese had little incentive to cultivate their acquaintance after the disaster that befell Francis de Almeida in 1510 at Table Bay. Trade meant nothing to these barbarians, and a punitive expedition seemed absurd.

The Bantu were a friendlier race. Both in the Congo and on the rivers of the east coast, they had a tradition of intercourse with Berbers, Arabs and probably Egyptians. The Makalangas had a large infusion of Persian, Arab and Indian blood as well. Their tradition of a Congo contact is confirmed by the visit that Martin Afonso paid them in 1498 at Inhambane, when he was interpreter of the first expedition of Vasco da Gama. Afonso had lived many years in Manicongo; and not only did the Makalangas understand him well, but Damian de Goes has preserved the contemporary opinion that these tall Kafirs of the Limpopo area had been in contact with those of the Guinea coast.⁷⁰⁷ We are therefore not surprised to find that in 1554 Perestrelo, after passing through Pondoland and Natal, found in the Delagoa Bay region the first tribes that would accept money as payment for the meat and millet that the weary travellers needed. Their business instinct had evidently been developed by tribal contacts with the traders of the other coast, as barter was as yet the only method of the east coast.

It was the Tonga branch of the Bantu migration to the south that settled in north Zululand and Portuguese territory. In Pondoland the tribes that were met by the survivors of the galleon *Saint John* were the Ama-Lala, according to a Bantu writer, J. H. Soga, who lived in Zululand. These Makanargas of the smallest branch were famous as skilled workers in ore, and their only demand from the Portuguese was for nails and scrap iron.⁷⁰⁸

A certain amount of conventional nonsense has been written in scientific books about the fundamental differences between the European and the Bantu. Differences in colour, racial features and bodily measurements clearly exist; but the Portuguese judged rightly that the basic human character was the same. Yet even the humane and experienced Dr. Theal⁷⁰⁹ can pen these lines as a distinguishing trait of the natives of South Africa. "Though at

times the Bantu presented the appearance of a peaceable, good-natured, indolent people, they were subject to outbursts of great excitement, when the most savage passions had free play." After the thirty years of the World War that began in 1914, it is evident that the description fits the European and the North American in their periods of passion like a tailored suit. All that Christian civilisation can do is to provide the antidote of sane teaching and the spiritual means of self-control; but it cannot compel the practice of charity, or even-handed justice, or Christian peace. The impulses of all men, primitive or cultured, are substantially the same. The differences are brought about by the degree in which knowledge and self-control are voluntarily and effectively applied by individuals of the tribes and civilised nations. The science of to-day has supplied the politicians in office with the most fearfully effective means of substituting for the truth, such statements as are calculated to drive the masses into frenzy.

The Portuguese held that the Christian faith was the one incomparable means of acquiring that self-control and self-discipline, which are the safest guarantee of humane conduct. In this course they saw clearly that the Bantu was more heavily handicapped than the European, as the latter had the Christian tradition of his people behind him, and the atmosphere of a Christian land around him. The inevitable failures among a barbarian people, in beginning the great ascent of the Christian ideals, was to the Portuguese no reason why the Bantu should not take the first steps in the Christian way of life. When they met on the great rivers or in the kraals some outstanding specimen of native manhood, they would note what a fine Christian he would make, if he could learn to prune his mind of the witchcraft, the polygamy and other base practices of primitive races, which degrade and defile the character.

Such a mind, naturally Christian, was the son of the Makalanga chief of the Rio da Boa Paz, whose name was Gamba. In the last year of the reign of John III, he went for a trip to Mozambique in the ivory caravel of the year from Inhambane. At Mozambique he was greatly impressed with what he saw of the Christian faith, and with the conduct of the Portuguese Christians whom he met. At his own request he was duly instructed in the tenets of the faith of Christ, and received into the Catholic Church. At his baptism in the Church of St. Gabriel his godfather was the governor of Mozambique, Sebastian de Sá.⁷¹⁰ This was the first link in a chain of events that brought Father Gonsalo da Silveira to Inhambane from Goa, and opened

up the Jesuit and Dominican missions of this coast in the next reign, to which the full story belongs.

Among the admirable traits of the Portuguese that evoked a human response in the hearts of the natives was the respect that the Portuguese captains generally showed towards the authority of the local chiefs. "Neither here (at Inhambane) nor at Delagoa Bay did the Portuguese authorities attempt to exercise the slightest control over Bantu inhabitants," writes Dr. Theal. In all their business transactions they dealt with the chiefs only, leaving them to exercise their authority over their own people.

This conduct of the Portuguese was in agreement with the medieval doctrine about freedom and authority.⁷¹¹ Conquest conferred no absolute rights, even when the conquered nations were heathen or Muslim. Thus, when the treacherous Sultan Bahadur was beaten in 1534, "a treaty of love and friendship" was signed with him as head of his state "under the following just and honourable conditions." Fair trade arrangements were then detailed. Guarantees were given for the freedom of the Islamic religion of the people, the mosques would continue to receive their customary subsidies out of the revenues of Bassain, and no interference with their religious rites or preaching would be allowed.

This treaty and many others, as well as the dealings with the Kafirs of Delagoa Bay, were conceived in the spirit of the admirable principles of the age, formulated for example in 1440 by the chaplain of King Charles VI of France for the use of the Dauphin.⁷¹² "Since according to the Holy Scriptures we ought not, and cannot, compel or force an unbeliever to accept the Holy Faith or baptism, we must leave them in their free will which God has given them. Therefore, if we cannot make war upon them to impose the Holy Faith, how should we be justified in making war upon them for the sake of the property which they possess? Certainly reason never indicated such a thing."

It is this medieval spirit that makes the narratives of men like Alvaro Fernandes, Manuel de Mesquita Perestrelo, Lavanha, John de Barros and Diogo de Couto, more real descriptions of Bantu life than the scientific work of many modern specialists. These nearly always neglect the individual with his personal characteristics, his virtues, points of view and his vices. We find ourselves in an anthropological museum, where there are indeed individual specimens, but used only to deduce the laws of their tribal life—social, political, economic and religious. Bantu

characters of individuals of all kinds abound in Portuguese literature.

There is the chief of Inyaka with his likeness to the viceroy Garcia de Sá. At Inhambane we read of the chief Gamba, whose father was a Makalanga invader from the north and the founder of the Gwambe clan. They settled in the midst of the three main groups that emigrated from south Rhodesia, and clustered around the lagoon of Inharrime. This area is now called the Ba-Chopi country, and Junod tells us that most of the little kingdoms mentioned by the Portuguese of the early sixteenth century still existed in 1913.⁷¹³

These Portuguese chroniclers supply us with facts which give us the means of fixing the most remote date yet attained in the concrete history of the Bantu race on this coast. Junod, with his unrivalled experience of native life in these regions, has pieced together some of these facts, and indicated their general historical significance. We are able to go further, so as to fill out his sketch in greater detail, and extend it.

The historian Diogo de Couto describes the inhabitants of the Lebombo hills at this time. "The people of these forests speak the same language as the Vumo and the Anzete, their neighbours, and both men and women are so tall as to seem giants." The Vumo and the Anzete are those clans that we call the Mpumfumo and the Tembe. The Tembe came originally from Mashonaland, and by this time they had adopted the more primitive dialect of the neighbouring tribes which they found in settled possession.⁷¹⁴ Junod made long enquiries about this phenomenon, and found that it was a rule for the newcomers in these parts to lose their language. We may account for this mainly by the warlike and turbulent spirit of the invaders, always at civil war through the rivalries of their own chiefs. But the process of assimilating the language of the more indolent, and consequently more prolific, pioneer tribes would be a long process. Junod estimates that normally it would take a century, and the tribal traditions would indicate that they were two centuries in the land. This would bring their irruption into the area of Delagoa Bay back to the year 1350.

This is a significant date. It was the period of the Black Death in Europe (1348-51), Asia and Africa, whose ravages in Florence have been graphically described by Boccaccio in the preface of his *Decameron*.⁷¹⁵ Even in that cultured centre of the most cultured nation of Europe, science could do little to help, somewhat less than our science could do to prevent the immense holocausts of the Spanish Influenza of 1918. In Florence men

and women fled from the cities and from all contact with the stricken, as so many did even in our day. Though we have no record of the Black Death's havoc in the filthy kraals of the Bantu, it needs no novelist's imagination to guess that they, too, fled from the awful contagion which came to them from the north, as its breeding-place was in the fetid towns of central Asia.

Döhne, in the historical introduction to his Dictionary, thought that a contributory cause of the Bantu exodus from the north was the persecution of the Islamic Arabs,⁷¹⁶ "who drove to the coast all those who were unwilling to receive the Prophet's religion." But it is difficult to conceive the Bantu offering any serious resistance to the sect of Islam. Where it has taken root among them it is just a thin veneer of the primitive African beliefs and rites. Originally Islam was a light extract of the popular Christianity of the unlettered Christians on the border of Syria, and it was boiled down still further to suit the intelligence of the primitive tribes of Arabia. Long before Islam appeared in Africa, the aboriginal tribes believed in heaven, the immortal spirits of their ancestors, and in circumcision as a religious rite.⁷¹⁷ It would have cost them nothing to accept the rest of the Arabs' teaching. What they probably did flee from was the Arab slave raider, as we know from many sources that the Bantu was a welcome slave among the Persian and Arabian landowners, and he received his name of Kafir from them.

A scholar of Bantu race, J. M. Soga, doubts whether any main stream of Bantu immigration into South Africa is discoverable now, and his conclusion is based upon a study of his own people in Zululand and Natal.⁷¹⁸ Dr. Frobenius, however, goes beyond the evidence on the negative side when he denies that the tribes of the East Coast have a common fund of ideas and customs, which he calls culture. And this because they have different forms of government, the one set a disciplined organisation of military type and the other set a community of religious form. This division is too airy to be the basis of any historical judgment. An educated Xosa-Kafir recalls us to common sense when he remarks that traditions must be tested by philology. This is especially true when it is a question of traditions gathered up, no matter how laboriously, by the impressionable folklorist.

The danger of the folklore approach to historical knowledge is seen in the chapter where Dr. Frobenius devotes many pages to the mystic symbolism of tales of the holy king-murder. The proneness to murder their kings is one of the commonest facts of Bantu life. The alleged mysticism is rather a primitive attempt to justify it.* It is as little the cause of these barbarities, as the

ideologies of our politicians are the causes of the appalling policies that nations are sometimes led to pursue. Ambition is one of the permanent factors of human life, national and tribal. Man, whether barbarian or civilised, endeavours to cover it with a veil of decency. Hence the military system and the mystical system do not divide the tribes into separate cultural groups, and any historical conclusion based on this fallacy is worthless.

But Dr. Frobenius is on firmer ground when he points out the importance of the Zimbabwe ruins, the ancient mine-workings of Mashonaland, the Transvaal and Portuguese territory, in the history of the Bantu of this region. We do not yet know the full significance of these documents in stone, sand and working tools. We find a wealth of racial allusions, colours, forms of tribal government, buildings in ruin, mines, rock pictures and styles of art. "No country in the world is so rich in these documents of otherwise unrecorded history of human culture as South Africa." But all these documents are written in cypher, and the key has not been found.¹⁹

"Most of the first Europeans who came to South Africa flew through the land like arrows shot through the tops of trees," says Frobenius. The Arabs, who were here for centuries before the Portuguese, were unobservant and took no interest in "unbelievers" like the natives. The Portuguese of King John's day, despite their curiosity about the Zimbabwe ruins, could get no information on the spot about their origin. The natives were sure of one thing only, and that was the meaning of the word Zimbabwe, a royal palace. Who the kings were that built these palaces no one seemed to know, and they never dreamed of boasting that Bantu had done this. The Devil was the only builder then could think of, when pressed for a reply; and this was their way of saying that it was the work of beings much higher in the scale of knowledge than they were, and apparently not over-benevolent.

Did the Portuguese now meet the last remnants of a civilisation which had long died before the arrival of the Bantu in this area? The whole of this country is riddled with ancient workings of mines: gold in Rhodesia, copper and tin in the Transvaal and Portuguese East Africa. The ancient workers showed expert geological knowledge of the whole area, as Dr. Frobenius in his many explorations found no modern working which did not border on some ancient mine. His own examination of a mine in Rooiberg convinced him that it must have been empty for a thousand years. Tempered steel was also found made by a process made in ancient India, but traceable to the Phoenicians

and Cretans. Certain details of the immense collection of rock pictures, popularly called Bushman paintings, disclose a remote antiquity,⁷²⁰ and they give solid grounds for holding that most of them are the degenerate output of a fading culture of a high level.

In and under the Zimbabwe type of storehouses we find metals that indicate an historic connection with the mines. The Italian anthropologist, Dr. Cipriani, claims to have found skeletons, on the middle Zambesi, of a higher type of African blacks who have since degenerated into the Bantu, and who may have originated from the fusion of the foreign Zimbabwe builders with the African races they met.⁷²¹

Were these Zimbabwe ruins the remains of that Sumerian culture which certainly touched these shores of the Indian Ocean? On this African coast, as far back as 3000 B.C., Sumerian trade was seeking raw materials for its arts.⁷²² If it entered Rhodesia, it certainly did so from the Sofala coast, as the Portuguese entered. Were these the relics of some of the other oriental cultures that succeeded the Sumerian in the basin of the Indian Ocean? What the Portuguese of the sixteenth century thought of the matter will be told in a separate chapter. Some lucky chance may yet bring more positive data from the decaying ruins of Southern Rhodesia. The ruins of the Mozambique coast still remain to be searched, and until this is done the possibilities of solving the riddle are not exhausted. Faced with this riddle now, we can only ask questions, as John de Barros did.

A distinguished archaeologist who paid a flying visit to South Africa, to examine the Zimbabwe mystery, has recorded the conventional view of most foreigners who come to South Africa in a hurry: that the trade between Portuguese India and Monomotapa "was sadly crippled by Portuguese bungling and truly European contempt."⁷²³ Mistakes the Portuguese made, as all mortals do; but they were the first to confess them. Their trade on this coast, however, was not only a great success, but it benefited the tribes permanently, and lifted their status in the world. Sympathy, not contempt, is the characteristic of Portuguese literature about the Bantu of Monomotapa.

So far were they from feeling any contempt for the Bantu that Barros, who sets aside the notion of a Bantu origin of Zimbabwe on scientific grounds that have never been refuted, is most sympathetic in recounting the customs and methods of native life. He deals with them at great length, and in the same vein of friendly criticism, in which he would discuss the French or the English. Being a practical Christian, he could not conceive

that inhuman contempt of these childlike barbarians which the pagan Greeks displayed towards every people of inferior culture.

In following the story of the ivory trade of Lourenço Marques, an obvious question arises. Why did King John open the trade at this distant centre, when ivory was to be obtained along the whole coast up to Mogadishu? In 1503 Rui Lourenço Ravaresco captured two dhows belonging to Mombasa, which were so full of ivory that he threw away the stone ballast of his ship and substituted ivory. Hans Mayr,⁷²⁴ who was with the Viceroy Francis de Almeida in the siege of Mombasa, notes that the ivory tusks and ornaments were a considerable part of the booty. And Duarte Barbosa was able to purchase ivory in Sofala for three or four ducats per *quintal*.

The mission of Lourenço Marques to Delagoa Bay was in reality a sound move in the Portuguese policy of freeing the natives from the trade domination of the Arabs. By this time the Portuguese had become fully convinced that no conciliation, even in trade, was possible with the Arab traders. With the majority of the sheikhs of the East Coast and with the best of the Muslim kings of India they were able to make satisfactory treaties. But no fair words or solemn agreements could dissuade the Arab traders from their attempts to discredit the Portuguese name in the eyes of the Bantu, and to eliminate them from the inland trade.

Time has shown that the spot was well chosen to inaugurate this policy. Of course, the Arab traders of these regions were generally men of mixed breed, predominantly oriental with variable doses of African blood. It was a dangerous alloy, and gave them a great advantage in business transactions with the chiefs of the interior and their people.

From Mogadishu, two degrees north of the equator, to Cape Corrientes, which is twenty-four degrees south, they had many clandestine clearing-houses for their trade in Indian goods. The chief of these were at Brava, Pemba, Mombasa, Zanzibar, the Angosha islands, the Kilimani mouth of the Zambezi, Sofala and the northern bank of the river at Inhambane. Kilwa, though ready to join in anything hostile to Portugal, was ruled out of trade politics; because it was a low coral island full of reefs, which did not encourage the traffic of the primitive dhows of the Arabs.

At this period Sofala district contained inland the show place of these coastal Arabs. It was situated two miles up the estuary of the river, far enough away to escape the attentions of the patrol boats that policed the coast. We have a description of

the dwelling of the local sheikh, which indicates an unusual comfort for these parts, and which was evidently the result of a settled prosperity in commerce with the local natives. As the bar of the river was swampy and dangerous, it restrained the Portuguese from adventures against the Arab settlement.

But the outstanding advantage of this market was that these traders were able to exact from the tribes payment in valuable gold nuggets for the cheap cloths and beads brought from the Indian emporium. To some extent the Governor of Mozambique was in a position to limit this trade by his command of the sea ways, which made it difficult but not impossible for the Arab traders to keep up the supply of Indian goods. Some of them compromised by doing a limited amount of purchasing from the Portuguese warehouse at the river mouth.

But the Delagoa Bay area, with its background of the present Rhodesia, was a safe Portuguese preserve from the beginning, thanks to the foresight of Captain Lourenço Marques, and this coastal area has remained Portuguese ever since. As a reward for his services, this famous captain was made superintendent of Cochin in the last year of the reign of John III. History has conferred upon him a more permanent reward. His name is linked with the most famous and prosperous of Portugal's cities in South Africa, which has now taken the place of Mozambique as the seat of government of a colony as large in area as Spain and England together.

But before the end of this reign another important port of entry for the barter trade was being formed at the mouth of the Quilimane branch of the Zambesi River. In a letter of the Treasurer of India, Simon Botelho, written in 1554, it is stated that most of the Indian goods used to pass into the native territories through Sofala, whence much of them was distributed from Lourenço Marques. "Lately, however," reports Botelho, "trade has begun to go also through Cuama."^{724a} Cuama was the Portuguese name of the Zambesi.

By inevitable steps this led to large stations at Sena and Tete, as there was no place on the Zambesi delta so suitable for warehouses. Though high up the river, these stations were on the borders of the greatest group of tribes and near the great kraal of the paramount chief, whom they called the Monomotapa. "His vassals call the river Empando, which means rebel," says Father John dos Santos, "because, according to them, if the river did not run that way the Monomotapa would rule also the lands on the other side of it." Even so, the subject tribes were spread over an area more than 600 miles south of the Zambesi, and 900 miles into the interior from the coast.

CHAPTER XVI.

ECHOES OF THE INQUISITION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

ALTHOUGH JOHN III is rightly called the father of the Inquisition in Portugal, that institution gained no footing in South Africa during his reign. Even in India it only appeared in the last year of the reign, though Francis Xavier would have desired it earlier, in order to curb what he thought to be shameless⁷²⁵ propaganda against the Gospel on the part of certain Muslims and Jews. He suggested this to the King in a letter of the year 1546; but the first trial before the tribunal of the Holy Office took place at Goa only in 1561, four years after the death of King John. The first judges of the Inquisition there were two learned secular priests, who were masters of Canon Law. They seem to have possessed those qualifications of justice, mercy and the love of truth, which the *Inquisitor's Manual* demands for the ideal judge of this special court.⁷²⁶

But echoes of the Inquisition could not fail to be heard in such crowded ports of the Portuguese empire as the settlements of South Africa. The most startling of these was the case of the Dominican priest, John Caro. To understand the nature of his troubles, we must remember that the word Inquisition is used to designate two different institutions, the ancient episcopal court for the trial of heresy and all breaches of the Canon Law as well as the later monastic Inquisition, of which that in Spain is the most notorious.⁷²⁷ The Spanish Inquisition was a court higher in jurisdiction than all the bishops of Spain, as it had power to indict any of the bishops or archbishops themselves.

Such odium has been attached to the name of the Inquisition by popular writers in many countries, and by historians with an axe to grind, that it is best to face the realities in its records without traditional prepossessions.⁷²⁸ Many popular writers know no difference between an *auto-da-fé* and the burning of a heretic. The phrase represents one of the historical superstitions of our day.

The word Inquisition means legal enquiry, and it denoted courts where the accused was summoned for enquiry and judgment as to his religious orthodoxy, just as thousands have been executed in our day for unorthodox ideologies banned by the leaders of the state. Such courts of Inquisition have become

a commonplace of the secular orthodoxy of our day. To-day the accused is charged with Communism, or Fascism, or Democratism, or Nazism or such other *ism* as the state may deem vitally dangerous. The Church Inquisition of the sixteenth century was milder and less irrational than that of the twentieth century in three aspects. It could not inflict the penalty of death without the approval of the state, its victims were few compared to the holocausts of modern times, and it supported an ideology more stable than the fluctuating ideologies of modern politics and economics.^{728a}

Under pressure of the dangers threatening the Church from those who were beginning to rebel against its authority, Pope Paul III opened a new era by reviving the Inquisition in Rome in the year 1542, though he long refused to allow the Portuguese King to have it established in Portugal, because he feared that its powers might be abused there. Cardinals Contarini, Pole, Morone and Sadoletto were opposed to the establishment of the Inquisition even in Rome, and urged that heresy could be effectively dealt with by preaching, patience, argument and, above all, by charity.⁷²⁹ The Pope yielded to the more militant views of advisers like Cardinals Carafa and Alvarez of Toledo.

They believed that they were dealing with persons of ill-will, on whom argument would be wasted, and not with mere erroneous convictions, just as modern democratic governments have thought in dealing with Communists between the years 1917 and 1941. Where it was a question of the political leaders of the revolt against the authority of the Church, the militant cardinals were right in their judgment, as these kings and princes generally cared nothing for religion except as a tool of political action. Pope Paul III anticipated the chief weapon in the armoury of modern Liberalism and Democracy, as expounded by Woodrow Wilson and Lloyd George: force to the utmost for the defence of Christian civilisation. The experiment has convinced the leaders of the Church that the secular arm wields a two-edged sword, and that the Church is only safe when she uses her own spiritual weapons exclusively. They are enough for the only kind of victory that promotes her task of spreading the Gospel. Whilst the state still believes in the efficacy of the Inquisition as an instrument of state policy, the Church has abandoned it as a weapon that can only hamper the real aims of the Church.

But popular opinion welcomed the Inquisition in the sixteenth century, as warmly as it welcomed the system of the internment camp everywhere in the twentieth century, when tens of thousands were imprisoned for years without trial and hundreds died in

prison without knowing what crime they had committed. Diogo de Couto seems quite a modern author when he writes:⁷³⁰ "This year (1536) is famous for two things in Portugal, an immense harvest after a deluge on the feast of Saint Bras and the introduction of the Inquisition into Portugal, because the Kingdom is infected with the Jewish pest." Place Nazi, Fascist, Plutocratic and Bolshevik successively in addition to Jewish, and you have our wider system of Inquisition, with its more effective and scientific methods of espionage.

One of the weaknesses of the episcopal Inquisition was that the judges were liable to be bullied by kings and emperors; when their verdicts affected their vital interests, like the misnamed World Court of the twentieth century in relation to the Geneva League of Nations. In the year 1233, Pope Gregory IX rebuked the pretended zeal of the Emperor Frederick II, telling him frankly that many of the persons put to death after trial by the episcopal Inquisition were not heretics at all, but the Emperor's personal enemies.⁷³¹ Rarely was it possible to bully the Pope, as Philip IV of France did in 1312, when he forced Pope Clement V to suppress the Knights Templars, declared guilty of wholesale heresy and immorality by the episcopal Inquisition of Paris.⁷³² But even then the Pope refused to endorse the verdict of guilty against the Templars, and only suppressed the Order in the interest of general peace.

At first blush it might seem that something similar had happened to Father John Caro, when he was banished to perpetual exile in Sofala by order of John III in 1534. This severe sentence arose out of the quarrels for the spice islands of the Moluccas between the Portuguese King and the Emperor Charles V.

Caro was a man of exceptional parts. He was well versed in the science of his day, and whilst in India he had trained the famous captain born in India of European stock, Diogo Botelho Pereira, whose exploits we have mentioned. Father Caro was also a popular preacher and a zealous pastor of souls. The chief Captain of Artillery⁷³³ in Cochin bore witness that he was a good friend of the common people, and especially of the poor. This soldier assured the King in 1527 that Caro had always been loyal to his sovereign, and begged that he should be sent back, "as we have always received good advice and sound teaching from him." The man in the street believed that Father John Caro was a victim of the jealousy of the authorities.

But Gaspar Corrêa, who was in India during these years, tells us that in his sermons Father Caro several times espoused

openly the cause of the Emperor against King John in the dispute about the Moluccas,⁷³⁴ then the most burning of political and economic questions. The governor of India, Lopo Vaz de Sampaio, deported the eloquent friar to his convent in Portugal at the beginning of the year 1527, thus avoiding the thorny question of indicting him in the law courts.

At home he was tried by the heads of his own Dominican Order, and sentenced to internment in the convent of Evora, a mild enough punishment in the circumstances. But his political activities did not cease,⁷³⁵ for he was visited by a spy of the Emperor, who offered him work in Spain if he would put his knowledge of the Portuguese dominions at the disposal of the Emperor. This spy, Roderick Pardo, was taking bribes from both sides, and his operations were unmasked when he blossomed forth as a rich draper in Puerta de Santa Maria. In the course of his trial he betrayed the negotiations which he had conducted with Father Caro on behalf of the Emperor, hoping thus to mitigate the sentence of the Spanish court against himself.

There was clearly a streak of ambition in the character of this otherwise good priest, which tarnished his excellence, and which justified the King in regarding him as a danger to the state. It is first seen in a letter of the nineteenth of December, 1525, which Caro wrote from Cochin to his brother-in-law, Dr. Porros, a person of some standing in Seville. He asks him to see Charles V about a better appointment in Spain, in view of the services that he rendered to the Spanish captain, Gonzalo Gomez de Espinosa, "the bearer of this letter". Just a year later he writes to the Emperor himself, pointing out how useful his experience could be in Spain.

Pardo was convicted in 1532. From the evidence in that trial the complicity of Caro emerged. As an ecclesiastic he was consigned to the Bishop's tribunal, the Inquisition which dealt with ethical delinquents. By this court he was found guilty, and handed over to the secular arm for punishment, which imprisoned him in the fortress of Alcobaça. On the twenty-eighth of February, 1534, the King ordered the bailiff of Lisbon to deliver him to the Chief Captain of the fleet for India, who "when he reaches Mozambique shall hand him over to the Commandant Vincent Pegado for perpetual exile in the fortress of Sofala."⁷³⁶

This sentence seems harsher than it really was. It is not possible to imagine a person of his standing being really imprisoned amongst his friends and acquaintances. Moreover, the Provincial of the Dominicans had written about him to the Parish Priest of Sofala, and these two lonely priests in the midst

of Kafirs would comfort one another in their exile. King John himself wrote to the captain of the ship in which he sailed: "As I wish Master John Caro to be well treated, though the time is short provide him with everything you can for his comfort." The King was not vindictive. He could not allow the priest to do what Magellan had done, namely, to place the experience gained in the Portuguese service at the disposal of his trade rivals in Spain. Communication of such official secrets was a crime punishable with death, just as it is to-day. But the King was satisfied to intern him at Sofala, a safe spot equidistant from Europe and India. Like the pleasant imprisonment of Galileo with his good friends the friars in Rome and Florence, Sofala was more of a picnic than a prison to Father Caro.

But whilst Father Caro was rounding the Cape of Good Hope, King John was wrestling with a much wider problem of the same nature at home. It was the perplexing question of the New Christians. This was no problem of King John's creation, but one that he had inherited from his father, King Manuel. The Portuguese called New Christians those Jews who in 1497 had consented to be baptised rather than emigrate, and their descendants were called by the same name. What the Jewish classic, *Samuel Usque*,⁷³⁷ says of them all was certainly true of a great many: "They always retained the impress of the Old Law." This fact gave rise to the conviction in the King's mind that, unless some change were made, they would prove a disaster to the unity and prosperity of the Portuguese empire.

There were two classes of them, those at home and those who had migrated to Antwerp still calling themselves Portuguese. The latter class formed about one-third of the Portuguese colony of merchants in that city. We have seen how they printed and distributed the works of Luther, whilst conforming outwardly to the practices of the Catholic Church, thus using the rising tide of Lutheranism as a lever for their international aims in business. They were also in touch with the Sultan in Constantinople, and kept him informed of the doings of the Christian nations through the Jewish colony of traders in Salonika. These events roused a sense of danger in the minds of the Emperor and King John in regard to these semi-national merchants.⁷³⁸ The centre of gravity of the Jewish race had now passed from the Iberian peninsula to Turkey.

But in Portugal itself the situation was even more distressing for the King. The people were dangerously restive under what they called provocative conduct of many of the New Christians in flouting the beliefs and practices of the nation. During

Manuel's reign he had repressed the popular indignation by drastic legislation. But towards the end of his reign, mainly on account of the clandestine influx of fresh Jews from Spain, even he contemplated asking the Pope to allow him to set up the kind of Inquisition that obtained in Spain. But Manuel was dissuaded from this course by the advice of two influential persons of his court.⁷³⁹

John III felt that he could no longer hold in check with safety the rising temper of his people. "I have had long patience with these New Christians in the hope that they would change their conduct; and the only remedy left is to ask the Pope for bulls to establish the Inquisition of Castile in a milder form in my dominions."⁷⁴⁰ This was the substance of the King's instructions to his ambassador in Rome. The Portuguese bishops with their ecclesiastical courts had been too soft and ineffectual. He wanted a Papal Inquisition with ecclesiastical officials to examine the faith and conduct of these people, so that he could compel them to observe the ancient established religion, which they already professed, or at least to refrain from insulting it in the hearing of plain people.

Every state except the Catholic state has claimed the right to establish without anybody's permission a state Inquisition in matters of religion, whenever the vital interests of the nation are imperilled. Thus Athens, in 399 B.C., sentenced Socrates to death for heresy; and Plato endorsed the penalty of death for impiety, much as he disliked its application to his beloved master. The utmost toleration that the wisest of the old Roman emperors, Trajan,⁷⁴¹ would extend to the new cult of the Christians in 99 A.D. was this: "I do not seek them out, but if in court they are proved to be Christians, they must be put to death." Thus he wrote to one of the Inquisitors of pagan Rome, the graceful writer, Caius Plinius Caecilius Secundus. In the thirteenth century the counts of Toulouse made use of the Church Inquisition to discover the Albigenses, upon whom the death penalty was then inflicted, because, according to the Albigensian interpretation of the Bible, no Christian owed allegiance to any prince. The great poet and philosopher, John Milton, applauded the English Inquisition set up by Oliver Cromwell during the English Republic, because he believed that Papists and pro-Papists (including his own King) were a danger to the state, and in his opinion it was a patriotic task to exterminate them. The King of England, Charles I, was duly executed by this Inquisition.

The only check upon this state absolutism in matters of religion is the spirit of the Christian Church, as enshrined in the

tradition of the Church and based on the teaching of Christ. In such matters of policy no pope claims to be infallible. Each of them must be judged in the light of his loyalty to the teaching of Christ. On the whole, the popes come well out of that severe test.

About the general nature of the Catholic teaching on this subject, there is no room for doubt. Faith in Christ is an interior conviction which no amount of external violence can generate. When Paul of Tarsus was unhorsed at Damascus, it was not the blinding lightning that made him a Christian, but the vision and the supernatural voice. Even the field of the Church, as Christ's parable tells us, will always have its weeds of heretics and immoral disciples. Wholesale violence uproots more of the wheat than of the weeds. Yet discipline is an essential of every society, and the standing problem of the Church is how to reconcile the conflicting claims of love and discipline.

This problem becomes doubly intricate in the Christian state. How far can the Church accept the aid of the secular arm in opposing propaganda against the Christian faith? That is the meaning of heresy in so far as it is an offence of public concern. Here the heads of Church and State have often differed. But in those nations where Church and State have the same executive head, religious despotism is as easy as it is terrible. This was not the case in Portugal, where the kings acknowledged the supremacy of the popes in Christian teaching and practice. But in Portugal of the year 1525, a controversy about the New Christians began between John III and Pope Clement VII, which shows how the complexity of human life sometimes makes it an almost super-human task, even for honest and earnest men, to agree in the practical application of principles that they hold in common. This conflict was at least a gain for rational freedom.

It was the people who first impelled John III to tackle the Jewish question. Kings in Europe rarely took the initiative in this matter, writes a Jewish historian; "as long as the people remained quiet, the Jews were profitable." Complaints of many kinds reached the ears of John and his Council.

The King's first step was to collect positive evidence of the secret operations of some of the New Christians, which he believed to be a danger to the state. He chose a means which has only been fully developed in modern times, the secret-service agent or spy. It is a black art if you like, but effective for its purpose. From the Canaries he brought Henrique Nunes, who had distinguished himself in this sphere. Being a New Christian, he had access to the homes of his class, and collected a great

amount of damning evidence. But he overreached himself, and was assassinated in November, 1524.⁷⁴² When the Cortes met in the following year, the representatives of the people accused the New Christians of hoarding corn in order to raise the price, thus speculating on the misery of the poor.

But the climax came with an event which would be called a fairy tale if it were not fully attested by many witnesses of standing and intelligence. In November of 1525, a Jew named David Rubeni came to Almeirim, where the court of King Manuel then was, and proclaimed himself the leader of the Ten Tribes of Israel, the Messias, "and other untruths", adds the contemporary chronicler, Acenheiro. He had gone to Rome from India at the beginning of March of the previous year, writes the Venetian ambassador in Rome, Mario Foscari.⁷⁴³ The Jews of India had sent him to offer the Pope 300,000 combatants against the Turks, if the Pope would only supply them with artillery. On this subject his eloquence and local knowledge aroused sufficient interest in the mind of Pope Clement VII as to make it worth while to send him on to John III; so that he might examine him on the military and political possibilities of the situation.

But Ramusio, who met Rubeni later in Venice, was severely critical. John Baptist Ramusio was Secretary of State in Venice after a long career abroad, and among his many accomplishments was a knowledge of some oriental languages. Meeting Rubeni in the house of Count Guido Rangon in Venice, he had the opportunity of cross-questioning him closely, and he came to the conclusion that he was a brilliant and dangerous lunatic, adored by the Jews; though Ramusio was convinced that he was an Arab or an Abyssinian.⁷⁴⁴ David Rubeni had certainly spent some time among the Falisha Jews of Abyssinia near Meroe, the present Khartum. Later he was in Avignon; and though imprisoned for a time by the wide-awake governor, Mgr. de Claramonte, he was afterwards enthusiastically received by many in that ancient stronghold of oriental sects, Provence.

Among the rulers of Europe the only one who gave him any hearing was Pope Clement VII. The reason is not far to seek. The Pope did not give any real credence to the plans of David Solomon Rubeni, but merely sent him with letters to King John and the Negus; "as the distance from Arabia prevents us from deciding the truth or falsehood of the matter, and we do not wish to neglect it altogether." When he returned to Rome three years later, the Pope seems to have heard nothing of the result of David's first mission, but only of his alleged persecution.

At this moment the Pope was almost a fugitive in his own city of Rome, daily expecting the onslaught of the imperial army, which came in 1527; when Spanish mercenaries and German Lutherans sacked the city, and the Pope fled to Orvieto on the sixth of December. Pestilence was taking mortal toll of the inhabitants at the rate of two hundred a day. The Pope had made use of a New Christian Friar Felix⁷⁴⁵ as a courier, to run the blockade, so as to inform the cardinals assembled at Ancona of the pitiful condition he was in. When David Solomon returned to Rome in 1530, Clement VII was still in serious difficulties. Having been a fugitive himself, the Pope was naturally inclined to pity two men who came to him with the tale that they were persecuted fugitives. Rubeni and his Portuguese secretary, Diogo Pires, explained to the Pope that they were convinced Jews, who had been forced to become Christians in youth against their will. Believing their tale, the Pope gave them a letter in 1530 enjoining that they were not to be molested or punished as renegade Christians, as they had never really been Christians.

But between these two visits to Rome, these two plausible madmen had done considerable mischief in Portugal, as King John knew and the Pope did not know. Pires was in reality a Christian youth whose light head had been turned by the glowing hysteria of Rubeni; he had rushed off to Turkey, where he was circumcised, and he became the secretary of the new Messias. The ferment that these men caused among the New Christians, and the indignation among the people, were a source of great anxiety to the King.

But John III was a great stickler for the law, and he would not arbitrarily revoke the promises that he had made to the New Christians. His cousin, then reigning in England, Henry VIII, would have lopped off their heads and confiscated their estates without more ado; and the Incitement to Rebellion Act in England of to-day would have dealt with them as a Nonconformist minister and a university professor were effectively dealt with in 1937.⁷⁴⁶ But John III was too good a European to flout international law as it then stood, and to sanction state courts intervening in heresy trials without the previous sanction of the Pope.

Especially at a time when the Lutherans were denying the ancient rights of the Church, he was determined to act within the precincts of the sound old order, as he held it to be. When the Pope had delayed for years to give the desired assent to the establishment of the Inquisition in Portugal, the Portuguese

ambassador made this filial complaint: "Your Holiness will surely not persist in refusing this reasonable request of my King and his people, who are so loyal to you and the Apostolic See."⁷⁴⁷

But the Pope was genuinely afraid that the powers of an Inquisition might be abused, to fleece New Christians who had money or land. He did not doubt the integrity of the King, but he was not so sure of some of the men who might be appointed inquisitors. Already he had experience of these abuses in the proceedings of some of the Spanish inquisitors. He saw the far worse robberies in England, where state courts had usurped greater powers than the Inquisition, and where "judges were obliged to admit that state Acts, however morally unjust, must be obeyed." It was just that real offenders like some of the merchants of Antwerp should be heavily fined for their hypocrisy in religion, which they used as a means of dishonesty in their financial transactions.⁷⁴⁸ He could not deny that the Portuguese people were restive, and bombarded their King with complaints against the blasphemies and even open jibes of many New Christians and Jews.⁷⁴⁹

If the peace of the kingdom and the interests of the Catholic faith were really the chief aims of the King, Clement VII suggested an alternative means of safeguarding these precious possessions. The matter was put rather bluntly by Cardinal Pucci to the Portuguese ambassador. "If any of the New Christians are really Jews at heart, let them say so, and live openly as Jews. Those who elect to remain Christians can be compelled to observe the laws, and fined if they do not."⁷⁵⁰ No Inquisition would be needed for this purpose, since the ordinary law of the land was sufficient.

King John knew, however, that the people would be goaded into riots if there was any spectacular return of New Christians to Judaism, and he put the matter plainly before the Pope. But worse difficulties faced the King when he heard that David Rubeni and Solomon Malco, as Diogo Pires was now called, were spending money freely at Rome in bribes. Bribes would not affect the Pope, as the King knew and his ambassadors emphasised; but there were men among his subordinates, some ecclesiastical lawyers, who would work harder for a retaining fee.

In this connection there emerged another whimsical personality, a New Christian with the fine Portuguese name of Duarte da Paz. He was sent to Rome by the Jews and some New Christians of Portugal in 1532, when it seemed that the Pope was yielding to the arguments of John III by granting the

powers of an Inquisitor-General to the King's confessor, Diogo da Silva.⁷⁵¹ The King was a diplomatist of infinite patience, and his ambassador had warned him that in Pope Clement VII he had to deal with a man who could not be bullied. Any attempt to do so "must only lead to his full rigour, as he would simply take the bit between his teeth."⁷⁵² By patient discussion the Pope had come round to the view that the principle of the Inquisition could be yielded in Portugal, if such conditions were attached to it as would make the Spanish abuses practically impossible.

To revoke even this concession, Duarte da Paz was sent to Rome as the secret agent of the New Christians, whilst publicly he went as the King's messenger for the opposite purposes. From Diogo Mendes of Antwerp and his famous sister-in-law Gracia⁷⁵³ alone he received five thousand *escudos*.

There, however, he proved a broken reed, upon which the hopes of both his employers sagged without their knowing why at first. With his double source of income, he entertained lavishly. Having been decorated by King John with the blue ribbon of the Order of Christ, he went everywhere and was always a dandy.⁷⁵⁴ The King was warned against him first by that plain-spoken person, the Duke of Braganza, whom Paz seems to have tried to bribe. Lest the King should become suspicious of his frequent consorting with Jews in Rome, Paz explained that he had pity on these poor people, and hoped to influence them in the sense of the King.⁷⁵⁵ He was base enough to send the King a list of those Jews and New Christians whom he discovered to be leaving Portugal with their goods in violation of the law; and thus he fell even lower in the King's estimation.

But treachery will out. One day he was found floating in the Tiber half dead with wounds, and the Jews of Portugal ceased to send him any more money.⁷⁵⁶ In revenge, when he recovered, he wrote to the Pope from Venice urging that confiscation should be made a chief penalty in the courts of the Inquisition, because the Jews hated that more than death. This acrobatic rascal was last heard of from Turkey in 1552, when he disappears finally from the records.

The rest of Pope Clement's pontificate was spent in discussing the safeguards of justice in the proposed scheme of an Inquisition for Portugal; whilst he carried out his own suggestion to John III in Rome and Ancona, where he allowed the refugee New Christians who fled from Portugal to settle freely as Jews.⁷⁵⁷

A year before Clement VII died he issued a noble bull, offering a general pardon to all New Christians in Portugal. Feeling that he was soon to go before the Eternal Judge himself,

thus the bull opens, he wished to temper justice with mercy in dealing with them.⁷⁵⁸ All prosecutions against them were suspended, whether the charge was heresy, apostasy, blasphemy or superstitious practices. Any of them who had been forcibly baptised in 1497 were now declared to be Jews and not Christians. All others could receive a full pardon by presenting themselves to the Papal Nuncio, and repenting of the sin they had committed. A certificate would then be given them, they and their descendants would then be on the same footing as old Christians, and the property confiscated on account of their crimes would be restored. No prosecution about the past could ever be instituted again.

In reply the King sent a heart-breaking memorandum to the Pope, of which the gist is this:⁷⁵⁹ "If Your Holiness realised the conditions of my kingdom, you would never have issued this bull, which would prove ruinous to Church and State. The bull makes no provision for a careful examination of each case, without which the evils of the past will only be stereotyped." He instances the cases of some New Christians who had become priests, and afterwards avowed that they were still of the Jewish religion of their parents. Are they to continue to say Mass and give Communion? As they deceived us for so many years, they will have no difficulty in deceiving the Nuncio in a short interview. In place of the Nuncio a Portuguese ecclesiastic should be appointed, who would understand the position better than any foreigner. The King then makes four excellent counter-proposals, which would meet the Pope's objections, and make the Portuguese Inquisition proof against the abuses that the Pope feared. The Pope was impressed with the King's evident desire to be just, and he ordered the suspension of the bull until February.⁷⁶⁰ Before anything definite could be done Clement VII died, and was succeeded by Paul III.

At first the new Pope renewed the opposition to the King's request, because Rome was just then unfavourably disposed by recent news of the oppressive verdicts of the Inquisition in Spain.⁷⁶¹ It was still feared that the wealth of the New Christians in Portugal might tempt the inquisitors to give judgment too easily against them. But the King's patience and transparent honesty carried the day, as they culminated in a proposal from the King himself; that if the Inquisition confiscated the estate of any delinquent New Christian, it should pass neither to the state nor to the court, but to the next-of-kin of the culprit.

With this and other valuable saving clauses, Paul III allowed in principle the establishment of the Inquisition in

Portugal by a bull of the twenty-third of May, 1536. The Church could go no further in opposing the wishes of the King and people of Portugal. Three of the most learned and worthy of the Portuguese bishops were nominated as a committee to carry out the preliminaries of the establishment, and to preside over it. An appeal court was instituted, penalties were laid down for inquisitors who misused their office, and the names of those who denounced New Christians were ordered to be made public.

But the end was not yet. One of the cardinals, James Ghinucci, who had just returned from a diplomatic mission in Castille, published a book bitterly hostile to any concession by the Pope in this matter, which made a strong impression in Rome. On the other hand, King John was not entirely satisfied with the draft of the new bull, and endeavoured to get further concessions. During these discussions the Pope held his hand, but in the end refused to budge one way or the other. He recognised that John III nourished no hatred of the Jews or New Christians, but that he sought the peace and internal unity of his own people; and he believed that normal life in his kingdom could only be restored by a court which had behind it the combined authority of Church and State.

Then a period of trial began. Courts of the Inquisition were established at Evora in 1536, at Lisbon in 1537, and later at Oporto, Braga and Lamego.⁷⁶² For eleven years the papal nuncios in Lisbon endeavoured to temper the severity of justice, because the constitution of the bull of 1536 conceded them the right to interpose their authority on appeal. The King had always pressed for Portuguese officials even in the last court of appeal. Two untoward incidents now played right into his hands.⁷⁶³

In February, 1539, a poster was placed on the door of the Cathedral of Lisbon and of several other churches, proclaiming that the Catholic Church was a fraud, and that the true Messias was about to appear. The people raged when this insult to Christ and the Church was bruited about. King John had the greatest difficulty in preventing the kind of murderous riots that took place in many countries during the First World War. The culprit, however, was found, and proved to be a New Christian who gloried in his deed when arrested. He was duly executed, but the King's difficulties were increased beyond measure by a second incident in the year 1542.⁷⁶⁴

A mysterious messenger brought to the King a bundle of letters, alleged to have been found upon a courier in Flanders. Their origin is as obscure as the Casket Letters of Mary Queen of Scots. In one of these evidently forged letters, it was stated

that the Papal Nuncio, then on his way to Portugal, had received one thousand *cruzados* from the New Christians of Rome. That was enough to raise a storm on the most approved method of modern newspaper propaganda. John sent a *fidalgo* to meet the Nuncio in Spain, and to ask him to halt there until he should receive fresh instructions from Rome.

The Pope had stated admirably his reason for wishing that his Nuncio should hear cases of serious allegations against the judges of the Inquisition. "Your Highness cannot complain if, in a manner affecting the honour of the Catholic Church and the lives of so many men, I desire to make sure that justice has been done by the Inquisition, lest anyone be condemned to death unjustly, and his blood be required of me and of Your Highness."⁷⁶⁵ The instructions given to the Nuncio Lippomano in 1542, before the incident mentioned, show that the Pope realised that the King and his brother, Cardinal Henry, were in a dangerous mood of irritation against the highest ecclesiastical authority, because of Rome's firmness in regard to the Inquisition. But despite these fears, Paul III persisted in checking the King's hasty measures for settling the Jewish question in Portugal.

Though the charge against the Nuncio was not proved, the feeling aroused convinced the Pope that he had reached the limit of useful intervention in the actual working of the Portuguese Inquisition. He did not fear the struggle, but he saw that further contention might defeat the very purpose he had in view: to secure merciful treatment for the real offences among the New Christians. In a fine letter to John III he reviewed the course of the whole controversy, and asked him to remind all the inquisitors that more headway would be made with the New Christians; if they were treated with evangelical charity, rather than with judicial severity.

In a bull of the sixteenth of July, 1547, the Pope announced the terms of the final constitution of the Inquisition.⁷⁶⁶ He revoked that of 1536, and the powers of all the existing branches. Then he conferred upon the King's brother, Cardinal Henry, the full authority of Chief Inquisitor empowered to delegate all the minor judges, and beyond his authority there was no appeal. This was part of the effective machinery that John used, during the last ten years of his reign, to bring unity into the political life of his people. He thus accomplished what the modern politician in times of crisis accomplishes more drastically by proclaiming martial law, and controlling the Press through the Defence of the Realm Act. Modern democracies are more easily transformed into absolute dictatorships than the old Catholic monarchies; because science

has perfected the means of coercing the people, and they recognise no moral authority whose decisions need modify their action. King John had no desire or need to coerce the large majority of his people, but even the small and troublesome minority of the New Christians had an effective protection in the moral power of the Church.

This sketch of the difficulties that the King was contending with at home helps to explain the reason of his decree of the fourteenth of June, forbidding the New Christians to emigrate to the Mozambique coast, India or any other overseas territory without a royal warrant.⁷⁶⁷ He feared their trade connections with the Turks, whom the Portuguese were fighting in these lands.

Many plain citizens of Antwerp shared this view.⁷⁶⁸ We find it expressed in a Flemish flysheet of 1550, which tells of the capture of El-Medhia by the formidable pirate, Torghoud, as the Flemish writer calls Draghut. We are reminded that this was a free city of the Mediterranean much visited by merchants of Alexandria, Portuguese Jews of Salomika and Flemish renegades. This trade seemed to the Flemish to cover a conspiracy of disgruntled Jews in league with the forces of Islam.

Such flysheets were common in Antwerp, and were the newspapers of the day. As far back as 1527 an alarmed citizen sketched a plan for dealing with this Turkish danger by forming an army of 180 thousand youths from the novitiates of the religious orders, and by financing this army through a levy on the clergy and taxation of the wealthy Jews.

Nicolaas Cleynaerts, of Diest, a Flemish scholar who taught the classics for some years in Portugal at Braga, conceived the idea of an intellectual crusade to eliminate the Muslim forces. He had experimented in Portugal with African slaves whom he taught to speak Latin;⁷⁶⁹ and in 1540 he went to Ceuta and Fez to study Arabic culture, in the conviction that Christian culture could be presented to the Muslim in an acceptable form.

In 1556 Leo Africanus published his unique book in Latin at Antwerp. But none of these efforts established any bridge of wide understanding between the Christian and Muslim nations. The traders were largely indifferent to these projects, and the royal politicians were divided on the subject in Europe. Outside Europe John III felt that he had a large field of action, where he could prevent these thorny questions from troubling the public mind. By forbidding the Jews and New Christians to double the Cape of Good Hope he avoided all anxiety on this score in East Africa and India.

Permits to double the Cape were only granted to key men, such as technical officials, doctors and surgeons.⁷⁷⁰ The laws expressly state the twofold object of the restriction. This was to prevent the undesirable emigrants from evading their debts or taking the property of others out of Portugal, and to prevent them from going to Muslim lands, lest they should return to Judaism "with the total ruin of their souls".

In Heinrich Schaefer's *Geschichte von Portugal*,⁷⁷¹ for long a standard work, the reign of King John figures as if the Inquisition was its leading event, as he devotes to it fourteen out of a total of thirty pages of the European history of Portugal. Fortunately he finds more to chronicle about the Mozambique coast and India at this period when together they formed one of the mainstays of Europe's economic life. The great historian Herculano has written a Catalinarian oration against King John in three volumes, which he entitles the *History of the Inquisition in Portugal*. We who have seen such institutions in our own day as the Reparations Commission of the Allies in Germany, and the Gestapo of the early period of National Socialism, realise how extravagant are the conventional diatribes of Liberal historians even against the Spanish Inquisition. Though the complete history of the Portuguese Inquisition remains to be written, two modern historians, F. de Almeida and J. L. d'Azevedo, have helped to place it in the intelligible background of the circumstances of the day. In the eighteenth century, four persons in England were condemned for offences against the Witchcraft Act of 1735. In Spain this would be called an auto-da-fé.

Mozambique and Sofala became interested in the Inquisition when they heard of its censorship and condemnation of the book by Damian de Goes entitled *Fides, Religio, Moresque Aethiopum*. The question of the religion of the Abyssinians had long been a bone of contention among the Portuguese of this coast.

Some held that the King was wasting men and money in helping this people, who were not Christians in any sense that Portuguese could understand. Goes had gone so far in his enthusiasm for this romantic race, that he was really deceiving the public about the nature of their religious tenets. The critical examination by the King's chaplain and by the learned theologian, Dr. Peter Mergalho was more sober and disenchanting. In a letter to Goes⁷⁷² written in a friendly vein, Cardinal Henry, the Chief Inquisitor, tells him that he does not doubt his orthodoxy and good faith, but he thinks it best that this misleading view of the position in Abyssinia should not be placed on the general

market of books. In taking this step, the Inquisitor did something to give needed enlightenment to the public on a complicated and popular subject. The missionaries were being carried away by a very natural zeal, and the politicians by the idea of finding another ally against the Turks. It was well to warn both classes that the ally was doubtful in religion, and consequently in politics which had a religious background.

By thus extending their activities and authority to Abyssinia the Inquisition had circumnavigated Africa, because in the fourteenth century some Dominican inquisitors had gone there through the Mediterranean as missionaries. Their work in that country was a minor incident in the astonishing missionary achievements of the Dominican Friars in the East. Whilst they were foremost in using the courts of the Inquisition to discover what errors were lurking in the popular mind, they relied upon preaching of an evangelical type to correct the aberrations of the Albigenses and other sects of Europe; but they looked on the whole world as their province. The Spaniard, Dominic de Guzman, who in 1217 founded the Order of Preachers, as the Dominicans are officially called, laid down for their guidance the principle which they carried out during these first centuries: "Scattered seeds bear fruit, whilst massed seeds only rot." So the early Dominicans scattered the seeds of the Gospel throughout the whole known world.

The popes of Avignon provided them with splendid opportunities in the East,⁷⁷⁴ because these popes continued the friendly relations with the Tartar rulers of Asia, which had been initiated by Innocent IV in 1245. Without the permission of the Mogul khans, no dog could then bark in the immense area between the borders of Poland and the Yellow Sea of China. But with their friendly leave, Dominican bishops were appointed in Sultanieh of Persia and in Pekin. Five years before Marco Polo was born⁷⁷⁵ four groups of friars, two Dominican and two Franciscan, were sent as ambassadors of Pope Innocent IV to the camp of the Tartar Khan at Araxes, near the shores of the Caspian Sea.

The records mention the Franciscan friar Lawrence, a Portuguese,⁷⁷⁶ as the Papal Delegate and leader of these expeditions. Like Joshua and Caleb, they went as explorers of these lands, seemingly so promising for the Gospel; but, unlike the explorers of Canaan, they went unarmed except for the sword of the Spirit and the discerning blade of the Bible. The Pope commissioned them also to intercede with the Grand Khan for the cessation of the persecution of the Nestorians, and other Christians of the East under Tartar rule.⁷⁷⁷

This Dominican activity increased greatly at the beginning of the fourteenth century. One of its successes was the establishment of a Dominican mission in Abyssinia in 1316.⁷⁸ Eight friars sent from Rome to found this mission discovered at Jerusalem that they could not take the short road down south to Abyssinia, because the Sultan of Egypt would allow no Europeans, whether traders or missionaries, to link up with Prester John. They had therefore to face the circuitous route through Persia, then by sea to Somaliland, and again by land into Abyssinia. They seem to have had a warm welcome from the Negus Amda Sion, who had just consolidated his dynasty of the Solomonides, so that their convent flourished exceedingly.

Its greatest glory was an Abyssinian friar named Philip, son of a petty chief, who became a Dominican in Blurimanos, and was appointed Inquisitor-General of the country. His fame culminated when he manfully denounced one of the tributary kings, who was openly living in incest. After a contest of three years the good friar was ambushed and killed, and the people regarded him as a saint and a martyr for the teaching of Christ.

These Dominican traditions continued to live in two convents at least down to the days of King John, though they were greatly attenuated. In 1368 the Ming dynasty of China, narrow and nationalistic, destroyed the work of the friars in the whole East. The Muslim waxed strong in India, Egypt, Persia and Somaliland, so that the Church in Abyssinia was blockaded against any regular help from Europe. Their memory, however, continued to live on in Europe, as the bull of Alexander VI shows in 1502, which he addressed to the Dominicans of the Alleluja Convent and its superiors, Matthew and Bartholomew.⁷⁹ Several papal bulls of the same period mention Dominican friars of Abyssinia in Rome. Father Francis Alvares recognised the remnants of Dominican life in one of the convents which he visited. But over one hundred years of isolation had watered down the high standard of Dominican practice, through generations of purely Abyssinian friars, to the level of these semi-barbarous Copts.

It was reserved for the voice of the Inquisition, which came from Lisbon round the Cape of Good Hope, to call a halt in this process of degeneration. Cardinal Henry's decision was a first plain warning that much effort would be required to raise the cultural level of this forlorn people. The full creed of the Christian Church had to be taught, and taught accurately, if it was to change these harried sheep of Abyssinia into men of character and conviction, as the Portuguese were.

As the highest representative of the Inquisition, Cardinal Henry was perturbed by the general lack of respect in Abyssinia for some of those natural virtues, which are the indispensable basis of the Christian life. Christian dogma and Christian morality can only be securely built upon that natural morality, dictated by reason, which the Christian faith presupposes and completes. Cruelty, indolence and untruthfulness were rampant. Moreover, the self-respect of this poor people had been gradually undermined by their failures to resist the invading Arabs, Turks and Somalis. A mental feebleness resulted which blurred the differences between Christianity, Judaism and the creed of Islam.

The missionaries, therefore, that the King was sending must understand clearly the nature of the neglected field that they were being sent to cultivate. The guiding star of the King's policy was the prosperity of Portugal and the peaceful development of the first real world empire. Nor can it be said that he erred in thinking that the peace of East Africa and India required the exclusion, as far as possible, of the New Christians from these provinces of the empire. Their successful elimination rendered superfluous, during this reign, the establishment of the courts of the Inquisition in these regions.

CHAPTER XVII.

FIRST MARINE SURVEY OF SOUTH AFRICA.

THE PERIOD OF King John's reign was a time of fresh scientific activity throughout a large part of Europe. In Germany the new art of printing had stimulated thought in many branches of knowledge. Copernicus (1473-1543) published the most important work on astronomy since Ptolemy, and dedicated it to Pope Paul III. The Italians, besides their incomparable achievements in every form of art, displayed vigorous minds in physics, mechanics and anatomy. Leonardo da Vinci (1451-1519), Jerome Cardano (1501-1576) and Nicolò Tartaglia (1506-1559) had done their best work before King John died.

Cardano's characteristic thought roamed in the mathematics of mechanics, whilst Tartaglia's work, the *New Science*, speculated acutely on the laws of motion. Leonardo was so busy making discoveries in science, that he had no time to publish. But his manuscripts since published show that "he had a good working knowledge of the lever, of the inclined plane, of the principle of moments, of the different types of equilibrium, and a fairly good grasp of the principle of virtual velocities."⁷⁸⁰

These men carried forward the lamps of life, handed to them by the thinkers of the Middle Ages. Many scientists who professed to believe in Evolution have had the inconsistent habit of writing their histories of science, as if their own law of Evolution had been suspended during the Middle Ages. This long gap in the process of the natural development of science was for some generations a traditional convention among scientists, because they believed that the gap ought to have existed. Their prejudice against the Middle Ages was stronger than their belief in Evolution.

But a noted French scientist, P. Duhem,⁷⁸¹ was one of the first to leave the rut of this mere tradition of the scientists, and to assert the fact of a gradual evolution of human knowledge even in the Middle Ages, by publishing an anonymous manuscript of the year 1300 which he found in the National Library of Paris. "There is nothing in Vinci," he writes, "which cannot be traced to the Middle Ages and to this great (nameless) student of mechanics." The writer of this manuscript was evidently typical of the best thinkers of the thirteenth century. Once more in the

reign of John III there was abroad in Europe that probing spirit of ardent science, which Cardano saw symbolised in the piercing horn of the unicorn.

There was then, however, no syndicalised Press to broadcast every slender guess at truth made by the popular scientist. But we glimpse how the human mind has never ceased to move, and to build upon the thought of its predecessors. The scientist of cabined mind is sometimes contemptuous of the past. But this manuscript of Paris reminds us, that one of the unchanging features of human history is the insatiable intellect of man. Our minds, however, can only deal with the material that we actually possess. In South African waters the Portuguese scientists found much new food for thought. Thus they made remarkable advances in the departments of navigation, botany, pharmacology and geography.

The correction of the current maps of the whole known world was begun by Prince Henry the Navigator, followed by John de Lisboa in 1514 and Rui Faileiro in 1519.⁷⁸² But the first scientist to devote himself mainly and systematically to this task was Peter Nunes. He rose to fame at the time of the controversy between Portugal and Spain over the Moluccas.

During the conference of 1522 between the geographers of these two nations,⁷⁸³ it was clearly seen what important instruments of politics and economics were to be found in maps. In 1529 Peter Nunes was appointed chief cosmographer of Portugal, and he had the best of reasons for devoting himself to the production of accurate atlases and maps. He specially warned King John that the globes in use, though expensive and lavishly decorated, were as a rule carelessly compiled.⁷⁸⁴ His chief work was the co-ordination of new data, which the tireless Portuguese captains and pilots were bringing in from three continents, in order to perfect the maps in use.

Two of the most ardent pupils of Peter Nunes were the King's brother, Prince Luis,⁷⁸⁵ and his young *fidalgo* friend, John de Castro. It is in a letter of Castro's to the Prince that we first hear of the survey of the south-east coast of Africa. Castro was captain of the *Grypho* in the fleet of the Viceroy Garcia de Noronha, and his ship anchored at Mozambique on the fifth of August, 1538, when he wrote this letter. He gives an account of his nautical observations made during this voyage from Lisbon to Mozambique.⁷⁸⁶ "Of all this," he adds, "I have made a traveller's diary which will probably fill two quires of paper; and I shall send it to Your Highness in the first ships that leave

India, if the Lord brings me there safe. I do not send it now because it is just scribbled, and the voyage is not completed."

It is the first of three similar log-books which he compiled, the other two dealing with the coast of India from Goa to Diu and with the Red Sea. Together with the works of Peter Nunes, these are the most conspicuous efforts of nautical science during the first half of the sixteenth century.⁷⁸⁷ But we are now concerned with that part of his work which describes, in minute scientific detail, the whole voyage from Lisbon around the Cape of Good Hope to Mozambique and India.

John de Castro was a youth of unusual character, who ten years later became one of the most famous of viceroys. His father, Alvaro de Castro, was the stern governor of Lisbon who suppressed the anti-Jewish riots in 1506.⁷⁸⁸ The son was equally resolute. On this voyage the King offered to make him Commandant of Ormuz, one of the coveted posts in the East. But he asked to be excused from any promotion until he had deserved it by work in the East.⁷⁸⁹ The King knew how well he had borne himself during ten years of military service in Tangiers, and how the Emperor had wished to knight him for his share in the victory over the Barbary pirates at Tunis. After this victory Castro returned for a while to his farm in Cintra, where he cultivated exotics and entertained those of his friends who were interested in literature and science.⁷⁹⁰

Calling him from this merited ease, to fight and navigate in India, the King insisted that he should accept an allowance of four hundred milreis; as he was not wealthy, though he had expectations of wealth from his family. Castro's secondary aim was research, and therefore he preferred the captaincy of a ship, where he could both serve the King and not abandon his intellectual interests.

Among the problems that he tackled on this voyage was that of the cause of the variations of the magnetic needle in the compass, a burning problem of the day among scientists. The fact that the northern point of the needle does not exactly indicate the northern point of the horizon was long known to pilots and astronomers. It was taken for granted by Columbus in 1492, and the knowledge helped him to deal wisely with one of the threatened mutinies of his crew during the first voyage to America. The weary and emaciated sailors were looking for arguments to compel him to give up his foolish journey, and they discovered what was new to them, that the needle was playing strange tricks. It had evidently lost its magnetic power, they grumbled, and it was time to save their lives by turning back.

Columbus cornered them effectively by assuring them "on the word of a Catholic" that every compass varied in this way. His calm superiority of knowledge impressed them, and reassured them that they were not just tossing helplessly about like corks on the surface of the water. By Castro's time such knowledge was evidently a commonplace of Italian and Portuguese pilots.

But the scientists differed heatedly in their answers to the question: what causes these variations? Most of them held that they were caused by changes in the meridian, and were proportionate to the degree of this change.⁷⁸¹ This John de Castro had always denied, and he now proved his case by a series of eight experiments, which he made as his ship crossed the ocean between Brazil and the Cape of Good Hope.

Peter Nunes had expressed his agreement with Castro's forecast in a work which he wrote the year before, entitled *Tratado em Defensam da Carta de Marear*. When Castro arrived at the meridian of Cape Agulhas, and had time to compare his observations with those of the pilot, of Dr. Luis Nunes and of one of the leading sailors, he found that even on the grand meridian of the Portuguese (that of Cape Saint Vincent) there had been no special variations due to the changes in longitude. This momentous conclusion was arrived at on the tenth of July, after he had doubled the Cape of Good Hope.⁷⁸² Peter Nunes was now able, with the information supplied by his pupil Castro, to improve his treatise in this and many other points, as can be seen in the second edition of his work. They knew definitely now, that the variations of the needle were not proportionate to the changes of longitude, and could not therefore serve to determine the longitude of a ship. Barros lamented that the uncertainty on this point caused more disasters than the scientists could remedy.⁷⁸³

It was at Mozambique that Castro discovered for himself one of the causes of the variation of the compass, namely, the local attraction exerted upon the needle by the ship's iron. On Monday, the fifth of August, as the ship was at rest and he knew the position of Mozambique, he found that the "instrument of the shadows" which Nunes had constructed was woefully at fault. To test the amount of the fault, he sent for some compasses, but their readings were even more amazingly at variance with one another.⁷⁸⁴ There was evidently some local disturbance.

After a great deal of hard thinking he discovered the disturbing element in the magnetic attraction of a large iron cannon close by. Looking back, he realised why so many of his calculations from the Brazil coast onwards had gone astray.

To-day every large liner has a most elaborate and effective instrument for neutralising the attraction of the thousands of tons of iron aboard. All that Castro could do was to place his needles in a part of the ship that was furthest away from the cannons and the anchors. But the recognition of this danger was a step forward in the accurate use of the compass.

Another source of difficulties that Castro tried to contend with, was the imperfection in the construction of the compasses. A Spanish astronomer, Martin Cortez,⁷⁹⁵ who published a work on navigation in 1551, enumerates several of the faults which he had discovered, especially "the lack of virtue" (demagnetisation) and the defects of the material. These drawbacks were only too evident to Castro, who complains of them in his Indian log-book:⁷⁹⁶ "The compasses all differ from one another, some more, some less, just as the clocks differ from the needles. Each instrument seems to go its own way. Whether this is due to the little accuracy of our instruments, or to some other cause that nature has locked up in its workshop, *solvat Apollo*."

In spite of the classical tag, Castro did not wait for anyone to help him in overcoming these handicaps. These tough sailors, accustomed to harness evil winds to their purposes, were not daunted by bad instruments. John de Castro took the wisest step to cancel out their contrary errors, in so far as that was possible.

Sometimes the instruments behaved well, agreeing to give a reasonable verdict. But when the first ones used gave readings that looked preposterous, he would call together four or even six of the best men on board, giving each of them an astrolabe to take the bearings. The men he usually consulted were the pilot, the boatswain, the caulkier, the leading sailors and Dr. Luis Nunes, evidently a relation of Castro's master in science.

From their reports he began to experience, and to record, those problems that have tormented navigators until very recent times, some of which still cause trouble. These were the imperfections of the instruments due to the faults of their caps, pivots and graduations. Somehow he perceived that the motion and roll of the ship accounted for differences between the observers, and occasionally he notes that the needle appears a bit feeble. By comparing the notes of his fellow-workers on board, he generally arrived at some mean reckoning that served as a tolerable guess at the position of the ship.

Longitudes entailed a wider sweep of guessing, based chiefly on an estimate of the distance sailed. Some, no doubt, when they came to regions like the headlands of the Cape of Good Hope, would make definite measurements of the degrees of longitude

across, as Father Christopher Bruno did.⁷⁹⁷ But in most cases the intuition and sound judgment of the pilot were the only real guarantees of a workable accuracy. In these naval matters it was the human element that dominated the situation. "Judgment and resource count for more in navigation than instruments," writes John de Castro.⁷⁹⁸

And take note, he adds, that not every pilot has these gifts. They even lack technical knowledge sometimes. Castro tells us how he met some who did not seem to know the difference in quality, between hour-glasses made in Flanders and those made in Germany; or that needles in the compasses had varying values according to the quality of the steels of which they were made. Some of these pilots are so vain, Peter Nunes used to say, that they reel off barbarous names of foreign lands, to create the impression that scientists who have not been to India know nothing; whilst their own reputation for science rests sometimes on a few phrases they have learned by heart, but do not understand. Others again are indignant when they are called to account for the ships and lives of men which they lose by negligence, as if they were privileged to kill without being punished. They think that they have made full apology and reparation, when they lay the blame on the winds or the currents or the skies.⁷⁹⁹

Castro also warns the pilots of the dangerous confidence that some display when they have doubled the Cape of Good Hope, as if all were now plain sailing for India. They do not always grasp the fact that, turning east, they will be buffeted by the enormous rollers of the Mozambique Channel, and that unless they are prepared with suitable measures, they may be driven helplessly out of their course.

Through his experiences on this journey he was able to indicate another danger. Like all other men interested in the Cape route, he had believed that the only dangerous shoals on the way were the Baixos da India, near Madagascar. But his own ship, the *Grypho*, had safely negotiated this Scylla when it nearly met with disaster on a Charybdis called the Primeiras Islands. At dead of night they were sailing along with the wind behind them, when the watchman saw a red light ahead; the pilot promptly steered east into the open sea, and they tacked about until daylight. Then they saw two islands with a perilous crown of sandbanks in front, upon which they would have grounded if the warning light had not saved them. One of their own fleet, which had discovered this danger a month before, hoisted this light as a warning to later comers. Castro's log-book contains a useful sketch of the appearance of these low islands

from the sea. After passing Cape Corrientes, careful captains must heave to every night until they have weathered these two dangerous spots in the daylight. The currents here are strong and tricky.⁸⁰⁰

What was the new instrument which Castro calls the *estormento*, invented by Peter Nunes, bought by Prince Luis and presented to Castro for testing on this voyage? We have a long description of it by Nunes himself.⁸⁰¹ It was evidently an improved compass designed to measure and correct the deviation of the needle. Its basis was a circular plate graduated at the outer rim like an astrolabe, with an inner circle like the rose of the winds. A perforated rod had an attached pin that revolved over the two circles of the plate, and it was to be used in conjunction with the astrolabe. Having made observations with the two instruments and noted the length of their respective shadows, "if the distances are equal, we shall know that the needle is pointing to the truth north." If not, he laid down rules for calculating the deviation east or west. The reports of the pilots had hitherto been so contradictory, that Peter Nunes thought the time ripe for making an end to guesswork.⁸⁰²

With his *poma* he made a gallant attempt in this direction, but it did not stand the severe tests to which Castro subjected it during this voyage round the Cape of Good Hope. The scientific principles of Nunes seem sound enough, but the construction of the instrument proved faulty. The handicraft was the work of John Gonsalves, a name of European renown in those days.

Castro found that it was practically impossible to hold it level, that it was unevenly graduated, and that a jerk to the central pin of steel would put it out of order altogether. Their first conclusion was that for definite results, they still had to depend upon the astrolabe. Not, indeed, that this was perfect. They found that the angles of altitude registered by the astrolabe made the Cape of Good Hope seem further away than it actually was, when computed by the mileage of the ships and the time they took in making the voyages. Hence, Castro writes to Nunes urging him to correct the maps in circulation in this regard. "On the maps," he remarks quaintly, "Brazil and the Cape of Good Hope are farther apart than God really placed them on the globe."

But John de Castro did not consider these efforts of his wasted. He quoted with approval the maxim of the great scientist, John Müller, of Königsberg,⁸⁰³ who had taught Martin Behaim, the associate of Diogo Cão and Vasco da Gama: "It is

always better to approximate to the truth than to remain entirely ignorant. There is merit not only in striking the bull's eye,⁸⁰⁴ but also in coming near it." And from the purely business standpoint there was some gain, as "these errors and blunders of ours in taking the altitude of the sun will be of use to our navigators; if they will learn not to be rashly confident in their own judgment in such matters, and to be very cautious in heading their ships for the shore."

But the greatest shock in the course of his researches came to him off the coast of Somaliland.⁸⁰⁵ The astrolabe spoke of ninety degrees of altitude, "which is preposterous," he adds. Calling together all his six advisers, he found that they attained the same results. "The sun cannot possibly be at our zenith. Some phenomenon has occurred which must be placed among the many inscrutable secrets of nature. At any rate, here is a nut for Doctor Peter Nunes to crack." He did not know that the currents had driven his ship far out of its supposed course, and that the sun was at the zenith. Even with modern instruments this is a position which requires many corrections then unsuspected, and the astrolabe was quite useless. Later Castro himself learned that in these circumstances definite results could be obtained by the use of the cross-staff, in which the markings of the degrees were larger and more easily read. "And if you do not happen to have a cross-staff, or a pilot who knows how to use it, it is better to trust to your own judgment than to waste time with the astrolabe, when the sun is at your zenith."

The close collaboration between the stay-at-home scientist, Peter Nunes, and the travelling *fidalgo* of observant mind is one of the most interesting partnerships on record. The original link between them was the generous amateur, Prince Luis, who cheerfully financed their scientific adventures. It was Nunes also who at this time first recognised clearly the faulty nature of the plane chart, and made the first practical attempt to remedy its errors by means of his curved irregular lines, following the true course of a ship on the paths of the ocean. Mercator seems to have obtained the first hint of his own method from Nunes at Antwerp in 1541. The Louvain scientist took the idea of Nunes a step further, by devising a chart on which the true rhumb line, denoting the course of a ship, could be drawn as a straight line. This was first done in Mercator's map of the world in 1569. But Nunes first tackled the problem in a practical way in his suggestions to John de Castro.

Castro knew what science expected of him; and we also know, because Peter Nunes has sketched it in the Preface of a

work which he published whilst the *Grypho* was on the water.⁸⁰⁶ "Science treats of things which are certain and true, such things as have a name in every language, no matter how barbarous. I cannot understand the fear that some people have of expressing in the vernacular any truths of science. Literary men have tried to raise the price of these things, so as to enhance their own prestige." In an age like ours when the lesser scientists, especially among the psychologists, seem to imagine that they have communicated a great new truth to the world by clothing a banal fact in low Latin phraseology, or in low Greek, we must admire the intuition of a man who could write like that four hundred years ago. He wanted from Castro no re-hash of Ptolemy's Greek or Pliny's Latin, but an honest statement of direct observations in good plain Portuguese. That is exactly what John de Castro always gives.

At Cape Agulhas he pauses, after discussing the distance between Brazil and the Cape,⁸⁰⁷ amid a wealth of nautical detail, to give us the historical etymology of that name, which has since been entirely forgotten. Writers of South African geography take it for granted that it originated from the same idea as that behind the Needles of the Isle of Wight. Agulhas is the Portuguese word for needles. The flint ridges of Agulhas jutting into the ocean would look as much like needles as the hard chalk ridges of England. That, however, is not how it came about in South Africa. The Portuguese pilots thought of Agulhas in relation to the gigantic magnet which we call the earth. A generation of Portuguese ships had shown by their behaviour in this locality that a remarkable change in the magnetic and directive force took place here. So it appeared to them, as Castro explains: "It is an axiom with the pilots that here there is no variation in the needles of their compasses, which bear directly upon the true poles of the earth. Hence they call it the Cape of the Needles."

One bit of half-bad advice he ventures to give the pilots, namely, that they should not make a wide sweep around this point, because it means losing much time and missing Mozambique, as the currents wash the eastern coast of Madagascar. He could not know what the modern pilot has learned through many disasters, that no sailing vessel should come nearer the point of Cape Agulhas than seven miles, because of the irresistible swell and the impossibility of anchoring on the rocky bottom of the sea.⁸⁰⁸ The many sunken vessels near the surf-beaten shore of Cape Agulhas show that this is one of the precious truths that the sailor can only learn through bitter experience.

Castro informs us that the stretch of coast from the Cape of Good Hope to Cape Corrientes was then the least-known portion of the African coast,⁸⁰⁹ and that is why he pays special attention to it in these jottings. Not only were the ports, bays and creeks uncharted, but even the latitudes were uncertain. "Hence we must sail all night close to the wind; or if we wish to speed, we must give ourselves two or three quarter-points on the safe side of the charts that we possess."

It was no doubt to make up for this deficiency that Castro gives us three sketches of this part of the coast. One of them he calls "the first point of Natal". It was a Tuesday of the second of July when they caught sight of it in a haze. The pilot was not sure of his whereabouts, but he had some reason to think that it was the beginning of the Natal coast. "It was a very beautiful and populated land. There was an opening from the coast into a valley, which seemed as if it received some river into its lap or some arm of the sea. On the south-west of the aperture there was a large mountain with a perpendicular cliff, which screened a valley; and from its lower slope on the left a mountain with seven heads stretched along the shore, the last of which heads entered the sea steeply. On the north-east of the aperture a row of three peaks hung over the valley beside the river, and continued to the right unbroken along the seashore. Between this and the sea there is a hill detached and alone. Far inland there is a very high chain of mountains (evidently the Drakensberg) which girdled the skyline of the mountains on the coast, and formed the remote side of the valley." With the aid of the drawing in the log-book this is how the description runs.

What part of the Natal coast is he describing? It looks rather like Mainhlyami, in Zululand, which the Portuguese counted as part of Natal.⁸¹⁰ There we have the gap in the low hills between the Umlalazi River and Durnford Point against the background of the Drakensberg, the seven heads of one long hill and the absence of trees on the skyline.

Next day they found themselves off a coast of very different appearance. The north-east wind had blown all night, the Mozambique current was running strong, and it seems plain that they slipped back in their course a good many miles.⁸¹¹ To make the nature of this coast clear, Castro gives us two pencil sketches made at once on the spot. "There appeared some high and beautiful rocks along the shore, which we all thought to be just like islands. Behind these were folded chains of mountains, and many groves in which fires were being lighted. Two of the hills overhanging the sea had the appearance of bulls' heads, and

through them there was an opening inland. We all said that some river must flow through it to the sea." This would seem to be the coastline on both sides of the Umzimhlava River in Pondoland, about twelve miles north-east of Port St. John's.⁸¹² These pencil sketches and verbal descriptions are the first of their full kind that we possess relating to any part of our South African coast.

Portuguese pilots, in their doubts about the guidance of the compass, often found a substitute in observing the bird life along the sea routes. Castro writes that sometimes the faults in their needles, or unusual weather conditions or mistaken calculations, put the pilots in such a fix that they would have missed the Cape of Good Hope, unless they had been able to fall back upon indications given by the birds, fish, plants and other characteristics of the land and sea.

He frequently notes the flocks of birds.⁸¹³ The bird which the Portuguese knew best and welcomed most was the sea mew which they called the Friar Pheasant, because the colours of its plumage reminded them of the habit of the Dominican friars. In their church at Bemfica there was a chapel of the Castro family, where the fine tomb of John de Castro himself is to be seen to-day. This bird had a black back and a white breast. Modern scientists seem to have adopted the nickname given by the Portuguese sailors, as they call this common gull the Dominican Larus. But there was a commoner and smaller species than this, white-headed and grey-backed, which the Portuguese called by the same name, though the scientists of to-day differentiate them. The first variety was to be met with any time after leaving the neighbourhood of Tristan da Cunha. But when the sailors met the second variety they knew that they were not far from Table Bay, as it was considered the habitat of these friars of order grey.

Fellow explorers whom they often passed far out at sea were the albatrosses. This giant among the web-footed birds was found as far afield as Tristan da Cunha in the breeding season, but its ordinary hunting ground was the coast of the Cape of Good Hope, east and west. Amongst the Portuguese there is no sign of the superstition of modern sailors in regard to the albatross, which is told in the grim verses of Coleridge's *Ancient Mariner*. The only luck that the Portuguese associated with this bird was good luck, the prospect of soon reaching the Cape of Good Hope. They called it the Cape sheep, though Castro calls it the Giant Gull. Its immense expanse of wing caused it to be seen very far away.⁸¹⁴

Somewhere near Sofala, on the fourteenth of July, Castro saw one of those whirlwinds which are called waterspouts when they occur at sea. The ship was little more than a mile away from it, and he has left us not only a graphic description, but a drawing of the phenomenon. As Castro's seems the first accurate description ever made, it deserves to be translated here.⁸¹⁵

"At ten in the morning we saw in the north-east a large flattened clump of thick billowing clouds, from the middle of which descended a cylindrical tube which looked like the proboscis of an elephant. The sailors called it the sleeve. It struck the water, splashing it all round, and seemed to suck water up to the clouds. Behind it towards the horizon there was nothing to obstruct the view, neither mist nor haze. Thus it appeared as a tree with a flat umbrella of cloud foliage, and its roots were in bubbling ground. The whole phenomenon lasted a quarter of an hour, but the disturbance of the surface of the sea only as long as it takes to recite the Apostles' Creed twice." The contemporary poet, Camoens, in a fine passage compares the sable cloud to a leech gorging itself with the waters of the ocean.⁸¹⁶ But the graphic description of Castro keeps well within the facts observed, using no poetic licence, as he speaks only of an appearance of suction. Later observations have proved that the appearance was deceptive, as most of the water carried along by the revolving spout is fresh water condensed out of the atmosphere.

A rarer phenomenon is that which Castro records on the tenth of June in the neighbourhood of Tristan da Cunha. "During the watch of dawn I saw a clearly defined rainbow made by the moon, which was to be quite full next night. Its background was a dull white; and there were two stripes of colour, one a brilliant white and the other red, a beautiful sight. It is twenty years since I saw one similar, in the city of Lisbon. Hence Pliny is clearly mistaken when he says that rainbows never appear at night."⁸¹⁷

The conditions of atmosphere must have been unusually favourable to produce such a colourful rainbow at night. Usually the colours are faint unless the moon is full, and even then the feeble light of the moon only produces stripes of white and yellow. But Castro could have found confirmation of his observations in the Latin writings of a fellow Iberian, the Spaniard Seneca, who wrote a decade before Pliny, and even tries to explain how it happens.⁸¹⁸ Castro wisely makes no attempt to do so, expecting no doubt that his master, Nunes, would tackle this problem also.

The *Grypho* did not call at the Cape of Good Hope, because all the ships of this fleet had orders to hasten to Mozambique, where they were to reinforce the Indian fleet, in order to meet a threatened attack of the Turks coming from the Red Sea. But he utilised his passage through Cape waters to gather all the data that would help pilots who should come this way. Among other things he warns them against the kick of the wind in these parts,⁸¹⁹ lasting "whilst you recite three Credos", and then dropping suddenly. In a general way, the winds of the Cape of Good Hope were always feared; but Castro states in detail that the most fearsome efforts of the Stormy Cape were the south-easter and the north-wester.

He relates his own worst experience in a later log-book. "When I returned to India in 1545, at Delagoa Bay the north-east winds and the currents caught our ship; and in five days we were driven to the Cape of Good Hope, a distance of 130 leagues, which we recognised by seeing the seals, the bulrushes⁸²⁰ and the flocks of rooks: all familiar indications. Then the wind changed, and in four days we were driven back to Delagoa Bay." The rooks of which he writes are evidently the Cape *duikers*. When the sunshine appears on a calm day after a storm, their beautiful evolutions in endless squadrons are one of the characteristic sights of the bays of the Cape Peninsula.

He goes on to point out that the south-easter is the more dangerous of these winds, because it blows in the teeth of the Agulhas current. "On the River Tagus at Lisbon I have seen a similar defiance of high and threatening waves, and wherever the winds oppose the currents you meet the same danger." His general advice to mariners is to give the whole coast a wide berth when there is wind or storm, and he suggests as much as a distance of forty leagues from the shore.⁸²¹ It is well known now that the strength of the Agulhas current is most marked where its edges sweep the coast.

One morning after they had left Tristan da Cunha behind and were well on the way to the Cape, they saw large carpets of seaweed. "They were similar to that which grows on the rock, but the leaves were larger and yellow. The sailors call it litter of Brittany."⁸²² Later writers tell us of a small Sargasso sea between Tristan da Cunha and the Cape of Good Hope, which sometimes has the appearance of meadows of this seaweed. The Portuguese did not attempt to classify the botanical species to which these specimens belonged; but they gradually acquired the more importance science of their meaning to the pilot, as signals and landmarks.

A remarkable statement of Castro's views is made quite casually as his ship passes Cape Guardafui, and these jottings interest us because of their bearing upon the Zimbabwe question. "This Cape Guardafui is the place that Ptolemy calls Cape Aromata. From there to Cape Rhaptum, which we now call Cape Delgado, Diogenes sailed in twenty-five days. Ptolemy corrects Marinus of Tyre here, and from his words we gather that in those days they could only sail with the wind behind them. This accounts for the long delays of the ships that King Solomon sent from the port of Aylan to Tarsis and Ophir, to fetch the gold and silver for the Temple."

He takes it for granted that the Phoenicians and Jews, who made up the crews of Hiram's fleets, came down this coast on their way to the gold mines. A famous Portuguese scientist and soldier, who died before Castro started on this journey, had written that some believed "Sofala to be the great mine whence Solomon obtained 450 talents of gold⁸²³ for the Temple." These were the words of Duarte Pacheco Pereira in the Prologue of his *Esmeraldo de Situ Orbis*, and they represented the view of educated men then. Pacheco quoted the author of the second book of *Chronicles*⁸²⁴ to prove that these fleets began their sea voyage in Ezion Geber, at the head of the Red Sea.

Castro proceeds to fill up the picture by maintaining that the fishing village of Tor was not only the Ezion Geber of the Bible, but also the Elana of Strabo and Ptolemy. This conclusion, however, was the result of later reflection, and of a cruise in the Red Sea which Castro made in 1541 under the leadership of Stephen da Gama.⁸²⁵ Tor is near the famous monastery of Saint Catherine of Mount Sinai; and as Stephen's son, Alvaro, distinguished himself here in fights against the Turks, he was allowed to take as his coat-of-arms the well-known symbol of the Catherine wheel.

Events like these help us to understand how so many cultured men amongst the Portuguese endured the boredom and hardships of the long journeys by sea that they undertook. Many of them were scholars as well as keen soldiers and sailors, and they took their refined interests with them. Diogo de Couto recounts a typical experience of his own in India.⁸²⁶ A Slavonian from Hungary became the trusted adviser of the Muslim King of Diu. But he was so attracted by the culture of the Portuguese, that he used to slip over to their fortress in order to read with them the works of Ariosto, Petrarcha, Dante, and Peter Bembo, the Roman cardinal who was the greatest stylist of the age both in Italian and Latin.

So Castro beguiled the tedium of his voyages with Biblical and classical investigations. When he visited Tor on the Gulf of Akabah, an arm of the Red Sea, he found its small community of Christians all speaking Arabic, and under the protecting wing of the monastery of Saint Catherine. Coming from the privations of the sea, he thought it a pleasant oasis encircled by deserts and forbidding hills. He heard from the Greek friars all the legends about Saint Catherine of Alexandria. He investigated the spot where the Israelites crossed the Red Sea, and was shown the Fountain of Moses about ten miles inland whence he drew water from the rock in the desert.

Though much of this topography remained for his critical mind an open question, he had no doubts about how the gold went from Sofala to Jerusalem. "The wood for shipbuilding was evidently transported by wagon from the groves of Mount Lebanon to Tor, the nearest and most convenient port for the Indian Ocean. This was doubly convenient, because the Jews were then masters of Idumaea and of that part of Arabia between Suez and Tor."

But Castro's description of the continuous intercourse between Tor and the principal cities of Egypt on the one hand, and between Tor and Jerusalem on the other, must impress the attentive reader with the extreme likelihood of the inference that the gold of Rhodesia, whatever the local name by which it was then known, was one of the most highly valued commodities of Egypt, north Arabia and Jerusalem. To be independent of hostile Egypt, Jerusalem would import it in the ships of its ally, the Phoenician King Hiram. But can we imagine that Egypt would neglect its opportunities of bringing gold up the Nile? The first gold of Egypt is known to have come through Nubia on the upper reaches of the Nile.⁸²⁷ There was a tradition in Abyssinia that this gold was brought from the south by "bestial Kaffirs", according to the Negus Claudius. Later researches in South Africa and Uganda have given body to the suggestion contained in the vivid description of Tor by John de Castro.

The traces of an Egyptian invasion have been found as far south as Potgietersrust in the Transvaal, and also striking indications that these relics represent a deliberate attempt once made to found an Egyptian empire over the Bantu, centring in the mountain of Kilimanjaro.⁸²⁸ The Zimbabwe pits would seem to be the crumpled remains of that Egyptian state, which at least left some faint footprints of a higher civilisation among the Bantu. Thus the diary of John de Castro helps us to visualise the importance of the Rhodesian gold mines to the ancient

peoples of the East. Perhaps the goldsmiths of Egypt, some of whose perfect work has survived the ravages of time and war, absorbed in their trade much of the gold that was mined in the old workings between the Zambesi River and the central Transvaal.

But Castro did not lose sight of the fact that his scientific researches might have grave political implications for Portugal, in the controversy with Spain about the exact limits of their division of their spheres of influence in the world. The burning question of the Moluccas had indeed been settled by the treaty of Saragossa,⁸²⁹ when Portugal agreed to pay a large sum for their peaceful possession. But many doubts about the general question still remained. For example, how far did the 180 degrees assigned to Portugal really extend? "As yet we have not sailed the whole 180 degrees assigned to us," writes Castro,⁸³⁰ "our arms have been seen by the nations of China and the Moluccas, but we have still to cover much ground assigned to us in the East." From Mozambique he feels justified in sending a cheering letter to the King. "Up to the present no one has had any idea of the things that I have discovered on this journey, bearing upon the differences between Your Highness and the Emperor. I have fully satisfied myself about the exact distance between Brazil and the Cape of Good Hope; and I feel confident that on this point I can convince any man, whether uneducated or cultured."

With regard to Mozambique itself, he gave John III fatal advice, which contributed in a marked degree to the result that the province of Mozambique is still part of the Portuguese empire, whereas practically the whole of India has been lost to Portugal. "Mozambique is one of the best ports that I have seen, and it can shelter thirty ships. No rollers driven by the wind enter this bay, so that wrecks do not occur within the port. There are no currents, but only the tides. It can be made a very strong port, if the canal between the island and the mainland is filled in."⁸³¹ He submitted an excellent plan of the port, and in 1545 he suggested the erection of a stronger fortress in a better situation for defence.

Plans for such a fortress were ordered by the King, and prepared by the experienced architect, Michael de Arruda.⁸³² The magnificent fortress of Saint Sebastian was the result, and it stands to-day as a splendid type of the engineering ability of those days. It was only erected a year after the death of King John. But its great technical strength and the bravery of its defenders have enabled Portugal to resist successfully every attempt of

her trade rivals to wrest it from her. These stirring deeds, however, belong to a later period. Castro was the first to stress the strategic importance of this key position with the natural bulwark afforded by the contiguous island of Saint George.

Whilst compiling these practical observations, John de Castro made nautical notes after every watch of the day and night. Only one day does he confess to have omitted his midday measurement of the sun's altitude, and that day he was busy overhauling the artillery of the ship.⁸³³

But when his task was completed, and he came to survey his work full of barbarous names such as those of the winds, gyrations of ships, and habits of strange birds or fish, his feelings as a man of letters welled up. What would his literary friends say, who were expecting something polished and interesting from him? "I am not writing this work for dames and dandies," he replies by anticipation, "nor for the use of those who frequent parliaments or royal palaces, but for the men of Lega and Matosinhos." These two places, on opposite banks of the River Lega, were the homes of the seafaring folk who manned the shipping of Oporto.

Castro's main aim was to present these practical people with facts and warnings that would help to make their annual journeys around the Cape of Good Hope safer and more rapid. He sought to be useful to them, and not fame in the literary world. The literary world then, as ever since, was not looking for facts or truths, but for sensations gracefully narrated. That kind of fame he deliberately set aside.

But he was more sensitive where the opinion of his own class was concerned, knowing how seldom the absent man gets justice from persons accustomed to pick holes in everything. He therefore begs the King to weigh the value of his work by consulting the experts on the subjects dealt with, and not to attach too much importance to these eloquent shoemakers who were always ready to go beyond their lasts. All this goes to show, however, what a bustling scene of hard work and free discussion the court of John III was. It was in great measure due to the patronage of these kings and princes, and their encouragement, that Peter Nunes could boast with truth: "It is now as easy to travel round the whole world as it was in former times to sail from Italy to North Africa."⁸³⁴

CHAPTER XVIII.

THROUGH NATAL ON FOOT IN 1552.

AN AFRICAN MUSLIM FROM Tangiers, who is counted the most famous of all Arabic travellers, has preserved an Arabic superstition about the wealth of India which he seems to have learned from his hosts in that country. If you acquire wealth there, writes Ibn Batata in effect, God sends either the robbers on land or the waves of the sea to swallow it up.⁸³³ That, however, was not the experience of the Portuguese, because they were more systematic traders and better seamen than the Arabs and Turks.

For fifty years after the discovery of the ocean route, the Portuguese shipwrecks were remarkably few. True, Francis de Albuquerque disappeared in 1504 on the coast of the Transkei without leaving any trace behind but a few timbers; and John de Queiros was driven by a storm, the following year, upon the beach of Delagoa Bay, where the whole crew was killed by the blacks. But these were rare exceptions in a large and regular traffic carried on by the annual fleets, almost with the safety of modern liners. But this very immunity from accident made some rashly daring, and others less careful in taking the customary precautions.

Retribution for neglect of this kind came to the galleon *Saint John* and her companion ship, the *Saint Jerome*, two out of the six spice ships which left Cochin in 1552. The latter disappeared without anyone knowing where up to the present day, says Diogo de Couto.⁸³⁴ The reason was probably the same as that which led to disaster in the case of the *Saint John*: sails so long in use that they were almost rotten.

There was, of course, a reason of sorts for this neglect. The Muslim in the waters of Cochin had become troublesome, and the best sails were being used to fit out the fighting ships which were about to deal with these disturbers of trade and peace. At the end of September of 1551, the Viceroy Afonso de Noronha took sixty-eight craft of all sizes for this punitive expedition, leaving Manuel de Sousa de Sepúlveda to arrange for the trade fleet to Lisbon as best he could.

Sepúlveda's own galleon, the *Saint John*, was the biggest ship in the traffic between India and home. She was heavily

laden, not altogether with spices, which were scarce on account of the fighting in the neighbourhood, but with a variegated assortment of merchandise. Captain de Sepúlveda was not the navigating captain, but a kind of governor and magistrate on board in full charge of discipline and of the movements of the ship.

The poet Camoens, in his first letter from India, tells us that Sepúlveda left the country under a cloud. Rumour said that he had instigated the murder of the governor of Ormuz, because he aspired to the hand of Leonora de Sá, whom Sepúlveda afterwards married. "They went to meet the scourge of God in the land of Natal," says Camoens writing in prose.⁸³⁷ But in poetry he is more guarded, and drops the innuendo in the *Lusiadas*, where he paints their tragedy in a passage of fine pathos. Perhaps he had come to the conviction that his original story was just the malicious gossip of Goa.

The galleon started late, on the third of February, when the regular monsoon begins to change into variable winds for a few weeks. Being late, they pushed on straight to the Cape of Good Hope, hoping to double it before the fierce south-east gales began. Providence seemed to favour their design, as they found themselves south of Madagascar on the thirteenth of April in pleasant weather. The pilot was anxious to make Cape Agulhas by the most direct route, but he was overruled by Sepúlveda, and ordered to tack within sight of the African coast. It was the coast of Natal that they first sighted, and for nearly four weeks of sunny days and cool winds they sailed so near the land, that the plummet was always in the hands of the ship's mate.

On the eleventh of May they were seventy-five miles south-east of the Cape, preparing to double it the next day, when the utterly unexpected happened. A south-east gale set in suddenly just before the fall of night. "The sky became overcast with heavy clouds, and such immense swellings of the sea and flashes of lightning began that they seemed signs of the wrath of God."

For three days they ran north before the merciless Cape Doctor, as this wind is called at the Cape. There was nothing else to be done, as Sepúlveda found when he consulted the pilot and the mate on the first night. Some of their sails had been swept into the sea by a storm on the equator, and those left were torn and unsafe to put to any strain. This was, in fact, why they had not doubled the Cape sooner. They had heaved to for a while in order to mend these weak sails. Meanwhile the ship was labouring so hard under the storm, that three pintles of

the rudder were shaken out, and lost in the sea. This was so serious, that when the ship's carpenter reported it to the veteran mate, Christopher Fernandes da Cunha, he ordered it to be kept secret lest the people should be disheartened.

On the fourth day the wind dropped, but not the sea. Next day the wind veered, and a hurricane blew from the opposite side of the compass. Thus they were driven back south by the pitiless monsoon. The last sails were cut to shreds, the rudder was carried overboard, one mast snapped after the other. Only the main mast survived for a while, but it was so badly shaken by the oscillations of the ship that the ship's timbers were opening. In order to save the ship, they were preparing to cut it away, when a furious blast came which severed it "as clean as you cut a cucumber with a knife."

For ten days every man and woman on board worked hard to make substitutes for the vital parts of the ship that were lost. All the cloth in the cargo was commandeered to make sails. All hands took turns at the pumps; but nothing that they could do was of any avail except to keep the ship afloat, and to sail with the wind.

On the eighth of June⁸³⁸ there were again within sight of land, five hundred persons in a leaking galleon and a boisterous sea. The coastland they saw was the north bank of the Umtamvuna River, now the boundary between Natal and Pondoland. Sepúlveda called a meeting of all the officials, and they resolved to land as best they could, since they had no masts, no rudder and no useful sails. As the current was in the direction of the shore, they were able to anchor in ten fathoms of water, but it was a dangerous and precarious anchorage.

The ship's council then decided to send a dinghy ashore, in order to find a sandy spot on the beach. As the galleon was no longer seaworthy, their intention was to run her aground, break her up, and with the timbers left to build a caravel which would be sufficient to carry the survivors to Mozambique, as they would no longer need the very large cargo space. At the worst, they could construct a vessel big enough to reach Sofala and bring relief from there. There was sufficient cloth left in the bales to make sails that would be serviceable. One of the wise precautions of the royal government of Portugal was to send always with these ships a number of skilled artisans to deal with emergencies of this kind.

Some sailors were first sent ashore in a large kind of row-boat, which the Portuguese called a *manchua*⁸³⁹ in imitation of a Tamil word of the Malabar coast. They soon returned to report

that there was a splendid beach ahead of them, lying between two extremely rocky stretches of the shore. They had taken bearings, and the *Saint John* was allowed to drift into seven fathoms of water, and anchored there again "within two cross-bow shots of the shore."

The evacuation of the galleon then began. The large ship's boat was requisitioned to take ashore Sepúlveda, his wife, their children and about thirty others. The captain intended to erect a kind of zareba on shore, protected by barrels from the galleon. They had hardly landed when the storm rose again suddenly. In the subsequent trips made by the two smaller boats several men were lost, but the work of landing went on for three days. The last boat which was able to cross carried the pilot, the aged mate of the ship and forty others, but it was dashed to pieces on the beach, though nobody was drowned.

The rising wind then broke the galleon's cable, she was carried by the huge rollers on to the rocks, and split in two at the first impact, as her long buffetings by the storms had loosened her rivets and timbers. Two hundred Portuguese and an equal number of Indians and slaves were struggling in the breakers amidst bales of merchandise, boxes, hen coops, baskets and loose planks. More than forty Portuguese and seventy blacks were either drowned, or battered to death by floating logs, or crushed upon the jagged rocks. Few escaped wounds from nails or woodwork. The galleon was hammered into fragments, and nothing remained of her on the beach but splinters smaller than a man's arm. That day merchandise to the value of a million *cruzados* was buried in the sea, as no vessel so richly laden had left India since it was discovered.

Amongst those who remained on board to the end were the quartermaster, Edward Fernandes, and the boatswain, Alvaro Fernandes. It is principally to the boatswain that we owe the graphic details of this great tragedy.⁸⁴⁰ He was not a writer himself. But when he reached Mozambique with some other survivors, he told the story to some Portuguese gentleman with a ready gift of expression, whose name has not been preserved. But his manuscript was printed in the famous collection of narratives of shipwrecks called the *Historia Tragico-Mariitima*. "All this was narrated to me in great detail by the boatswain of the galleon, whom I met by happy chance at Mozambique in the year 1554." These words from the Preface⁸⁴¹ show that the manuscript, though printed in Lisbon, was completed in Mozambique.

When Captain de Sepúlveda saw his people struggling in the water he ordered a big fire to be kindled on shore, as it was a bitterly cold day. The boats had been destroyed, so he had no means of helping them to reach the shore; but he remained on the water edge to cheer them on, and to lead them to the fire when they arrived disabled or benumbed. Within two hours the last vestiges of the *Saint John* had disappeared, and the last of the survivors were being nursed in such poor tents as they were able to set up.

It was now evident to everybody that there was no hope for them on the sea, as no possible means of transport remained. Sepúlveda called a meeting of the principal seamen and men of rank. Among them was Pantaleon de Sá, who was afterwards to have two terms of office as governor of Mozambique; also Baltazar de Sequeira, Tristan de Sousa, Amador de Sousa and Diogo Mendes Dourado of Setubal. They decided to remain near the river for twelve days, in order to give the sick and injured time to recover. Then they would trek on foot to the Bay of Lourenço Marques, where they knew that at least one caravel called annually for ivory.

They camped on the beautiful stretch of coast where Port Edward is to-day, a district naturally fertile and sheltered from the cold winds that had nearly frozen them at sea. For a whole month they had known no rest, night or day; and now, though it was winter here, the days were radiant and the peaceful nights only broken occasionally, when some "far hyena sent his voice of woe tingling in faint hysteria through the sky".⁸⁴² But the sleepers knew that the night watch guarded the camp with their muskets, which had been saved from the wreck, and that they could sleep without fear, especially that terror of the awful elements which had frayed their nerves for weeks.

No sign of human life appeared for three days. This area was evidently populated thinly then, three hundred years before the Zulu Attila, Tshaka, established his headquarters on the Umzinkulu River⁸⁴³ close by, laying Pondoland waste and decimating the Pondo tribes. But on the third day nine Kafirs appeared on the brow of a distant hill. They seemed lost in wonder at the crowd of white men who had apparently dropped from the sky, and they remained two hours gazing at them. But when the Portuguese attempted to come nearer, they fled.

The captain, however, did not give up hope of establishing friendly relations with the people of the country. Two days later he sent a dark sailor of mixed breed to reconnoitre, chiefly to find out what tribes lived here and what provisions were to be

had. The sailor and his comrades returned after two days, to say that they only found some abandoned huts with assegais inside "displayed ostentatiously,"⁸⁴⁴ which they say is the way these savages declare war". Sepúlveda, however, had no intention of accepting such a challenge, as he showed quite clearly three days later.

Seven or eight Kafirs then appeared on a neighbouring hill, leading a cow. By means of friendly signs, the captain induced them to come down and meet him with four other Portuguese. Understanding from the dumb show that they wanted iron to make weapons, he sent for some nails, at the sight of which they gave signs of delight. They had just settled the number of nails that the cow would cost, when five other natives appeared and began to chatter in a Bantu tongue. The nature of the talk was evident when the owners of the cow turned away and refused to complete the bargain. Sepúlveda refused to pursue them or to do them any violence, much as the women and children of the party needed some fresh milk to regain their strength.

What they had saved from the wreck was chiefly rice. With the good water and complete rest, it was sufficient in this healthy climate to restore the energy of the men after twelve days. Then Sepúlveda called them all together, and addressed them in words of encouragement which ended thus: "You see the conditions to which we are reduced for our sins, and I consider my own sins enough to have brought all these disasters. But our Lord is merciful and has already saved us from shipwreck, and He may now be pleased to bring us safe to a Christian land again." This statement has no bearing upon the question of the guilt of Sepúlveda in regard to the crime of Ormuz. The Portuguese were incapable of the kind of self-righteousness by which Oliver Cromwell fondly imagined that he led a company of saints, even after the judicial murder of his own king. In the Portuguese view, no company or nation dare claim to be righteous before God. So they confessed their sins, and were confident that their repentance was a solid ground of hope for God's mercy. They also realised that God could not be expected to help them where they could help themselves.

Sepúlveda therefore consulted all his men about the best route to follow. The general opinion was that they should keep as close to the sea as possible. To facilitate the control of such a large crowd, they were divided into three companies. The first was that of Sepúlveda, led by the pilot Andrew Vaz carrying an uplifted banner of the Crucified. Dona Leonora was in a litter borne by slaves, and there were eighty other Portuguese in

this first band. The navigating captain of the galleon took charge of the second company, consisting of the sailors and the female slaves. The last batch of two hundred, which was under the command of Pantaleon de Sá, included the remaining Portuguese with the men slaves.

Out of a total of about five hundred survivors of the wreck, one hundred and eighty were Portuguese. The name slaves was then in vogue for black servants, but most of these were practically indentured servants and were usually well treated, as will be seen from their loyalty to their masters in these difficult circumstances.

The journey began on the seventh of July, 1552, just as the Turks were overwhelming Hungary to complete their deadening hold upon the civilisation of the Balkan States. At the end of the first month the caravans reached Ilhovo beach, a distance of ninety miles as the crow flies, but about three hundred miles along the circuitous route that they were obliged to follow. They had long searches for fords across many of the deep-channelled rivers, especially the broad Umzimkulu.

Many fell by the wayside during this first lap of the journey. Among them was a natural son of Sepúlveda, to whom he was deeply attached, a boy of ten who fell exhausted by hunger. The night he was missed, his father offered five hundred *cruzados* to anyone who would go back and fetch him. No one ventured the suicidal task, as wild animals were all round the camp. The diarist of this journey tells us that the horror of this discovery was the first of the mental shocks that ended in the complete insanity of Manuel de Sousa de Sepúlveda. The messenger who brought the news reported, that both the boy and the slave who was carrying him on his back fell down by the roadside, unable to walk a step further.

Every day two or three persons were falling out in this way, and were usually devoured by the leopards and other beasts of prey. Among these victims was Anthony de Sampaio, a nephew of the governor of India. But the man most generally lamented was Diogo Mendes Dourado, a *fidalgo* who was a crack shot, and invaluable in replenishing the scanty larder of the caravan. Not only did he put the fear of his matchlock into the hearts of the marauding Kafirs, who were always hovering on the flanks of the travellers, but he brought down his game with a minimum expenditure of their precious ammunition. One day he was found transfixated by an assegai. "He fought to the end like a gallant gentleman," writes the anonymous chronicler.

The search for water caused much loss of time. Between the rivers their stock of water was carried in a large cauldron. Sepúlveda himself divided the precious liquid, and would give substantial money rewards to those who discovered watering places as they went along. On some of the beaches they found good fishing pools, but the supply of fruit and occasionally goats was never sufficient to make life bearable.

At this time Sepúlveda and his men were inexperienced in dealing with the South African native. They knew nothing of their language or ways, and consequently fared worse than some later travellers of their countrymen. But they would never have obtained enough food for such a large number, as they learned later from a friendly Bantu chief, who informed them that "the people sowed only very few seeds and ate nothing in the shape of meat but the wild game which they were able to kill." So famished were the survivors of the *Saint John*, that they would even powder the bones of animals to roast and eat, and the skins of goats were soaked and devoured. At the end of three months about three hundred had been killed by Kafirs or wild beasts, or had fallen exhausted by the way.

Then, to their great joy, they came to the kraal of a Bantu chief whose name was already a household word with the Portuguese. His native name was Nyaka, and his principal kraal was on the banks of the small River Umfuzi.⁸⁴⁵ The name is still preserved in its Portuguese form in the island of Inyaka, which lies east of Delagoa Bay. To the Portuguese, however, he was best known as Garcia de Sá, because Captain Lourenço Marques, when he first met him at Delagoa Bay, thought he saw in him a resemblance to the venerable governor of Malacca of that name. The chief was a kindly old man of fine build with a long white beard, who had always shown a desire to be friendly with the Portuguese, and he now welcomed the weary travellers.

It speaks volumes for the humanity of the Portuguese that the tribes around Delagoa Bay should have remained for four centuries in the places where Captain Lourenço Marques first met them. They certainly gained much in security and civilisation by the wisdom of this chief in thus responding to the friendly overtures of the Portuguese. The Nyaka kingdom lost the southern part of the territory through the attacks of a younger branch of the Maputju clan. But those under Portuguese protection flourished in comparative peace,⁸⁴⁶ and have undoubtedly contributed to the civilisation of this area.

A Swiss expert⁸⁴⁷ who spent the period of a generation in this region studying the history of these tribes testifies to this.

"For a long time before the European or Asiatic traders occupied the high land of South Africa, the tribes round Delagoa Bay acted as intermediaries between the white merchants and the tribes of the interior. The Mpumfumo clan especially was known as a clan of merchants; large caravans were organised to carry clothing, beads and other goods to Gazaland, to the northern Transvaal and even to Zululand. In this way these natives really contributed to the civilisation of the country."

The foundation of this solid development was laid by the mutual courtesies of Captain Lourenço Marques and the chief Nyaka, who now extended a primitive but generous hospitality to the worn-out travellers. He gave them all he had, such as it was, and this certainly saved the remnant of the party from perishing.

He also gave Sepúlveda some sound advice, namely, that he should now consider his land journey at an end, and await the next boat that was to come from Mozambique for the annual load of ivory. The tribes to the north were hostile to Europeans, and would certainly attack them. But Sepúlveda had become unnerved and restless, itching to push on; and he said so. Seeing his determination, Nyaka asked him at least to stay long enough to help him to defeat a neighbouring chief who had been making war on him for some time. Pantaleon de Sá was ordered by the captain to take twenty Portuguese, so as to stiffen the impi of Nyaka against his aggressive neighbour. They returned after five days completely victorious, bringing some heads of cattle as booty, which were divided between Nyaka and the Portuguese.

Then Sepúlveda gave the order to resume the march towards the north. The Kafir chief made a last appeal to him, repeating his warning that the Mpumfumo⁸⁴⁸ hated all strangers and would most certainly turn upon them, either openly or by treachery. These Fumo, as the Portuguese called them, were the most warlike of the minor tribes around Delagoa Bay. They spoke the Zulu-Xosa language which was even then common to them all, and their settlement in this region was already one hundred years old.⁸⁴⁹ They had the real barbarian trait of a terror of strangers, now sharpened by the news that the Portuguese had assisted their enemy Nyaka to destroy his nearest enemies.

Into this zone of storms Sepúlveda now led his men. He declared that twelve months was too long to wait for help; and this impatience surprised his captains, who had been accustomed to hear him utter counsels of wisdom. This highly strung leader was quite a different character from the man whose coolness led

them safely out of the shipwreck on the coast. The nerve-racking experiences of these months had transformed him into the ghost of the person that he was.

Under his command, however, they pushed on to the first arm of the greatest river that flows into Delagoa Bay. To-day this big river is called the Espírito Santo; but these travellers have preserved its Bantu name, Belygane, and they themselves called it the Boa Paz. The arm that they now faced was the Tembe River.⁸⁵¹ During all these days spent in Nyaka's country they were evidently encamped on the Maputo River, which was only a few miles from his great kraal on the Umfuzi River. Both the original accounts of this journey state clearly that this renewal of their disasters began on the first tributary of the Great River, which tributary is the Tembe.

Here they received a curious warning. Carved on the face of a rock near the ford of the river, an arrangement of three Doric columns was seen, these columns being united in the usual way, but with little bells on each. The whole was painted a deep red. Portuguese travellers must have passed that way before them, and wished to warn others that there was danger ahead.⁸⁵²

But Manuel de Sousa de Sepúlveda had reached the stage where nothing would deter him from carrying out the whim of the moment. Not even an angel with a flaming sword would have held him back, much less a mere red signal. When Nyaka out of sheer good nature endeavoured to place obstacles in his way, evading his request for canoes to make the crossing, Sepúlveda became suspicious of the Kafir chief's motives. Seeing at last that nothing could be done, Nyaka yielded and gave both canoes and rowers to ferry them over.

As a mark of friendship, Nyaka had accompanied the Portuguese to the ford of the river, and wished to remain there until he saw that they were safely across. But Sepúlveda now imagined that some sinister plot lurked behind this friendly act, and insisted that Nyaka should return home before they began to move from the river bank. Of course, the Kafir chief complied, wondering. Then the whole company, five musketeers among them, crossed over in canoes and resumed their march.

Five days of steady trekking brought them to the bank of the second tributary of the Great River, the much broader Umbeluzi which to-day is the source of water-supply to the city of Lourenço Marques. But instead of crossing it, the captain ordered them to march along the right bank in the direction of the sea. The seamen and *fidalgos* began to think that there was

some method in his madness after all. He was apparently making for Delagoa Bay to await the next trade caravel, in spite of what he had said to Nyaka some days before.

Travelling sixty miles in this direction, they reached the spot where the three tributaries of the River Espírito Santo converge into the main stream. There they met some Kafirs in canoes, and Sepúlveda questioned them about the easiest way of reaching the sea. As the sun had now set, they pitched their camp on a sandy stretch of ground near the river. But it was a night of misery. They had expected to find abundance of drinking water in the river, but in the pools of the spot where they had encamped the water was brackish, and only served to increase their thirst. Relief was obtained by sending some of the slaves back to the place where they had last found fresh water, and Sepúlveda rewarded them handsomely with money that he had salvaged out of the ruins of his great fortune. Their supply of food had also dwindled, and only scanty additions of game and fruit were possible in the fields and thickets through which they passed.

It was with sighs of relief that they welcomed the dawn. During the day they were able to forage about and make some preparation for the next stage of their journey. Towards evening three more canoes appeared, rowing from the direction of the sea. Sepúlveda called one of his female slaves who had employed her time at Nyaka's kraal to some purpose by learning the Zulu language. She was able to elicit from the new arrivals all the information that the captain wanted.

It was not good news. The Kafirs said that they had just come from the Bay, and had seen the departure of a ship manned by Portuguese. This meant that if they continued their journey to the sea, they would have to wait a full twelve months for the next trading vessel. That was more than Sepúlveda's taut nerves could face. He changed his mind once more, resolving to trudge north on foot.

He bargained with the natives to carry his whole company across the river for the price of a few nails. As it was already night, and "as the Kafirs will do nothing at night", it was arranged that the transporting would be done next day. At daybreak they appeared with an extra canoe. First some sailors were sent over, to guard the spot where each canoe-load would be set down on the opposite bank. Then the four canoes began their work. In one of them went Sepúlveda, his wife and two young children.

In midstream his overwrought brain gave way once more. This time his gloomy suspicions were riveted on the Kafir oarsmen. "You rascally dogs! Where are you taking me?" This he shouted, putting his hand to his sword. In their terror some of the natives jumped out of the boat and would have been drowned, if Dona Leonora had not soothed her husband and persuaded him to rescue the men struggling with the stream.

This splendid woman played a noble part during the last few months. She began the journey in a litter, but soon realised that the weak slaves could not go on carrying her. She rose to heights of great courage when the conditions of life were at their worst. After a while she had to go barefoot like the rest, and to perform all those tasks that servants had always done for her. She also took turns with the servants in carrying her own children. But she seemed to have an invisible sun within her on the darkest days. Especially when she realised how changed her husband had become, and saw how much he needed help, she became his co-partner in a new sense, to the great joy of the Portuguese and the slaves. No one else was able to bring the captain to reason, when one of his incalculable moments of tantrums came upon him. The people now looked to her as their real leader.

When the strain of crossing the river was over, Sepúlveda's head was racked with agonising pains, and his wife bandaged his head with hot cloths, which seemed to give him an interval of rest. Even then, however, his mind was clouded, as if he were chasing thoughts that eluded him. But the caravan had to march on or perish. Just as they were in marching order again, they met a band of Kafirs and prepared to fight, as they looked menacing. But the newcomers sent a woman to parley with them. She had lived for many years near the fortress of Sofala and had learned to speak Portuguese. The outcome of the talk was that the natives agreed to bring them to the kraal of their king, the dangerous man against whom they had been warned.

The Kafirs promised that at the great kraal the Portuguese would get all the provisions they needed. At this time the number of survivors was reduced to 120, and in wide circuits they had walked nine hundred miles. Three miles more brought them to the kraal of the chief of the Mpumlo tribes. He had been warned of their coming, and sent messengers to tell them not to enter the kraal, but to remain under a certain clump of trees, where he would forward all the food they wanted. True to his word, he sent the provisions for which they paid in the coin beloved of these nomads, iron nails.

When five days had passed, Sepúlveda sent word to the chief that he would like to remain in this land until the ships returned to Delagoa Bay, but that he would need a hut to shelter his wife and children. To this the chief willingly agreed on certain conditions, and these conditions indicate the suspicions that were simmering in the mind of the wily barbarian. They were not unnatural under the circumstances of Bantu life.

Tribal warfare was in their blood and traditions. The murder of royal children and of popular indunas was a commonly recurring incident of tribal history.⁸⁵³ A stranger of any kind, whether European or Bantu, was a natural enemy, only to be endured as long as he was strong enough to be feared. Witchcraft was a secret weapon which they feared even more than assegais, and one never knew what insidious form of bewitchment the stranger might keep concealed. Their arms seemed dangerous enough. Tribal folklore told how their ancestors at first knew nothing of arms or iron, so that even the elephants multiplied out of all reason, to their great harm. Then warlike tribes came from the north and west, conquering them and teaching them the use of the iron assegai. Thus arose the various Ba-Ronga tribes of the area, of which the Mpumo were the most aggressive.

The chief had seen the five muskets of the Portuguese party, and must have heard of the help that Pantaleon de Sá had given his enemy, Nyaka. That he should have been on his guard was natural enough, but his stratagem to rob them was extremely simple. He agreed to give the huts that the Portuguese requested, but on condition that the Portuguese divided up. Sepúlveda and his family would have a hut in the royal kraal, and the others would be divided among the kraals of his indunas.

Sepúlveda had become too childish to see any danger in agreeing to this proposal, and like a petulant child he would now be controlled by no one. The writer of the account which expresses the views of the boatswain, Alvaro Fernandes, is inclined to blame also the lack of experience of all these Portuguese. "Being a stranger in these lands, Manuel de Sousa de Sepúlveda did not know as much about the Kafirs as we do at present, through our experience in this wreck and in that of the ship *Saint Benedict* in 1554. A hundred Portuguese with muskets can traverse the whole of Kafirland, because the Kafirs fear muskets more than they do the Devil himself."

When Mpumo asked for the surrender of the arms, lest his people should be frightened, Sepúlveda not only agreed, but urged his men to trust the blacks; because the soldiers were

most unwilling to hand over their muskets. Dona Leonora opposed the idea strongly. "If you lay down your arms," she pleaded, "we are all lost." But even she was losing her influence with her husband. He quoted the views of the pilot, Andrew Vaz, that they were near Delagoa Bay; and he was determined to remain with this friendly chief until a ship came. Those who did not agree could go on.

As soon as the chief distributed about one hundred of the Portuguese in the various minor kraals, the Kafirs not only robbed them of their goods, but stripped them all of their clothes. At first Sepúlveda and his family, Andrew Vaz and about twenty others, who had been located in the royal kraal, were spared. The jewels, precious stones and money that they had with them amounted to one hundred thousand *cruzados* in value. Their turn came next, and all these valuables were taken from them, though at first their clothes were left, and apparently the rings on their fingers.

Meantime the rest of the caravan escaped from the kraals one by one, and, rejoining one another at some distance, they decided to continue their march north together. They were ninety all told, under the command of Pantaleon de Sá. When the insatiable chief had completely despoiled Sepúlveda and his party, he turned them out of the kraal. Theirs in the end was the most miserable fate of all.

Having gone a considerable distance, they were overtaken by some Kafir stragglers and forced to halt on the bank of the Incomati River.⁸⁶⁴ They had taken two days to reach it. The Kafirs were a large band, and seeing how few the Portuguese were and that they were unarmed, they proceeded to strip them of the only possessions left, their clothing. But when they came to Dona Leonora she fought like a tigress, and was determined to die rather than submit to this indignity.

These barbarians did not know that they were outraging the refined feelings of the noble lady. With them nakedness was the most natural thing in the world, the filthy world in which they lived. But brought up in the finely artistic and moral atmosphere of the court of John III, Dona Leonora felt herself outraged by this treatment, even in the wilderness. The pilot, Andrew Vaz, and his assistant, Alvaro Fernandes, who had kept close to Sepúlveda and his family during these cruel days, now turned away with tears in their eyes, realising the inevitable tragedy that they could not avert even with the sacrifice of their lives. There was impotent wrath in their hearts when they heard

Sepúlveda consenting to the demand of the blacks. At least they would not add to the distress of Dona Leonora by witnessing it.

But the death-blow to her courage was given by this act of her own mad husband. He ordered her to surrender her garments to these thieves. "It was inevitable," he said incoherently, "the will of God, a punishment for our sins." She knew that this lunatic before her was no safe guide as to the will of God. She could perhaps have survived the shame of this ordeal, but not the fact that her husband had consented to it. That extinguished the last flickering glow of human hope that had helped to sustain her tormented soul so long. Clearly the man whom she had loved and honoured was dead mentally, and she was alone with his shadow in the midst of barbarians.

She would die with her starving children. Loosening her magnificent head of hair, she wrapped it round her, and begged the weeping women slaves to help her to dig a pit in the sand. There she covered herself up to the waist. She had noted the sympathetic act of the seamen, and now sent for them. "If ever you reach India or Portugal," she said, "tell them that I died with my husband and children. Leave me now, I beg you, and look to yourselves. Command me to God with your prayers, as no man can now help us." If living was cruel and without human hope, death was for her the door of a higher and surer hope.

The rest of the tale is told by three of the five female slaves who remained with her to the end, and survived. In a lucid interval Sepúlveda got a glimpse of the fact that his family were starving, and rushed into the nearest thicket to gather some wild fruit, though he himself was suffering with a gangrenous wound in the leg. On his return he found one child dead. Next day he went again among the bushes to gather some of the scanty fruits of the wild plants. When he returned this time both his wife and baby boy were also dead.

The slaves narrated that he took no notice of his dead children, but sat for half an hour gazing fixedly into the eyes of his dead wife. With the aid of the slaves, he dug a grave for the bodies of his wife and children. Then he bolted madly into the woods and was never seen again. It was generally believed that he was devoured by lions, which were frequently seen here. Some years later the Portuguese who passed through the Mpumo country were told by the chief that Sepúlveda's rings were found in a glade of the neighbouring forest.⁸⁵⁵

It would seem that the two seamen, perceiving how soon the end of this family tragedy must come, had arranged to wait for

the slaves. Together they pushed on fast, hoping to overtake, as they did, the main body under Pantaleon de Sá, who was the brother of Dona Leonora. For months they floundered about the unknown territory, constantly chivvied by the natives.

Having no guns or swords, they learned to protect themselves with their wits. The great *fidalgo*, Pantaleon de Sá, developed into an accomplished clown, who won the hearts of the simple Bantu by his tricks and drolleries. One story current among the Portuguese seems likely enough, though it disappears from the second edition of the narrative of Fernandes.⁸⁵⁶ At a kraal on their way, Pantaleon de Sá heard that the Great Chief was very sick with a dangerous wound in the leg, and he was informed that nothing could be given his party, as the chief refused to see them. Nothing daunted, he told them that he was a physician and might be able to help. He examined the festering limb, had the audacity to concoct a poultice from the herbs available, and applied it himself. Fortune favoured him. Next day he was overjoyed to hear that the wound had discharged and relieved the pain of the patient. He was loaded with gifts, especially with the precious gift of food, and was speeded on his way as a most welcome guest.

Only iron constitutions, as well as characters of steel, enabled these men who survived to hold out. But hope was reborn when they came to the banks of the Mutamba River that runs into the Bay of Inhambane, which is about 230 miles from Delagoa Bay. A local tradition says that this is the river which Vasco da Gama named the Copper River. Gama was so well received by the tribes of this territory, that he called it the Land of the Good People.

Once more it was to justify its name. The natives were not only friendly, but gave the cheering news that there was a settlement of Portuguese traders near the river mouth. For some years the Bay of Inhambane had become a branch station of the ivory trade of Lourenço Marques. The natural harbour was deep and broad enough to make it a safe anchorage. Fourteen miles up the river some huts had been built, which served as a warehouse and dwellings for the annual visitors.

These visitors were in fact busy with their trade just then, and they heard from some of their Bantu customers that a number of Portuguese were wandering about higher up the river. The captain, whose name was Salgado, offered a reward for every Portuguese that the natives should bring to Inhambane. Beads were the bait he offered, "the thing they love best in the world," adds the chronicler. Two pence worth of beads seems

paltry enough to us, but represented a treasure to the natives, being sufficient to ransom a Portuguese or a slave. At this price they rounded up all the stragglers on the river, and had them brought to the settlement on the bay.

These traders from Mozambique had come well provided with everything necessary to clothe and feed the weary band. They must have done less trade than usual that year, because much of the goods they brought for barter went to fit out their distressed countrymen. Out of the ninety who fled from the kraals of the Mpumfumo, only eight Portuguese survived and fourteen slaves; among these the three women who had remained with Dona Leonora until the end.

The names of six of the Portuguese have been preserved: Pantaleon de Sá, Tristan de Sousa, the pilot Andrew Vaz, Balthasar de Sequeira, Manuel de Castro, and the boatswain's mate to whom we owe most of our knowledge of this pathetic story. They sailed for Mozambique in the trading *pangaio*.⁸⁵⁷ This word, though much used in India, is of East African origin, and meant a two-masted ship with lateen sails, furnished also with oars for coast work. The timbers were generally sewn together strongly with coconut fibre, and well caulked. They reached Mozambique on the twenty-fifth of May, 1553, nearly a year after they had been shipwrecked on the Natal coast.

They received a warm welcome from the Governor of Mozambique, Diogo de Mesquita, who took Pantaleon de Sá and Tristan de Sousa into his own home, the rest being distributed among the more comfortable families of the town. But by the next boat to India, all of them went to report themselves at headquarters.

Both in India and in Portugal the news of this shipwreck caused an immense sensation, both on account of the large number who perished and of the high rank of the two families to which Sepúlveda and his wife belonged. The anonymous chronicler points his moral to the tale: God is no respecter of persons. "All good Christians must fear Him and keep His commandments. Manuel de Sousa was a very noble *fidalgo* and a great gentleman, and in India he spent more than fifty thousand *cruzados* in charitable works. Yet he and his family perished miserably among Kafirs." Suffering does not crush men and women of Christian faith. The Portuguese saw the benevolent outlines of God's pattern of life. No present disasters could smother their vision, or dim their trust in God their Father.

The poet Camoens sings of the Sepúlveda couple as the third victims of Adamastor's wrath, the first two being

Bartholomew Dias and Francis de Almeida. In his Epic even the cruel pagan spirit of the Cape pitied their sufferings, and sulkily admits that "their souls were set free from the fair prison of such misery".⁸⁵⁸ Camoens must have heard by this time of the government enquiry, which by implication absolved Sepúlveda from any guilt in the murder of Luis Falcão de Sousa, the military governor of Ormuz.

The historian, Diogo de Couto, tells us of this vindication. Falcão was shot as he was sitting one summer evening at his own door in the fortress of Diu, playing with a child. The day after the funeral an exhaustive enquiry was begun, and no trace of any evidence to identify the murderer could be found. At this time Sepúlveda and Leonora had already been secretly married. Though they were married publicly with great pomp in the Cathedral of Goa in 1549 by the Bishop, it was an open secret that they were privately married before.⁸⁵⁹ Leonora's father, Garcia de Sá, was then Governor of India, and feeling that he had not long to live, he wished to silence the gossips by a state wedding. She had no children, and those who died with her in Africa were her stepchildren.

When Sepúlveda left India, he had completed a distinguished term of service there, extending over twenty years. He had been commandant of Diu and Ormuz successively, and was in command of the fleet that went to Bardela in 1550 to deal with a conspiracy of the Malabar kings. It was a conspiracy that threatened to endanger the whole valuable pepper trade of Portugal. He captured the eighteen kings by a lightning movement of the fleet, surrounding the island before they had time to move; but, better still, he refrained from any vengeance, and persuaded them to make a sensible peace.⁸⁶⁰ One of his colleagues declared that his manners were so winning that everybody, whether Portuguese or Indian, succumbed to his appeals in the public service.⁸⁶¹

His was another of the great careers which ended in unexpected disaster at the Cape of Good Hope, as the Portuguese called all South Africa below Delagoa Bay. But no moral stain rests upon his character such as a hasty reader of the account of the wreck of the galleon *Saint John* might think. Great governors, great statesmen, great proconsuls have indeed sometimes been great scoundrels, but Sepúlveda was not of this type.

For this we have the evidence of two of the severest moralists of that day in India, Simon Botelho and the saintly Francis Xavier. Botelho was the most famous of many notable treasurers-general of the Indian empire. When Sepúlveda had

definitely decided to leave for home, Botelho wrote to tell the King how he regretted his departure.⁸⁶² "We have all tried in vain to keep him here." A letter of Xavier by the same mail informs John III how useful Sepúlveda had been to all good causes in India, and that he could be relied upon to give a faithful account of the true state of the country.⁸⁶³

When we remember the outspoken way in which this zealous missionary deals with some of the highest officials of the state in his reports to the King, we need no other testimony to the beloved memory that Sepúlveda left among those who knew him best. Once when he was contemplating a dangerous voyage by sea, he said that "life is in the hands of God";⁸⁶⁴ but the later events of his own career are a warning that the good name of men often falls into the unholy hands of the gossip.

The wreck of the *Saint John* bears strong, if indirect, testimony to the financial and economic strength of Portugal at this time. The great galleon contained the bulk of Portugal's imports for a whole year, worth about one million *cruzados* of gold. In value the loss may be compared to that wrought upon an island nation by one year of trade blockade by submarine. Yet there was not the least sign of anything in the nature of a collapse in the home market of Portugal. The country readjusted itself quietly to the loss.

The price of living no doubt went up, though not to the same extent as in those modern countries, where speculation has been permitted in the necessities of the people's life. The prices of Indian goods certainly rose in Antwerp, Lyons, Seville and elsewhere. But the King and his Council had placed the trade on a sound basis of the national welfare; so that it recovered its trade equilibrium without panic, in spite of the loss of so much trading capital in the waters of Pondoland and the wilds of Zululand.

CHAPTER XIX.

LOST IN THE TRANSKEI IN 1554.

ON EASTER MORNING IN THE YEAR 1554, when the rays of the rising sun fell upon the seashore on the right bank of the Umtata River, they disclosed a scene of carnage like a deserted battlefield. Scores of dead bodies were strewn about, showing hideous wounds and deformities, and the attitudes of many of the corpses gave evidence of the agonies they had endured before dying. Of some, only legs or arms or faces were visible, because the rest of their bodies had been covered during the night by the drifting sands. Others were half smothered in bales of cloth, driftwood and barrels of wine or oil.

As if to heighten the tragedy of these relics of human woe, the sea sands and the meadows behind them were dotted with bottles of rare oriental scents, valuable drugs and spices, and brocades with silken goods of many kinds. If you had the heart to count the sum of this human misery, you would find 160 corpses, forty-four Europeans and over one hundred blacks.

The Portuguese galleon, *Saint Benedict*, had been wrecked on this spot late on the evening before. It was a noble ship, the largest and finest in the royal service. The previous year¹⁵⁵³ Captain Ferdinand de Alvares Cabral had taken it to Goa, carrying drastic instructions to the Viceroy Afonso de Noronha. King John ordered him to restore at once to the Rajah of Ceylon all the jewels and money that had been taken from him, as the Viceroy's judgment did not seem fair when revised by the King. Of the four ships that left Lisbon that year, only one reached Goa in the usual time, because the weather was atrocious. The great skill and experience of Cabral was largely responsible for the better fortune of his ship.

But even he could not save the *Saint Benedict* in the circumstances of the home journey. She was greatly handicapped by being overladen with cargo and no less than 473 passengers. They left Cochin on the first of February, 1554. It was the season when the direction of the storm winds is variable in the region of Mozambique. Here indeed their serious troubles began. In the latitude of Mozambique the ship was already so battered, that some of the officers urged taking refuge there in order to refit.

The clever pilot, Manuel de Mesquita Perestrelo, to whom we owe an eye-witness's account of this tragedy,⁸⁶⁶ tells us that his father died on board at this time, the twenty-third of March. This was the old man's fifth voyage across the oceans, the first having been made in the company of Almeida, the first Viceroy. Perestrelo takes occasion to thank God that his beloved father of seventy years escaped the horrors of this shipwreck. The pilot of the ship, a man of the same advanced age, died on the twentieth of April, and the ship was placed in charge of the assistant pilot, Francis Gomes. This happened when they were in the latitude of the Cape of Good Hope, expecting to double it next day. But the wind veered suddenly with great violence and changed all that.

The variable hurricanes that now took possession of the ship first drove her south, and then north, smashing the rudder; so that the sails were the only frail control that they had of the ship's course. Many began to talk of the wreck of the *Saint John*, which had horrified all India, yet everybody worked with a will to make the best of a desperate situation. Two priests on board went about stirring up the courage of the people, and comforting those whose consciences troubled them by helping them to make their peace with God, and to prepare for the threatening end.

The only land they saw for weeks as they sped before the hurricane was Cape Recife, six miles to the south-west of Port Elizabeth; because this cape is the most conspicuous point of the land rising from the south.⁸⁶⁷ Some suggested steering the ship aground here, imagining that this would give them a sporting chance of being saved against the certainty of foundering with the battered ship. But Perestrelo pointed out that on this rocky coast such a course would mean certain death for all.

Soon after this they descried an opening in the land, which Perestrelo thought was the mouth of the Rio do Infante,⁸⁶⁸ first visited by Bartholomew Dias. They could see distinctly a wide stretch of sandy shore, which looked promising for an attempt to run the ship upon safe sands. But, fortunately for themselves, the ship did not obey the boatswain. It bore down upon a rocky islet about a stone's throw from the other bank of the river.

Their lot here was bad enough, but not as bad as it would have been on the pleasant-looking sand. They saw later that below the sand there were reefs of razor flint, where the ship would have been smashed to fragments and every soul lost. On the

steep shore of the islet they fared less badly, though badly enough.

The ship became tightly wedged upon the rocks, the deck being level with the water. As the waves swept over it, the people clung to the castles, masts and other projecting parts, and some were washed into the sea. Others were able to swim ashore, or floated there on barrels and planks.

As the undulations of the main mast were threatening to capsize the ship, some of the sailors cut it down, making it fall in the direction of the land, where it formed a kind of bridge with the land, as the distance was not great. Soon the mast was covered with struggling and weary humanity, making a last effort to escape the terror that had been pursuing them for weeks. Then a succession of three or four rollers lifted the mast so violently, that it shook off all those who were clinging to it. They dropped into the sail spread out like a net below, and the backwash crushed them between the mast and the sail.

One man only reached the shore, and he was a survivor from the wreck of the *Saint John* whose name was Manuel de Castro. But his whole leg from the hip down had been torn away. Though he still had strength enough to drag himself over the rocks, out of the reach of the rollers, he died next morning.

Meantime the galleon was being hammered upon the reefs of the islet until its back was broken. It split in two, the castles on one side and the poop on the other. The two halves now began to dance upon the waves, and were finally tossed on shore above the suction of the receding waves. Thus a great number of lives were saved.

The best known of those killed by the falling mast was Alvaro de Noronha, nephew of the Viceroy, whose term of office had just expired, "a man in whose company one would face without fear any danger or obstacles". The same fate overtook the Archdeacon of Goa, seven nobleman and the Jesuit Father Anthony Gomes, whose personal tragedy has already been described.

When the first joy of finding themselves safe was over, the more fortunate survivors went about helping those who were injured or needed assistance to reach the shore. "The best dressed amongst us," writes Perestrelo, "had nothing on but a shirt without sleeves and drawers down to the knees; for when we saw that the ship would be stranded, we got rid of everything that might impede our swimming. But we were soaking and benumbed with the chilly water. As long as the sun was warm, we threw ourselves upon the beach to dry, exchanging

experiences and telling what we knew of those who were missing. When it became colder, we moved back to a wood close by, through which a stream of fresh water ran. We rinsed our mouths of the salt, slaked our thirst, and this was the first and last nourishment that we had that day."

But night brought them no rest, as it rained steadily throughout the whole night. Being so scantily clad, they could not sleep for the cold, and trotted about in the dark to get some warmth, waiting anxiously for the dawn. They then returned to the scene of the wreck, in order to obtain some clothing out of the bales and boxes that were washed ashore.

The sight of the rich merchandise and luxuries scattered about leads Perestrelo to moralise on the excessive fear that men have of poverty. "There are worse things than poverty; and it is strange reasoning for men to abandon the peace of home and the friendship of neighbours to encounter such hardships as we were suffering. But I must cut short this train of Christian thought, and get back to my purpose of narrating the facts."⁶⁶⁹ These remarks of his were aimed at the merchants and traders, and did not touch persons such as Perestrelo himself who had other purposes in view than money-making. They did not prevent Perestrelo from accepting later at the request of the King the perilous task of surveying in a small boat the whole of this coast, from Inhambane to the Cape of Good Hope.

A few cases of biscuits, wet from the sea, were sufficient to assuage the worst pangs of hunger. Then everyone set to work to build a shelter of some kind. By gathering up all the rich Persian carpets, the cloth of gold, the brocades, linens and other draperies, they contrived to rig up a large tent.

Captain Cabral decided to examine at once the nature of the country round about them, and especially to find a suitable ford across the river. He commissioned Perestrelo for this search, sending with him the bailiff⁶⁷⁰ of the ship, John Gomes, and about a dozen of the most robust men. The land seemed entirely uninhabited. The reconnoitring party travelled the greater part of the day before they reached the heights, where Old Morley is to-day. The only living thing they met was seen on the opposite bank of the river, six miles inland where the current was still strong and the banks rocky.

"We saw a black animal larger than a horse come out of the bush⁶⁷¹ into the stream, and the parts of it that stood out of the water (head, neck and part of the back) were exactly those of a camel. If there is such a thing as a marine camel, this was one. I have noted this because in all our journey we

never again saw a similar beast." This was evidently a giraffe taking its bath in the river. Returning to the camp, Perestrelo learned that seven or eight Kafirs, "very black with hair, naked and savage", had shown themselves on a bit of high ground, but they fled when approached.

When night came down it brought torrential rains. But by this time they had gathered fuel and made fires. "Though sensible men do not usually retail stories of wonder and terror, I venture," says the pilot, "to mention what happened that night, because everybody confirmed my experiences in the morning. I heard loud voices repeating all the cries that we made during the storm, just before our galleon ran aground. It may be that these cries were still ringing in our ears, if it was not the spirits of evil rejoicing in our disaster."

Next day at dawn another band of Kafirs appeared on the other bank of the river. They were burning timbers of the ship that had been washed ashore, for the sake of the nails. The Portuguese beckoned to them, and when the natives saw the strangers laying aside their arms, they lost their shyness and swam across. The captain gave them the best welcome he could: some of their scanty food, caps, pieces of cloth and bits of iron. "They were as delighted as if we had made them lords of the earth," writes our eye-witness. As none of the Portuguese knew their language, little information was obtained from them. The river could be forded far inland, they said, near where their kraal was. "They said many other things which we did not understand, in a dialect less badly pronounced than the other dialects of this coast."

That same evening a band of one hundred Kafirs with assegais appeared on a neighbouring hill. The Portuguese feared the worst, but approached them with friendly gestures cautiously tempered by a full display of all their arms. This armed diplomacy had the desired effect on the blacks, and they began to parley. One was judged to be the chief from the deference paid him, though he wore no other insignia than a string of red beads about the size of coriander seeds. As these were made only in the kingdom of Cambaia, the Portuguese were in hope that these belonged to one of the tribes that were in trade contact with Mozambique. But no exact information could be extracted from them except the obvious fact that they were a peacable tribe, as they displayed a keen interest in the arms, dress, and even in the colour of the whites. They departed in a leisurely way, eating wild roots as they sauntered along.

After five days, during which it rained incessantly, the question of food became acute. So far they had existed mainly on cocoa-nuts with a few barrels of biscuit, forty-two pounds of rice and a couple of meat joints. A meeting was called to decide whether they should make for the Cape of Good Hope or for Sofala. All agreed that it would be easier to turn south towards the Cape; but the watering place of Saldanha still had a bad name since the Hottentots murdered the Viceroy Francis de Almeida, and for years few Portuguese ships deigned to frequent it.

It was a cardinal error of the Portuguese, as well as of the early Dutch and English, not to recognise the advantages of the healthy Cape Peninsula as a refreshment station. For this error the survivors of the *Saint Benedict* were now to pay a heavy price. There were some among them who saw the folly of it, as some of the leaders were afterwards severely blamed for choosing the same disastrous route as that followed by Manuel de Sousa de Sepúlveda.

It was daybreak of the twenty-seventh of April when they started organising the procession for the north, consisting of 98 Portuguese and 224 black servants. They had only one musket with a dozen charges of powder, but most of them had swords with shields or lances. They were obliged to leave behind in a tent a ship's boy and a female slave, both of whom were dying. That day was spent crossing the next river on two rafts, and the night saw them safe on the opposite bank.

There they waited for the Kafirs, who had been swimming across every day to visit them; but when these natives saw that the strangers had come to their side of the river they decamped, no doubt suspecting some plot.

If the Portuguese had been able to save some tools from the wreck, they had artisans enough among the survivors to build a small boat from the timbers of the galleon scattered about. They could then have encamped on their present position, with a founded hope that the boat would enable a few of the bolder seamen to creep along the coast to Sofala or Mozambique. As things stood, their sole remaining hope was to seek a land route at once.

They had wasted time enough in fruitless discussions with the Kafirs. Now they decided to begin the march in processional order, as this was the easiest way to check the progress of such a large caravan of mixed humanity. It was headed by Francis Pires, the boatswain-pilot, followed by the seamen who had chosen him as their leader for the journey; and he carried a crucifix upon

a lance. The captain closed the procession, and in front of him was borne a framed *Pietà*,⁸⁷² which had been rescued from the wreck. About one quarter of the travellers were still suffering from wounds or sickness. These were placed in the centre, some being carried and others limping along on crutches or sticks.

Taking a last look at the dispersed debris of the galleon, which was their final link with home, they struck inland at once, because they judged rightly that there would be few natives near the shores. This much they already noticed, that the Kafirs took no interest in the sea. In single file at first the Portuguese followed the elephant tracks through the mimosa thickets, pushing up hill in the hope that there they might gain some idea of the lay of the land. The view they obtained from the first spur of the mountain was gorgeous, but not comforting.. In the distance they now saw unsuspected mountains that seemed to pierce the heavens, and below them valleys so deep that their hill had become a high mountain. But there was no sign of human habitation or of any path, as they had lost the elephant track and could not find it again.

There was only one course now left: to use their compass in the effort to trek north-east, hoping that thus they would shorten the road to Sofala. The continuous rain, their unaccustomed burdens, the rocks and the thick undergrowth made their progress slow. But on the third day they came to some hills, from which they could see a river crossing the direction of their route. It took them the best part of a day to reach the nearest bank, only to find that it could not be crossed at this spot; so they were compelled to sleep under the tall bushes, as they had slept in woods the night before.

In retracing their footsteps to the top of these hills, the weaker members of the party began to fail. Some begged their friends to press on without them, as they could endure no more. But these friends would not let them die without a further struggle, and, sitting down beside them on the road, they persuaded them all to make a final effort, and so reached the top.

Whilst resting here, the leaders discussed the best way of reaching a ford of the river before them, and there was some difference of opinion. They could now discern a few cross ravines into which the river overflowed, the banks becoming evidently less steep and the water lower. To reach it, however, the boatswain took one path with twenty men, and the captain with the rest of the company took another. Both proved to be right, and reached their destination together. They were greatly

cheered by the sight of smoke arising from what must be a village on the opposite bank, as they thought.

The crossing of the river next morning proved more difficult than it seemed. Though it was not deep, the current ran very strongly. Some uncovered rocks divided the stream into unequal parts, the longer stretch being nearer the travellers; and here the current was also more furious. A bridge of some sort was needed. So they cut down the heaviest trees they could find, and after a good deal of labour managed to make a rough rope of strong branches, sufficient to enable the whole party to reach the other bank of the river.⁸⁷³ Though it was late in the evening when this was accomplished, they were so eager to find out who lived in the village beyond, that they pushed on at once.

"It consisted of about twenty huts built upon poles, thatched with hay, and of the shape and size of a baker's oven. These are used by all the people of this coast, who move them about in the different seasons, according as the woods are abundant or lacking in the fruits upon which they live." This is Perestrelo's apt description of the first Kafir kraal they encountered.

Determined to give no offence to the people whose land they had unwittingly invaded, the Portuguese camped at a respectable distance; and they sent messengers with pieces of cloth and bits of iron, which put the natives in great good humour. All the Portuguese wanted was a guide for the next stage of their journey, as they hoped to come upon "some large village" where they might receive more assistance than these poor Kafirs could give them. By the basic language of signs they succeeded in expressing their wish, and a native guide was given them.

Next day, however, when the caravan was about to move on, two of the men elected to remain at the kraal rather than face certain death; as one of them was old and thoroughly exhausted and the other badly wounded. They were the caulkier and the cooper of the ship. Before leaving, Captain Ferdinand de Alvares Cabral begged the Kafir chief to take good care of them, as they would surely be rescued in time by their countrymen.

"If these people only had the Christian faith, I could envy them their peaceful huts," was the reflection of Perestrelo, as he and his comrades trudged over the hills, ravines and sands for the next three days. They began to lose faith in their native guide, when he brought them to a river swarming with hippos and quite impossible to ford. On the left were inaccessible mountains. Though they could not see the coast, they knew that the sea was somewhere on their right. These deadening experiences had led

to the inevitable conviction that they must return somehow to the seashore.

As they retraced their steps, one of the leading men threw up the sponge. This was Dr. Christopher Fernandes.⁸⁷⁴ He had come to India in 1538, and had just completed his term of office as Master of the Orphan Chamber. Being an elderly man of scholarly habits, he had reached the end of his resources of physical strength, though his moral courage never faltered. "I have done all that God can expect of me to save my life," he said. He only asked them to save his little boy of three years, who was being carried in his nurse's arms. "We bade him farewell, comforting him with thoughts of the passion of Christ," writes the gallant sailor, Perestrelo. Fernandes refused to allow anyone to remain with him, and so the caravan passed on.

Going down towards the sea, they covered the same distance in one day that had consumed three days before. Suddenly they found themselves once more on the bank of the same river which they had just left; because it made an immense bend here, returning to a spot on their direct road to the sea. It was the River of Saint Christopher, which we call the Great Kei River.⁸⁷⁵ But this time there was a slender and risky chance of crossing it.

At this place it broke upon a chain of rocks, which dispersed the strong waters into many channels. Both banks were indeed formed of almost perpendicular cliffs, "so that one might say that they would be difficult to scale even for birds." There was a long debate as to whether it would be tempting Providence to take such evident risks. But the captain and some of his most trusty men, making the sign of the cross, ventured the perilous descent across the face of the cliff down to the river, and then laid heavy trees from rock to rock. When they thus reached the opposite bank, the ship's master discovered that they could avoid the necessity of climbing the cliff by crawling along the bank into a wood some distance from the river. The captain superintended the whole operation of fording the river. Only one man lost his footing and was drowned. It was so dark in the wood where they camped, that they could keep in touch with one another only by shouting, and the trees were so close together that they were compelled to sleep lying up against them.

On emerging from this wood at dawn, they saw a headland in front of them; but when they climbed over it, there to their great joy was the sea! Broken and famishing as they were, they felt a sense of recovered freedom in the open vista of the ocean, after being imprisoned so long in landscapes that had no exit.

That night they slept in a deserted kraal, where they found broken china and remains of Portuguese wares, which they suspected the Kafirs had obtained from the wreck of the *Saint John*, two years before. Next day they walked back along the shore towards the spot where their own galleon had been wrecked. Though they were ten miles away from the actual sands upon which the ship struck, its debris was strewn all along the coast, and they came upon the capstan and some timbers on the rocks.

It was just thirteen days since they had begun their journey inland. If they had suffered much, they had gained one valuable experience. The path of the coast was easier walking, and it would always provide them with shellfish at low tide. Even the rivers, which presented such formidable obstacles inland, generally slackened their dangerous currents as they met the seasands, and a crossing was more likely to be found.

Five days more brought them to one of the largest rivers of this coast, which was not yet marked on the Portuguese maps. It was the Umzimvubu, whose estuary we now call Port St. Johns. By means of two rafts they made the passage safely, in spite of the strong current. But a greater danger came from the Kafir bands which now hung on their rear to cut off loiterers, and these robbers even waited for them here as they disembarked from the rafts.

Continuing their journey for four days more, they rested on the lower bank of another river. Although it was already night, some natives were waiting with cakes to barter. They were made of a seed which they called *nacharre*, which looked like mustard. This was the first trade deal that the Portuguese made on this journey, and the Kafirs with their communistic habits scrambled for the bits of iron that were the price of the cakes.

This was evidently a region of keen traders. Next morning early the inhabitants of three kraals arrived with cakes, roots and other native foodstuffs, singing and clapping their hands as they arrived. They brought with them an Indian boy from Bengal, who had remained in one of the kraals when the *Saint John* was wrecked near the mouth of this river. He once knew Portuguese, but had forgotten every word of it in two years. They tried to entice him with offers of money to accompany them as a guide, but he fled, preferring no doubt the tribal life to the unknown dangers of the north.

One of the Portuguese, George da Barca, and about thirty slaves were so exhausted by this time, that they too could make no further effort to continue the journey. Even the supplies of

iron for barter were beginning to give out, and Captain Cabral was obliged to part with one of his valuable astrolabes in order to buy a cow, some goats and cakes for the next lap of their journey.

Another three days of weary walking brought them to another big river, and later to the more formidable and rapid Umzinkulu River, one of the great waterways that descend from the Drakensberg Range into the Indian Ocean. At its mouth it is not wide, but very deep, and was so even before the present deeper channel of Port Shepstone harbour was dredged. Whilst waiting to collect the wood for the rafts for crossing the river, some of the Portuguese discovered a large basket of millet which the Kafirs had hidden, lest it should fall into the hands of the whites. Hunger has no law, and the men who found it held it as a prize beyond gold. A stiff fight ensued which lasted an hour, but the Portuguese got away with their booty on a raft. In a furious shower of stones, which was the last volley of the Kafirs against the raft, one missile broke through Perestrelo's shield, and he lay stunned for a while.

On the other bank they were joined by the boatswain, who had gone two miles up the river alone, and some Kafirs showed him an easy ford where he crossed. Whilst waiting, he was approached by a young Arab named Gaspar who had survived the wreck of the *Saint John*, and was anxious to leave the uncongenial company of the Kafirs for a Christian country. He had seen Sepúlveda after all the Portuguese left, and described how he fought to the end with his Kafir assailants, killing one of them with his musket.

That night around the camp fire, the *fidalgos* remembered that, when they left India, the ivory traders were preparing to make their annual visit to the lands of the elephants. Normally they would reach the rivers near Delagoa Bay in June, and they themselves hoped to reach the Bay in July. Would it not be well to send a few lightly equipped men ahead to say that they were on the way, and to ask them to wait? Four sailors volunteered for this, and a collection of four hundred florins was made to remunerate them. With letters from Captain Cabral and other messages, they set out next day.

Two days more brought the main body of the refugees to the bay which the Portuguese sailors called Pescaria or the Fisheries, and which later was named Port Natal. More stragglers from the wreck of the *Saint John* were found here. First they met two slaves of Manuel de Sousa de Sepúlveda, who came out to greet them, as soon as the news of their coming

got about. Glad as they were to see Portuguese again, they declined to face the hardships of a journey to Delagoa Bay, part of which they had done with their beloved master, Sepúlveda. Yet they were loath to part with the Portuguese, and insisted on accompanying them across the Umgeni River.

But, as they were leaving Durban Bay, a group of Kafirs emerged from a wood, and one of them spoke in excellent Portuguese. To all appearance he was like the rest, with a bundle of assegais on his naked back; but when he came nearer his hair and his features confirmed the truth of what he now told them. His name was Roderick Tristão, a survivor of the other great wreck, and he was overjoyed to join his countrymen again.

Fish, goats, milk and millet were plentiful here, and they were able to fill their wallets. But an Indian youth from the Malabar coast, who was living among the natives, warned them that they would find very little to eat for the next five days. He was putting it mildly, because during the whole of the rest of their journey, "all was labour, sorrow and gnashing of teeth", in the words of Perestrelo.

The great tragedy of this part of the journey was the death of Captain Ferdinand de Alvares Cabral. He was an old man, and at the river which they met after the first thirteen days he was so worn out that he had asked to be left in the first kraal they met. His friends persuaded him to persevere. But the last straw in his burden of sorrow was the insubordination of some of the sailors, headed by the ship's master, who saw that the feeble hands of Cabral were insufficient for the stern work in hand. Even the boatswain was wavering in his allegiance.

Then twenty of the leading men came to the rescue of the captain's authority. They pointed out to the boatswain that it would be a disgrace to the Portuguese name, if any of them abandoned their venerable leader under such circumstances. This was enough to stir the sense of honour of the boatswain, and such was his influence with the men that the threatening mutiny came to a sudden end.

It took them five days to reach the Tugela River, which Perestrelo calls the Santa Lucia.⁸⁷⁶ "This river is moderately large, very wide from the mouth inland, extremely rapid, and it rises and falls with the tide." In attempting to cross this river on a raft, the captain was drowned, and the body was recovered two hours later on some rocks of the opposite shore. "We wrapped his body in a shroud, and bore it upon our shoulders to the foot of a hill out of reach of the sea; and there digging a grave, we placed a wooden cross at his head. With more tears

than funeral pomp we left him there at rest, until the day when we shall all rise again to give an account of our lives, well or ill spent."

This happened on the first of June. Out of the ninety-two Portuguese left, seventy were sailors, and they now elected the boatswain, Francis Pires, as captain. Two or three others had a better claim to the position in the opinion of Perestrelo; but Pires was a sterling character and full of grit, and he received the votes. As was customary, he took an oath on the Gospels, to be a loyal comrade and to act always on the best advice. Without many of the deceptive formulas of modern democracy, the Portuguese were a people who realised the need of constant contact between leaders and the led. Even in the wilds they clung to this saving principle.

At the Umhlatuzi River, which they reached after five days of continuous rain, they lost Roderick Tristão for a while, and one of the sailors. Because of Tristao's knowledge of the native language he was sent to forage accompanied by the sailor, but neither of them returned. The interpreter, Gaspar, reported that the people of this locality were poverty-stricken. But under the guidance of a Kafir to whom the Portuguese gave a quantity of iron, they were able to cross the river, though the icy water streamed up to the chins of the tallest of the party.

They spent that night on marshy ground, which they found less unbearable than the bleak winds of the hillside; but even the fires they lit could not prevent their teeth chattering all the night through. Two of the slaves died of the cold. But the next afternoon they received a ray of comfort from meeting some Kafirs with an elephant tusk, who said that they were going to sell it to white men on a river in the north. All they could get to eat in these marshes was a little *nachani*.⁸⁷⁷

As they trudged along next day, they fell among a band of Bantu warriors, evidently the lineal and spiritual ancestors of Tchaka and Dingaan, who in later centuries made this area the graveyard of the other Bantu tribes. "They lived as rebels in that kraal, acknowledging no king or chief except such as they themselves appointed, getting their living by robbery of the weaker tribes."

They became insolent towards the Portuguese, mingling with them and pilfering from those who were off their guard. The Arab interpreter, Gaspar, heard them whispering among themselves, how they would divide the weapons and goods of the Portuguese. The new captain saw that a fight was inevitable, so he arranged his men in the most efficient order for fighting, with

the unarmed men in the centre. But first he desired to push over a neighbouring hill which stood between them and the sea; because, being few, they would be stronger with the sea behind them. The Kafirs, however, saw the meaning of the manoeuvre, and began the attack at once. Then the Portuguese musketeer opened fire, nervous lest his musket should hang fire, as it had been in the rain for days. But the reports of the gun sent the doughty warriors headlong, thinking that they were being pursued by the evil spirits.

What had driven the Portuguese inland again were the salty marshes of the river, as they were compelled to seek fresh water. When they climbed the hill mentioned, to regain the seashore, they found themselves involved in a hurricane of sand clouds. "Fearing to share the fate of Cambyses", they did not dare to take the rest which they so badly needed, though the blood was trickling down the faces of many on account of the scourging of the sand. They pressed on to the next hill, and lay down on the sheltered side among the bushes for that night.

The morning light of the next day revealed a secret still unknown in Portugal. They found the timbers of a ship on the beach, and, being all experienced men, they declared that they were the remains of Lopo de Sousa's *Saint Jerome*,⁸⁷⁸ which had disappeared in the same year as the *Saint John*. They were still a day's journey from the River of the Meadows of Gold.

To identify this river, Perestrelo's description is a better guide than his latitudes, in the reckoning of which he was working under insuperable difficulties. "It is one of the largest estuaries on that coast, receiving as it does the waters of four large rivers from the interior, and entering a bay about half a league from the shore. In some parts this bay is more than two leagues in width and nearly twenty in length, some sandhills lying between it and the coast. Besides this river so many marshes and streams drain into this bay, that their combined waters enter the sea furiously, and more than two leagues out to sea one can distinguish the current of fresh water flowing over the salt water." This is an excellent picture of the Umfolosi River in the rainy season, except that the large tributaries are really five instead of four. If any of the travellers had mounted one of the near hills, he might have seen with the naked eye eleven serpents of shining water, produced by the wrigglings of these five streams.⁸⁷⁹

But down below the weary travellers only knew that they had to flounder along the inner ledge of the lagoons, crossing one river after the other on rafts improvised from the materials on

the spot. When they had walked round the lagoons, which they called the River of the Golden Meadows, they found themselves in a barren and uninhabited land. For three days they stumbled on, "like a herd of irrational animals grazing, and looking for a plant, a bone or an insect." Relations and friends sometimes quarrelled over the possession of a locust, beetle or lizard. Only three days later did they begin to find many wild onions, which they devoured, in spite of their suspicion that the unknown vegetable might be poisonous.

At this time Perestrelo's brother, Anthony Sobrinho de Mesquita, began to lag behind through exhaustion. He fell behind to keep his brother company. The captain slowed the pace several times to give them the chance of catching up, until the sailors began to grumble that they would all die together at this pace. Then the captain, with genuine grief, felt bound by his oath to his men to ask the brothers what they proposed to do. Perestrelo declared that they would die together, and he urged the others to save themselves without delay. One request only he made of them. If he and his brother Anthony perished, he begged them to tell his mother that they had been drowned. It would be a white lie, but it would temper her grief in losing her husband and two sons in one voyage, to be unaware that her boys died of starvation. The recording angel would drop a tear for his mother, and blot out the lie.

Of course, Anthony wanted his brother to leave him and beseeched him in God's name to save his own life. Some of the men even tried to carry him on by main force, but he dealt with them at the point of the lance. Perestrelo hoped that he might help his brother as far as some friendly kraal, where he would at least be kept alive. Happily, at the next ford the main body was compelled to make such a long halt, that the two brothers had time to rejoin them.

A marsh now crossed their path with a river running through it. Here some Kafirs came up, saying that other Portuguese had passed that way, and they pointed out the route that that earlier party had taken. When they followed the path indicated, they found themselves in thick mud up to the waist. Several were too weak to extricate themselves, and perished; but Anthony de Mesquita was dragged out of the slime by his brother, only to be carried away by the strong current of the river and drowned when both were exhausted.

There was no time for long mourning, as a new peril appeared in a crowd of Kafirs who planted themselves in the path, showing clearly that they intended to attack. These Kafirs

declared that the four messengers to Delagoa Bay, whom the Portuguese captain had dispatched some weeks before, killed one of their men and were about to eat him, when they caught them in the act and slew them. This declaration was just a conventional pretext for war. But having made it, they caught sight of the musketeer, whose fame had evidently put a salutary fear into the hearts of these savages. They now changed their minds, agreeing to do business instead of robbery. Even these politicians of the wilds preferred business to a doubtful chance of revenge, a wise contrast to some of our recent politicians, who have conducted war like a dog-fight, to the bitter end and general chaos.

When they had got rid of another menacing band from several kraals which they passed next day, they saw for the first time a large herd of buffaloes, zebras and wild horses trotting along the sandy path. But the present purpose of the Portuguese was to find the seashore again, instead of which they saw before them a stagnant marsh nearly two miles long.

The only edible thing in sight was a species of bean, but those who swallowed it fell to the ground in the agonies of death. By dosing them with grains of bezoar, a recognised antidote for poison then,⁸⁸⁰ they were able to proceed, though some ended their life's journey here. All human effort seemed vain to enable them to issue from this putrid lake, so they begged the Virgin Mary to plead with her Divine Son that He would lead them out as Israel was led through the Red Sea. They vowed to make a pilgrimage to the shrine of Our Lady of Guadalupe and to have a solemn High Mass in the first church of Our Lady that they should enter. Not only did they cross the lagoon soon after, but they found some wild palm trees and fruit of pleasant flavour like the pear. These were probably the wild dates and wild cocoa-nuts of that region, which the Voortrekkers of Natal called the *wild klappernoot* and the *wild dadelboom*.⁸⁸¹

Next day was the twenty-fourth of June, feast of St. John the Baptist, as these men remembered even in the wilds of Natal. But the peaceful Baptist brought them the most dangerous horde of Kafirs that they had yet seen. They began with a war dance, "throwing so many assegais that the air was darkened by a cloud of them". The fight lasted two hours, and was again decided by the man with the gun, "for it was impossible to miss such a multitude of enemies."

At long last they reached the seashore, after passing round another marsh. It was fourteen days since they left the sea at the first lagoon south of the mouth of the Umfolosi River, which

mouth we to-day call Saint Lucia Bay. They had made a land circuit of more than sixty leagues, and had advanced only five leagues measured by the line of the coast. This stretch of effort had cost them the lives of twenty men.

The rest of their journey to Delagoa Bay, which they first saw on the third of July, was a running fight with bands of Kafir robbers. They endeavoured as much as possible to keep to the shore, where they enjoyed comparative safety; but thirst sometimes compelled them to an excursion inland for water. That was always the hour of peril. Once a sailor was stripped and wounded, another time the Kafirs killed a slave who was straggling behind. Though in these inland marches the Portuguese travelled at night if possible, when the natives were asleep, they were sometimes forced to fight a pitched battle, in which they always lost some men. Once a wounded Kafir fell near their camp and died, at a time when they had been many days without food.

Tormented by the pangs of hunger, a few sailors ventured to suggest that they might as well save their lives by eating the dead Kafir. The circumstances were not so terrible as those of the alleged cannibalism on account of which Dante placed Count Ugolino in the Hell of the Traitors.⁸⁸² But even in this mitigated form the Portuguese captain and his men would have none of it, but preferred to die if these were the terms of living. "If it was noised abroad that we eat our fellow-men, they would flee from us to the other end of the world, and would hate us more than ever." So said Francis Pires, and his men agreed. Their pride of race would not permit them to descend to this inhumanity.

In one incident Perestrelo does not conceal his belief that the Kafirs were, once at least, the unwitting instruments of divine justice. Near Kosi Bay, about forty of them presented themselves as a deputation from the Chief Inhaca, who was a tried friend of Portugal. The captain suspected some ruse, but allowed six men to accept the bogus invitation. In a few days they all returned stripped of everything they possessed without seeing the kraal. As one of the six was Anthony Ledo, the ship's master who encouraged the sailors' insubordination against the dead captain, our chronicler hints that a higher hand had decreed that Ledo "should experience the pain that his treachery caused Ferdinand de Alvares, and be repaid in the same coin."

One evening a shoal of white crabs was thrown high and dry on the beach by the ebbing tide. So voraciously did the famishing men devour them, that the claws were clinging to the lips of some, "while the softer parts of the crab were wriggling

down our throats, only half masticated." When their hunger was satisfied, they spent part of the night gathering up as many crabs as they could carry for the remainder of the journey.

It was after nine o'clock on the morning of the third of July that they first caught sight of what was then popularly called the Bay of the River of the Holy Ghost, "which river on the chart we had with us was called by its ancient name of Delagoa River." This was in one sense a joyful surprise for the weary travellers. Their maps told them that they had eighteen miles still to go before reaching this river. Now, however, that they were unexpectedly in sight of another immense bay also; the memory of what they had suffered, coasting the lagoons of the River Umfolosi, sobered their joy by the prospect of a second adventure of this kind.

What were they to do now? As usual, a meeting was held to decide. Since they had no more iron for trading, no arms sufficient to deal with the increasing number of Kafirs that they were meeting, little strength for walking, and they were losing five or six men a day through sheer exhaustion, it was resolved to remain where they were. They had reason for trust in the help of the well-known and friendly chief of the neighbouring Inyaka. They also knew that the survivors of the *Saint John* were about thirty leagues inland when the trading ship arrived which ransomed them. With God's blessing they would have equal good fortune. Meantime they knelt on the beach, reciting the *Salve Regina* and other prayers, to thank God for surviving so many perils, and asking Him to soften the hearts of the barbarians by whom they were surrounded.

When they began to make enquiries through the interpreter, the first Kafir they met refused to guide them to Inyaka. Then they captured an old man who was intent on snaring fish, and found him quite willing to conduct them. Just as they were setting out, however, three messengers arrived from the chief himself, inviting them to his kraal and warning them that the tribes on the west side of the bay were deadly enemies. As they went along to Inyaka's kraal, a significant thing occurred. They met the first Kafirs who knew the value of money and were prepared to accept it for food. Up to this, old iron had been of more value than Portuguese *cruzados* or Venetian ducats.

The chief came out to meet them with a bodyguard of thirty men, made them sit by his side, and invited them to eat with him "certain fruit cakes, which invitation is their token of friendship". He promised to look after them until the annual caravel came, which in the ordinary way could not be long.

Then he assigned them huts for the night. It was the seventh of July when these seventy-six Portuguese and six slaves completed their roundabout pilgrimage of over one thousand miles.

The kindly eyes of these Portuguese gentlemen endeavoured to see the best side of Bantu life. They give us this indulgent description of the kraal of Inyaka. "It was not encircled with ornamental trenches or stone walls, nor were there any fine buildings with colonnades, high towers or proud corridors. Yet in its native and ancient poverty there was a certain neatness and order, sufficient for their few needs. With its courtyards, it is large enough to hold a great company, and its streets are not greatly neglected. It is surrounded by a large number of uneven pines, which grow high here. It has a fine hedge all round it with three or four entrances, where they are needed." The negative virtues of a Bantu kraal could not be more gracefully described, yet without one word of untruth.

The Portuguese were only too conscious of their own beggarly appearance after the long ordeal of the wilderness. "We were just skin and bone, more like dead men than living, clothed in ancient rags and looking filthy from the weather and want." The ancient Latin culture in their bones revolted when they saw that the Kafirs became scornful of their appearance, showing it by word and gesture. The Portuguese asked the chief to give them separate huts outside the kraal, so that they could be alone with their own misery. Inyaka agreed, and promised that he would provide all necessities.

The warm welcome of the chief was not merely friendship. The advance of trade in this region had brought with it "a certain self-interest, a plague which breaks out in most people, no matter how primitive," under favourable circumstances, writes Perestrelo. The chief had learned the value of gold and jewels in getting the coveted things that the traders brought to the Rivers, and he began to see slyly how much he could extract from the visitors. After a few days he sent word to the Portuguese captain that, as all white men were rich, he would in future send food only to those who paid for it.

Here was an unexpected development, and again the Portuguese met in council, so that all should send the same answer. It was clear to everybody that they had no means of resistance; but since the money and jewels that they had, would probably suffice to keep them in food until the ships came, they agreed to submit to this demand.

When Inyaka received their reply, he summoned them all to his kraal, where he proposed to distribute the first rations himself. Next afternoon each man was given "about a quart of a sort of bird-seed, which is the best food of this country and as precious as the relics of saints to us." He told them that they should have this allowance every two days, and with this reasonable arrangement they prepared to give the chief all they possessed in exchange.

But when they came to pay, he seated himself between three of his indunas on one side, and on the other the Portuguese captain with the interpreter, Gaspar. The captain explained that he must not expect to find so much wealth in their hands as he received from the survivors of the *Saint John*, because that ship ran ashore without breaking up, whereas theirs went to pieces in the sea. As each man presented his offering, the chief examined it critically, consulting with his indunas. Some gifts he returned, saying frankly that he wanted more.

In Perestrelo's narrative there is none of that jaunty condescension to a lower species that one finds in many modern narratives, the output of superficial minds that have come into contact with the barbarian. The Portuguese chronicler is man enough to realise the difficulties of the Kafir chief, and to record them.

Hearing that some of the younger Portuguese had been buying food, Inyaka complained that he had been deceived about their poverty, and that they were to expect no more provisions from him. The truth was, says Perestrelo, that he had no more supplies, and was just seizing a creditable way of getting rid of his promise. "We saw later how utterly barren the land was, and also what goodwill he nourished for us." The first gift of provisions was collected from all his people, and he could get no more from them. Inyaka promised that if his people killed any elephant or sea-horse, the Portuguese would have a share of the hunt. A few days afterwards they killed two elephants in a night expedition, and he sent a quarter to the Portuguese camp. "He came with obvious satisfaction to tell us of the successful venture. Apart from his greed for money, we had no complaint against him except his lack of power."

As huntsmen, the Kafirs did not shine in the eyes of their visitors. They displayed so little energy that for many days, in a country abounding with game, they made no effort to get food by hunting. But they were skilled in the nature of the roots and plants that were sufficient to sustain life. The Portuguese, not having this knowledge, died of hunger in the woods or near the

springs, and sometimes on the roads. Five of them were carried off by lions and tigers before they knew of this new menace. To avoid all risk, they learned never to leave their huts before eight in the morning, and retired to them again at one o'clock in the afternoon. "At night we could not hear ourselves speak for the roaring these animals made, and very often they attacked our doors with such blows and pushes as can easily be conceived from their strength and ferocity." The Kafirs fared even worse. Fifty of them were carried away in four months, and the wild beasts became so dainty that in the end they would bite off a leg or an arm, leaving the rest. Only once were they able to retaliate by killing a lion that threatened them. "The Kafir who saw him hiding in the shrubs, being a brave man, rolled an oxhide round his arm and stabbed the beast with such determined blows that he killed it."

After such heroic episodes it may seem trivial to say that we were devoured by lice, writes Perestrelo, but some of the Portuguese were actually killed by them. These were evidently the bush ticks, to which the Voortrekkers gave the appropriate name of bush lice.⁸⁸³ What they called the Port Natal scurvy was often fatal to the European, being caused by bites of this species of parasite. "We scalded our clothes very carefully, and rid ourselves of them three or four times a day," says the chronicler, "but the more we tried to exterminate them the more they increased." Edward Tristão and several other men died of the sores these insects inflicted on their heads and shoulders.

After a while it was discovered that the Arab interpreter was not being loyal to the Portuguese, though they had treated him so generously. As these Portuguese, mostly from India, had as yet insufficient intercourse with the Bantu to learn their languages well, and the Arab Gaspar had lived two years in their kraals, he had a unique opportunity for the kind of intrigue that would suit an avaricious person. He humoured the Kafirs and thus got all the food he wanted, growing visibly fat on it. At the same time he bullied the Portuguese by telling them that unless they squared him with one thousand *cruzados* each, the chief was going to scatter them among the bordering tribes, so as to rob and kill them more easily. By a mean stratagem Gaspar also got hold of one thousand *cruzados* belonging to the ship's master, who had disappeared. The money was entrusted to two boys for his heirs, but the wily Gaspar swindled them out of it.

After a few months, however, the Portuguese did acquire enough knowledge of the Thonga dialect of these parts to enable them to approach the chief personally. They began also to make

friends among the neighbouring chiefs, and went to those kraals that were friendly, where they worked for their food.

They discovered that on the tip of the island of Inyaka, where it juts into the ocean, there was plenty of fruit. Perestrelo asked permission of the chief to go there with seven of his friends. The Portuguese captain did not like the idea, as the place was twelve miles away, too far away, in fact. But the Kafir chief assured him that he would guarantee their safety, and he was as good as his word. So well did this experiment succeed, that others followed into that pleasant spot overlooking the ocean, and at the end of a month only the captain and four others were left in the chief kraal.

The main work that the Portuguese performed for their food was to carry food and water. "Their principal meal is in the evening, when we went and sat at the doors of those whom we called our masters, and they gave us what they would or could." It was often necessary to supplement this by foraging in the woods or the bush. One of the sailors caught a fish which the Kafirs warned him not to eat; but being hungry he refused to listen, and was found dead next morning.

Those who were well enough to get about could always procure enough to subsist. But it was difficult for the Portuguese to find any food that their sick could be tempted to eat. "The Kafirs had such a loathing for our emaciation, the inevitable filth of sickness and our misery, that if the illness threatened to be long, they killed the invalids in various ways." Thus they took the ship's chaplain, and dragged him through the woods until he expired. A servant of the deceased Captain Cabral was thrown into the sea. All the Portuguese were able to do, when they saw any sick man threatened with such a fate, was to carry him to some distant spot of the bush, and nurse him there as best they could.

Thus the weary weeks dragged on, but the survivors never lost the hope of a kindly Providence watching over them. If nature was sometimes red in tooth and claw, they never dreamed of the arrogance of a misguided poet towards the God of nature; because they never paltered with their own consciences, but confessed with a candid humanity that their own past had deserved some clawing. It was in the mercy of God that they hoped. The first ray of visible hope came with the cry of a Kafir who had been teaching Perestrelo to speak the Thonga language. He rushed into his hut on the third of November, shouting that a ship was entering the Bay.

It seemed too good to be true. Of course, the chief had always insisted that the ships would surely come; "but we never believed a word of it, thinking that he just spoke that way to cheer us up," writes Perestrelo. Five of his comrades had died even on this healthy island, and he felt his own forces failing. His sea chart was also discouraging. He always had the subconscious fear that this was not the Boa Paz station where the ships came, which the map showed to be a long way north. His first impulse was to tell the Kafir watchman to be gone.

As, however, the man repeated the news over and over again, Perestrelo followed him to a headland that looks out upon the whole expanse of Delagoa Bay. There, sure enough, was a sail about half a league away. "After I had tested my own senses by a few experiments, and made certain that what I saw was no dream but the truth, I knelt down and thanked God for so great a mercy."

The news spread like a fire in the bush in summer. Then the Portuguese began to have misgivings, that the ship might sail away without its crew knowing of their presence at the other end of the Bay. They begged the chief to give them a swift messenger to take a letter to the captain of this ship. Inyaka smiled, knowing perfectly well the business that these men had come to transact. At the spring tides, he replied, the captain of the ship would come to his kraal to get ivory, as he did every year. They need have no fear.

Nine days later this confident prophecy was fulfilled. Sebastian de Lemos sailed into one of the creeks close by to procure elephants' tusks, as he had been commissioned to do by the Commandant of Mozambique, Dom Diogo de Sousa.

The Portuguese were wise enough to recognise the Bantu custom of demanding a ransom for all prisoners taken in war or peace, since every foreigner to the tribe was regarded as a captive. This ransom was an incentive to preserve the lives of Portuguese who strayed into their hands. The price of the ransom in Indian beads was absurdly small in comparison to the large amount of cash, gold and jewels that the various tribes had already stolen.

Within three days the Portuguese, dispersed throughout the different kraals, were all assembled. Their condition can be gathered from the fact that two died on their way to answer the roll call. Out of sixty-two men who had reached the shores of Delagoa Bay four months⁸⁸⁴ before, only twenty-three remained alive, of whom three were slaves.

Among those missing in the end was the interpreter Gaspar. His hoard of wealth, and perhaps his appearance of rude health, were his eventual undoing. In any case he disappeared one night without leaving a trace behind. Whether it was a tiger that carried him off, or some enterprising Bantu hunter, the chronicler does not pretend to know. But he is convinced that the justice of God could not allow such a traitor "to reach a Christian land, and there enjoy his ill-gotten gains of some two or three thousand *cruzados*."

But the buffets of these lusty sinews of fortune had not yet come to an end, even when the Portuguese found themselves aboard the King's caravel in the Bay. The east winds began to blow, and they blew on unceasingly for four months, so that they were practically imprisoned in the creek. For the traders this was not as great a hardship as for the others, because the traders went ashore often for the purpose of bargaining on the rivers. During the unexpected delay the many sick were harrowed by the lack of suitable medicines and the scarcity of provisions for so many months.

For men of this adventurous temperament, however, any kind of action was better than vegetating on the ship. The opportunity came for the able-bodied among them; when they heard from the traders that one tribe had become aggressively insolent, and had driven them away on more than one occasion. Perestrelo with some of his friends asked the captain for arms to deal with these people.

The kraal of these hostile natives was on the Umbeluzi River,⁸⁸⁵ and belonged to the Tembe clan. The punitive party from the ship landed at night, intending to attack early next morning, to chastise the Kafirs who had beaten one of the traders and robbed him. They were, however, perceived by an old woman of the tribe, who raised the alarm, so that they were forced to fight at once on landing. This meant a stubborn fight. But they routed the Kafirs and burned their kraal, taking as prisoners the chief Masamana, two of his daughters and four other women. Hearing of the fight, the Great Chief of the Tembe came upon the scene. He was a friend of the Portuguese, so they restored all the prisoners to him. When he heard how his subjects had behaved, he approved of the action of the Portuguese and remained their friend.

The delay in sailing was not without its advantages. The chief of the Inyaka had advised the Portuguese captain not to sail away without paying him a final visit, because spies had come to his kraal with reports about straggling Portuguese who

were still on the march. On paying this final visit, Sebastian de Lemos found two more of their company, Roderick Tristão and a servant of Alvaro de Noronha, who had fallen behind in the swamps of the Umfolosi River. They reported having received great help from the Kafirs they met during the last stages of their travels, because "these heard that their comrades were the guests of Inyaka, and they found them more gentle and reasonable than they had expected."

The welcome winds rose on the twentieth of March, and the caravel set sail for Mozambique. The swells of Cape Corrientes are always a danger to ships, such a danger to sailing ships, that the Arabs never had the courage to pass it until the Portuguese showed them how it could be done. But this time there was a cross-wind and a violent storm as well. Things looked so black, that they began to prepare their wallets and their arms in case of being wrecked; which meant that, if saved from the sea, they would have to walk to Sofala, a distance of about 180 miles. But, defying the laws of navigation in their despair, they crowded on all the sails they had, and just succeeded in doubling this ugly cape, skimming the boulders jutting out to sea.

Even the sober Mozambique was to provide a sensation at the last moment. The veteran pilot on board had been running up and down these coasts for thirty years. When they had passed some shoals which the sailors called the Sheep Pens, the pilot went below to rest, saying that all was well now for Mozambique. But he was hardly seated below when he heard the ebbing tide breaking against the side of the caravel. And, in fact, you could have pitched an arrow upon the rocks from the ship, which was already aground upon a sandbank. A timely breeze aided them to free the ship. Within a few hours more they were anchored in the safe harbour of Mozambique.

It was the second of April of the year 1555. True to their vow, made in the darkest days of their long trek, they went immediately to the shrine of Our Lady of the Bulwark in procession with the parish priest of Mozambique, the other clergy and all the people of the fortress. Next day they assisted at a High Mass of thanksgiving. The manly trust of these pioneers in the fatherhood of God, under the most appalling disasters, is a striking contrast to the puling attitude of many of our contemporary novelists and poets in the face of suffering. It is the difference between vigorous sons of God and spoilt children.

Not less remarkable is their attitude towards those who have somewhat unhappily been called God's stepchildren, a phrase which no Portuguese of that day would understand. They

discerned the great truth that no man is so savage, as to lack a glimmer of that natural law which the Creator has implanted in every human intellect. Its glimmer might be faint in the African forests and mountains, but they could see it in the primitive acts of a friendly hospitality, and in the respect for their chiefs. Their faults arose from their circumstances, in which there was no incentive to industry.⁸⁸⁶

The Portuguese held the Christian ideal of manhood to be fit for men of every race. Citizenship of the Portuguese empire was one road to the realisation of that ideal. They never claimed to have actuated that ideal; far from it, as this narrative has shown clearly enough. But at least they claimed the honour of being its standard-bearers. The Portuguese expansion opened this new sphere of influence, not merely political, but spiritual and higher than anything that Hellas had ever imagined. The Greek ideal was that of the mere man, perfect as man could be with their low view of the gods.⁸⁸⁷ Gods who set men to fight with one another, as those of Homer do, were long discarded as puppets by Christian tradition. The Portuguese sought no mere cultural hegemony like that of the Greeks, but a cultural service. This breathes unmistakably out of the Portuguese atmosphere of that day, not only in literature, the court and among the clergy, but even in the conversation of sailors like Manuel de Mesquita Perestrelo, whose narrative we have been following.

CHAPTER XX.

A KEY TO SOUTH AFRICA'S SECURITY.

PANTALEON DE SA, whose escape from the perils of the Kaffrarian wilds has been described, lived to take part in a great naval campaign of the following year, which was vital for the position of South Africa in the empire of Portugal, and consequently vital for the continuation of South Africa's connection with Christian Europe. This was the siege of Ormuz.

Before the Cape of Good Hope was discovered, Ormuz was an important turnstile in the new alignment of world-trade. It was in the interest of the Cape trade that no enemy of Portugal should be installed at Ormuz, whence the main line of Portugal's trade could be easily cut, and the Cape cargoes intercepted. The Portuguese themselves had another reason for anxiety, since Ormuz possessed a rich trade of its own, being the central market of Persia. Its bazaars were the wonder of travellers, and life was luxurious there.

Friendship with the Shah was therefore essential on the diplomatic front. Persia also needed Portugal on the sea routes, in order to keep the Turk at bay; though on land the Sophi (as the Shah was called in Europe) was more than a match for the Soldan of Constantinople. Ormuz was the weak gap in the sea defences of Persia, and this accounts for the wide powers allowed to the Portuguese in their fortress there, though the local Persian rulers remained. For all practical purposes, Ormuz became a protectorate of Portugal.

In February of 1554^{sss} the Viceroy Afonso de Noronha sent his son Ferdinand de Meneses with a large fleet to winter at Ormuz, so as to be ready for the Turkish fleet when it should sally forth from Basra in August, as their intelligence officers led them to expect. Ferdinand was young and capable, and his father wished to give him a chance to distinguish himself; but Pantaleon de Sá was assigned him as his chief of staff, because he was experienced, and would help to avoid the mistakes almost inevitable in a youth of high mettle.

Europe itself was generally oblivious of the grave issues concerning itself, which were to be fought out at Ormuz. Even those observers in Europe who realised the grandiose plan instigated by Solyman the cruelly Magnificent, thought of it only

as a menace to the Portuguese empire in the East. This plan was to capture Ormuz, as a stepping-stone to Gujarat in India. It would be a prelude to battle with the Muslim rulers of the mighty dynasty of the Moghuls in India. After that the Janissaries would find it child's play to settle finally with the Hindu kings, rich as they were, and holding sway over millions. If Solyman had not wasted so much time and money in those fruitless battles which subjugated and decivilised the Balkan States, and were a constant torment to Austria, he would have had a mightier force for the task of conquering India. As masters of India, the Ottoman rulers would have had control of the Indian Ocean and South Africa.

Fortunately for Europe and South Africa, they were met by the Portuguese. But the Turks had an initial success in capturing Basra, the port of Persia on the Gulf. The first defeat of the Portuguese in these waters was due to a rare error of judgment on the part of the new Viceroy, Afonso de Noronha, in selecting Luis Figueira to command five foists sent to head off five galliots belonging to the Turkish pirate, Safar; which were coming through the Red Sea to attack Muscat and the cargo ships from Ormuz.

The Viceroy had just arrived from Europe, where he had promised Prince Luis to befriend this young *fidalgo*, whose father was the Prince's master of the horse; and in a moment of weakness, listening to the pleadings of the youth himself, he promoted him in November, 1551, over the head of a more experienced officer, Jerome de Castello Branco. Figueira had already shown that he was not a resourceful naval leader. He fought like a lion, killing forty Turks to the Portuguese dozen; but he took such risks that he lost his ship and his life. Though Safar was badly wounded, the remaining Portuguese retreated after the death of their commander. They landed at Massawa in Abyssinia, too disgusted to return to Goa, and ended their days in the service of the Christian Barnagash.⁸⁸⁹

Thus the Turks were consolidated in their hold on the historic port of Basra. It was from here that Ibn Wahab in the ninth century travelled to Sofala, Madagascar, India and China.⁸⁹⁰ Here, too, had been the headquarters of the Bantu slaves who, in the years 869 to 883, rose in rebellion against their masters, the great landowners of Persia. Basra was still a point of strategic importance for the Turkish navy. Being within striking distance of Ormuz, it not only threatened Portuguese trade with Persia, but also the communications between the Portuguese and their Muslim friend, the Shah of Persia.

From this point of vantage the Padisha, as they called the Sultan of Turkey, planned a determined attack upon the Portuguese stronghold of Ormuz. Basra was a name of happy omen for the Turks. It was founded as an Arab city, and garrisoned when the Muslim first conquered Mesopotamia. It carried the river traffic to Baghdad, and the ocean traffic from all the shores of the Indian Ocean. Then it shared the fate of Baghdad by falling into the power of Solyman the Magnificent in 1534, as Baghdad had fallen to one of his ancestors in 1240.⁸⁹¹ The appetite of Solyman for conquest grew as he devoured the lands of his fellow Muslim and of the Christians of Europe. It was then that he instigated the sudden attack on Portuguese India in 1538, which was so gallantly repulsed under the leadership of Anthony da Silveira, the old governor of Mozambique.

Once more opportunity seemed to beckon to the Sultan in 1550, when the Pasha of Basra by a clever stratagem obtained possession of the important ports of Katif and Behrein down the Arabian coast of the Persian Gulf, driving out the Arab commandant, Murad Bey,⁸⁹² whom the Sultan only tolerated until he could supplant him by the intrusion of a full-blooded Turk, Mustafa Bey. The mutual betrayals of these Muslim leaders form a tangled skein of personal intrigue, which need only be recalled here in so far as they furnished a stepping-stone for the Sultan's next move against the Portuguese. Solyman's grandiose scheme now was to work down the Persian Gulf along both its coasts, to close in upon Ormuz with the whole strength of his fleet from Basra, and thus control the ocean communications of Persia and Arabia. The first step was to strengthen the captured fortress of Katif, and especially to increase its heavy artillery and hold the bay with a strong contingent of ships.⁸⁹³

But the Persian King of Ormuz, Portugal's ally, soon got wind of these preparations. Since 1542 the relations between the Portuguese and the King of Ormuz had been placed on a stable basis of mutual benefit, after twenty years of wrangling. When it became clear that the Persian ruler would not pay the arrears of tribute agreed upon, the Viceroy remitted the claim in exchange for the control of the customs. The Persian officials kept their posts, and the native kings continued to rule with greater security than ever with the protection of a Portuguese garrison. So well did this arrangement suit both parties, that when the King of Ormuz heard of the Turkish threat, he sent an appeal for reinforcements to Goa by express caravel. As Ormuz professed the Shiah sect of Islam which Solyman had

sworn to extinguish, the religious motive added force to the bonds between Portugal and the Muslim King of Ormuz.

When the messengers from Ormuz reached Goa, they found other envoys there on a similar errand. One was from the Mesopotamian Sultan of Basra, who was still in the field trying to regain the lands which the Turks had snatched from him. The sheikhs of the islands at the mouth of the Euphrates, whom the Portuguese called Gizares, also resented the Turkish intruders. Their envoys, too, begged the Viceroy to send ships to destroy Solyman's fleet in the Bay of Basra.

As the task must prove formidable and costly, the Viceroy Afonso de Noronha called his Council together to hear the envoys and to read the letters received. They decided to send seven galleons, twelve battleships with oars, and twelve hundred men under the command of the Viceroy's nephew, Anthony de Noronha.

This time the men were to be chosen with special care, as there were many available, and they were to be paid better than usual. This last measure had been prompted by the conduct of the previous Viceroy, George Cabral. Cabral was a wealthy man, who spent much of his private fortune in the King's service. When Noronha audited the accounts of his predecessor, he complained that the scale of wages was too high. "It is clear to me, Sir," answered Cabral, "that you have never seen our men fight in India. When you have, you will forgive me."⁸⁹⁴

Cabral had so far identified himself with the life of India, that he was the first Governor of India to bring his wife with him. Couto, who knew him well, gives him a rare testimonial: "George Cabral was a handsome man, tall, a real gentleman, very straightforward, sound in giving advice, liberal and, above all, a consistent Christian." As a newcomer to the land, Noronha felt that he could not neglect the hint of such a man, and he took special pains to satisfy the soldiers and the crews of the warships with attractive wages. They set sail from Goa on the first of April, 1551, making straight for Ormuz, where they arrived at the end of the month.

Young Noronha's first duty as admiral was to hold a council of war with the Persian King and the Portuguese governor of the fortress of Ormuz, to determine the method of carrying out in detail the Viceroy's general orders to his nephew. The Persians offered three thousand men for the adventure, as well as the ships necessary to transport them. They would go under the command of the Guazil, the port captain of Ormuz, whose name was Ras Sharaf, with an experienced soldier,

Mirmaxit, as his chief of staff. It would take two months to prepare the Persian transports, which the Portuguese called *terradas*, and to equip them with artillery. These were generally small and swift vessels, equipped with sails and oars,⁸⁹⁵ but now they were made large in order to ship so many men across the Gulf.

No time was lost in beginning the plan of campaign. Disciplined by the tests and strains of constant warfare, these captains were ever alert to seize the fleeting chance, often to the surprise of their somewhat indolent enemies. Whilst these preparations were being made, the young admiral sent Manuel de Vasconcellos with ten light ships to cover the port of Katif, and prevent succour reaching it from Basra.

At the end of June the whole of the allied fleet sailed out of Ormuz to encircle the port of Katif. The Portuguese and Persian troops took to the boats, whilst the transports anchored, in order to effect a landing of troops to assail the fortress. As some of the Turks rushed into the sea on horseback to oppose their landing, a number of Portuguese jumped into the sea, breast high, to drive them back. A certain Phoebus Perez⁸⁹⁶ was knighted for outstanding gallantry in this work.

Once landed, the Portuguese and Persians in separate columns advanced upon the fortress, digging entrenchments in a semi-circle around it; which kept them busy for a day and a night. Then the battering of the fortress with artillery began, and lasted eight days, the Turks answering with their placed guns. The fire of the besiegers had done such damage to the fort, that next morning before dawn the four hundred Turks had decamped through a secret door at the back. The nearest soldiers on guard only noticed some slight noise, when the last of the Turks were disappearing in the dim light of early dawn. It was too late to pursue them, but at daybreak the Portuguese took possession of the fortress. A soldier from Madeira, Lawrence Feio, told the historian Couto that he entered it through one of the great rents made by the Portuguese artillery.

Then Anthony de Noronha presented the fortress to the Guazil, as the representative of the Persian king. But Ras Sharaf pointed out that it would cost more to guard such a distant prize than it was worth. They therefore decided to blow it up. As the engineers were preparing the mines for this purpose, a spark from a burning house near by fell upon a barrel of gunpowder, and the premature explosion killed forty Portuguese, among them six noblemen. Within a few days the Turks returned, reinforced with eight hundred Arab horsemen

under a sheikh named Bemjambre, but a gallant charge of the Portuguese caused this new army to vanish like the old one.

The Viceroy's nephew now sent home all the volunteers from Ormuz, as well as the larger class of the Portuguese ships; and with eighteen of the smaller craft he sailed up the Gulf to the rescue of the King of Basra. Nine of these ships were unrigged one night in a storm, but with the other nine he pursued his course to the mouth of the Euphrates. There he took possession of a castle situated on a small island named Monzique, ejecting the Turkish garrison. The admiral intended remaining there until he received a reply from the Sultan of Basra, to whom he sent several letters in Arabic by different routes.⁸⁸⁷

But Ali Pasha, the Turk of Basra who had ejected the fugitive Sultan, was a man of infinite stratagem. He was as anxious as ever to slice the head of the young Portuguese admiral, but he reckoned that it would be more profitable at present to circumvent him. Knowing all the routes from the sea, he had them watched, and intercepted the letters intended for the Sultan. Then he concocted a letter from the fugitive Sultan to himself, enclosing Noronha's letter, and saying that as a Muslim he regretted his friendship with Christians, and was prepared to betray the Portuguese fleet into the hands of Ali Pasha.

Having arranged this plot, he called together all the people of the district, and read these documents to them. As if by chance, he allowed two Italian prisoners, a Neapolitan and a Venetian, to overhear what he was reading. Next day he released these prisoners, knowing perfectly well that they would make for the Portuguese ships, as of course they did. If the East was no match for the West in arms or culture, it was hoary with age in the exercise of those arts that have made the notoriety of the serpent of Eden. Anthony de Noronha returned post haste to Goa with his fleet, resolving to waste no more sympathy on these unstable Arabs. Once again the serpent had won.

But the Sultan of Turkey had received a real shock when he heard of the exploits of Noronha's fleet. He realised that clever tricks like that of Ali Pasha could only postpone the evil day, unless the naval forces of Turkey were strengthened at the mouth of the Euphrates. From Venice and Rome, King John III was warned that Solyman was speeding up his plans against India.⁸⁸⁸

In May of 1552⁸⁸⁹ rumours from the Red Sea began to reach Ormuz, saying that an attack was maturing, but details were hard to get. One ship from the Red Sea brought news of fifty or sixty

Turkish vessels that were being prepared. As it was the worst time of the year for any attempt to reach Goa, because the monsoon was unfavourable, the Captain of Ormuz, Alvaro de Noronha, thought it best to obtain definite information before asking any sailor to face the adverse monsoon.

He found a valuable volunteer for this scouting task in Captain Ferdinand Dias Cesar. He was an old soldier who had become rich in trade, but had lost none of his love for war and the sea. He offered to go at his own expense. Noronha instructed him to go as a trader along the south coast of Arabia, which the Arabs call Shahar, between Aden and Oman, in order to find out from the gossips what the size of the Sultan's fleet was, and what its plans might be. As Cesar was well known in these waters, he found out that twenty-four ships were ready at Suez, and the general opinion was that they were to be used against Basra. With this important information he returned in July.

It was enough to enable the Captain of Ormuz to take practical measures. Two light caravels were sent to cruise about Cape Ras al Hadd, the most easterly projection of Arabia. There they were to remain until the end of August, the season suitable for the sailing of a fleet from the Red Sea. If the Sultan's fleet was descried, Captain Michael Colaço was to bring the news at once to Ormuz, giving warning on the way to Muscat and the other Portuguese settlements, so that they might not be taken unawares. If the Sultan's fleet proved to have more than twenty ships, Captain Simon da Costa was to sail at once for India, so as to let the Viceroy know what forces were ranged against them. Meantime Ormuz was placed on a war footing.

All provisions and munitions were removed from the town to the fortress. The new Captain of Mozambique, Captain Diogo de Mesquita, was warned to be on guard and to give notice of their danger to all ships expected from home. For that year's fleet a warning happened to be superfluous, as most of them were driven straight to India by the atrocious weather. The *Caranja* was carried along past Mozambique to Ormuz, where Captain Aires Monis Barreto arrived just in time to be in the thick of the fight with the Turks.

Fortunately, the fogs and foul weather also hampered the Sultan's fleet after it started out from Suez. It was under the command of Admiral Piri Bey, of the Egyptian fleet. He was a famous pirate, and he tells us himself that he had gained great experience of the sea in the Mediterranean, fighting side by side

with the leaders of the Barbary pirates. He was an adventurer in the service of the Sultan of Turkey. The more the Portuguese learned of these Turkish and Arab leaders by intimate contact with them in all walks of life, the more they became convinced that their own King was fighting for a higher moral cause, which the humiliating domination of these enemy races would destroy or weaken.

Though Piri Bey started out with thirty ships,⁹⁰⁰ Simon da Costa sighted only five of them at the beginning of August. These five had become separated from the rest by a storm, and were under the command of Piri Bey. Michael Colaço, on the watch near Cape Ras al Hadd, also saw them, and shot up the Gulf to warn all the Portuguese settlements that the Turks were on the way at last.

Muscat was the most important of these settlements. Since the days of the great Albuquerque it had been a useful adjunct of Ormuz, as its horseshoe bay was protected against all the winds. Ships could shelter there until it was safe to make Ormuz on the opposite coast, which was full of dangerous shallows. Only three months before this, John de Lisboa was sent by the Viceroy to build a fortress above the port of Muscat on Bacala Hill.⁹⁰¹ It was not completed, but was fitted up as a storehouse for provisions and munitions. The captain had seventy men fit to defend it. His own wife and the wives of the other Portuguese he sent away in a *terrada* in charge of two old captains, Bartolomew Dias de Moraes and Appolonario Mendes.

Meantime the son of the Turkish admiral had caught sight of the ship of Simon da Costa, who had been compelled by the high winds to come near to the shore. The young Turk crowded on his full sail and gave chase, gaining steadily on the smaller scout-ship. Wishing to have the joy and profit of capturing the ship, and not to sink it, the Turkish captain came right alongside the oars. The Portuguese gunner and a soldier, thinking that they were about to be sunk, jumped with their oars into the sea. But Simon da Costa was not the man to lose heart.

Noticing that the Turkish galley was inclined to leeward, "commending himself to Our Lady of the Rosary", he roared at the rowers to lend all their muscles to the oars, and he threw money to the slaves to urge them on. Then fixing up a sail which the wind had broken down, he steered his ship away from the pursuer. Only the two men in the sea, hanging on to their oars, were captured. The race went on until the night fell, and the Portuguese were able to slip away in the dark. Under cover of the darkness Simon da Costa changed his course,

and reached Ormuz. This enabled the captain of the fortress to make timely preparations for the inevitable onslaught.

The town of Ormuz was evacuated. The poorer civilians, mostly Persians, and among them three hundred Persian Christians, retired to the inland village of Magostan, accompanied by the Jesuit lay brother, Alvaro Mendes.⁹⁰² The well-to-do Persians withdrew to their country houses on the neighbouring island of Kishm, which had the double advantage of being rocky and scarped along the seashore, whilst its rich inner lands produced vines, palm trees and corn. The Persian King and his Governor, with their families and wealth, preferred to follow the Portuguese into the fortress, which was a capacious structure with many bastions. The lucky addition of three hundred men of the galleon *Caranja*, which the storms had driven past Mozambique into Ormuz, brought the number of the Portuguese garrison up to nine hundred.

Towards the end of the month the garrison was cheered by further unexpected help. A light single-masted cutter ran into the bay, captained by a famous Indian Muslim who had become a Christian, and was made a *fidalgo* by the King. He took the Portuguese name of Anthony de Sá, and was nicknamed the Turk. That he should have heard of the peril of Ormuz and have succeeded in reaching it within twenty days, seemed almost a miracle.

It was indeed a miracle of valour on the part of two people, Anthony de Sá and Stephen Gomes. The latter was the trade agent of the Crown in a small settlement called Kalhat, on a creek near Cape Ras al Hadd. Being on the look-out for the Turkish fleet, he saw it passing without being seen by any of the Turkish ships. Regardless of all danger, he set out at once to inform the Viceroy in one of those small Persian barques which the Portuguese called a *terranquim*.⁹⁰³ At Bassain he met De Sá, who rushed off immediately in his own vessel. With him he took Indian rowers; and fearing that they might get into a panic and jump overboard if they met the terrible Turks, he chained them to the oars once they were out at sea. Thus they made a lightning voyage. Meantime Gomes went on to Goa, and the Viceroy began to prepare a relieving fleet.

Two *fidalgos* of the Noronha family at Goa, a brother and a cousin of the Captain of Ormuz, as soon as they heard of his plight, gathered together one hundred of their friends, hiring two boats rowed by slaves to transport them to Ormuz. They reached their destination at the end of October.

Meantime the Viceroy was faced with a serious financial problem. For the colossal fleet that he estimated to be required in order to crush the Turks, the sum of fifty thousand *pardaos*, would have to be found; and the treasury was at a low ebb on account of the many military enterprises lately undertaken. After calling together the Council of India and receiving their support, he appealed to the Chamber of Commerce of Goa⁹⁰⁴ for the money. Goa was a loyal member of the empire, and the merchants, both Portuguese and Hindus, responded with alacrity to this appeal from the King's representative, knowing also that it was for the safety of their families and the security of their business. Diogo Soares, formerly sheriff of Mozambique, and now Commissioner of Crown Lands, guaranteed on behalf of the Viceroy to repay the sum borrowed in quarterly instalments, within a year. There was some difficulty in deciding the method of raising the money; but in a few days a sum of twenty thousand *pardaos* was collected, and the work of preparing the fleet was put in hand at once.

In the midst of these anxieties three ships from Portugal arrived on the seventh of September, enabling the Viceroy to provide fresh blood for the administration of India, as he did not expect to get back from the Persian Gulf until the following March. He sailed from Goa at the end of October with a fleet of eighty ships, among them thirty or forty of large size. A few days of favourable wind brought them to Diu, and there a quick-sailing caravel had just arrived with cheerful letters from the Captain of Ormuz and from Sebastian Lopes Lobato, a member of the Council of India long resident in Ormuz.⁹⁰⁵

The remnant of the defeated Turkish fleet had retired to Basra, and this is how it had come about. When the son of Piri Bey failed to capture the scout-ship of Simon da Costa, he turned back to join the main body under his father's command. As luck would have it, they stumbled upon the boat with the women refugees from Muscat in front of a place called Alfasan. Taking them all prisoners and compelling the two aged *fidalgos* to work as galley slaves at the oars, they reached Muscat, where the main fleet was awaiting them.

Piri Bey, whom the Turks sometimes called by his pirate name of Barbanegra, was overjoyed with the booty which his son brought. Being now near Muscat itself, he began to plan how he could extract the maximum of booty from it, as a gift to curry favour with the Sultan of Turkey. There was no difficulty in landing, as the soldiers had retreated to the fortress on the hill; but the village on the shore was looted, and some

big guns were placed on a hill within range of the fort. For seven days Muhammed Beg, the chief gunner, bombarded the unfinished fortress, and did great damage.

Then the Turk opened negotiations with Captain de Lisboa, as he wished to take as many live prisoners as possible. Portuguese slaves were the most valuable of assets in Egypt and Turkey.. It was a renegade of this type, John de Barca, that Piri Bey sent to negotiate for the surrender of the fortress. This enslaved Portuguese told his countrymen that Piri Bey was a broad-minded person, who would keep his word. If they surrendered, he would give them ships to return to India.

Water was already scarce in the fort, and there was practically no food left; so the captain called a meeting of his men, and put the proposal before them. It was resolved that the captain and the Jesuit chaplain should interview Piri Beg personally, and report. They were favourably impressed with the expansive welcome that the Turkish commander gave them, and reported in favour of surrender on terms. After eighteen days of resistance these fifty Portuguese went to the Turkish lines under a safe conduct, and were offered tolerable points of peace.⁹⁰⁶ "But as soon as the Pasha had them in his hands," writes Couto, "he violated the points of peace, breaking his word as the Turks always do. He put them to work as galley slaves, shipped on board the artillery of the fortress, and carried off a great deal of valuable property. Leaving the fort empty, they sailed away."

This success whetted the appetite of Piri Bey. The ease of this enterprise led him to imagine that the Portuguese fortresses were not as strong as they were reputed to be, and he was agreeably surprised to find that none of the chiefs of the Persian and Arabian coasts, except Mir Ahmed Shah, had risen to arms in support of the Portuguese. His instructions from the Sultan were to go to Basra, so as to get all the reinforcements possible in men and ships before attacking Ormuz.⁹⁰⁷ But now he felt confident of reducing it with the forces already under his command.

The assault upon Ormuz began on the seventeenth of September. A few days before this the courage of the defenders of Ormuz had received a useful stimulus. The Jesuit chaplain of Ormuz, Father Gonsalo Rodrigues, tells us that the prophecy of a sharif from Mecca had been divulgated by the Persian King. It said that God was wroth with the Muslim, and foretold that the law of Islam would soon come to an end. It seems to us a trifling ground for comfort, as trifling as many a ludicrous bulletin of modern war propaganda. But the thousand defenders

of Ormuz were steeled to carry on, just like the docile millions in some highly civilised state of our day by the cheery lie of a bogus victory.

The day was sultry and overcast when the hostile fleet sailed to a beach about one mile from the fortress of Ormuz, and without delay the Turks landed a large force of men and artillery at the Ponta de Couru. Although the Captain of Ormuz, Alvaro de Noronha, was in the throes of malarial fever, he sallied forth with a reconnoitring force of six hundred men as far as a large cross erected outside the town. Having ascertained the number of the Turks and their disposition, the Portuguese retired to the castle, in order to adapt their defensive measures to the probable nature of the attack.

There were forty trading ships in the harbour under the protection of the fortress. These were all unrigged, and some of them had their masts removed. The galleon *Caranja* was moored to the fortress, and her guns were primed to answer if attacked. Every bastion was garrisoned with a company of men. The safest place in it was the tower above the warehouses, and there were housed King Turan Shah with his wife and children, Ras Nurradin, the governor, and Mir Beruz, the chief justice.

Strange as it may appear, the captain's mind was relieved when the bombardment of the fortress had gone on steadily for some days. The walls of the fort were built of a plaster made from a white mineral abundant in these regions, which the Portuguese called *gueche*.⁹⁰⁹ Being somewhat fibrous, it proved the best defence against the largest balls of the Turkish guns. They became half embedded in the walls,⁹¹⁰ no danger to the besieged, but a decoration to the fortress. "If they had desired to arrange these cannon balls deliberately," writes Couto, "it could not have been done more symmetrically; and there they have remained until the present day."

On the fourth day of the siege, the captain sent a courier to inform the Viceroy of the progress made. This was Peter Fernandes de Carvalho, who set out from the foot of the castle in a row-boat with one mast, hugging the coast until he was out of danger at Cape Jask; after which he followed the normal route to Goa. Fearing that Carvalho might fail, Captain de Noronha sent another messenger two days later. Cosmo Alvares, the second courier, took the same route.

The most wearing difficulty that the captain had to contend with was the martial spirit of his own men. The Portuguese soldier was accustomed to grapple with his enemy in the open, both at sea and on land; but this inactivity for weeks was galling

to him. Some nights the Turkish soldiers would creep under the castle walls in boats and shout that the Portuguese were hares, who feared a hand-to-hand fight, and that they would soon be buried in the dust of their own fortress. This exasperated the men, who could not understand why Alvaro de Noronha would not let them get at the Turks.

They were on the point of mutiny at times. But the captain's personal ascendancy and tact were sufficient, from day to day, to calm his men by telling them the truth. Spectacular deeds of military heroism were well enough when something was gained by them. But this fortress was the best check on the insolence of the Turks, and he refused to take any risk of disaster to the most precious jewel of Portugal in the East. Meantime the Portuguese artillery was working havoc upon the ranks of the Turks in their camp. If anything more was required, he would give the signal at once.

The captain was amply justified; Piri Bey got tired of this one-sided damage in the duel with guns. In this whimsical position it was the besieger who was really besieged. After sixteen days of bombardment, the Turk made a determined effort to bring things to a head. As usual, his last salvo was a trick.

Amongst the prisoners taken at Muscat was a gunner named Balieiro. This man was sent to parley with the Captain of Ormuz, and to offer him the liberation of all the prisoners taken at Muscat for a suitable ransom. It was the first that the captain had heard of the disaster of Muscat. Not knowing whether he ought to believe it or not, he sent the messenger back without any reply.

But the Turk was not so easily daunted. Somehow he had news of the coming of a large fleet from India; and seeing how little effect his siege of twenty days had produced upon Ormuz, he still hoped to bring cash at least to his master the Sultan, if he could not present him with a new city. He had been surprised at the parting broadsides that the fortress had poured into his retreating ships for two hours, not suspecting that they were so well furnished with munitions. When his ships had anchored outside the range of the Portuguese guns, he made a last attempt to drive a profitable bargain.

Under cover of the white flag he sent a skiff ashore with a deputation of prisoners to interview Captain Alvaro de Noronha. It consisted of an Italian boatswain, the two *fidalgos* of Muscat, the wife of the Captain of Muscat and the two men who had jumped overboard from the ship of Simon da Costa. With the compliments of Pasha Piri Bey, they presented the Captain of

Ormuz with a richly decorated bow and a pistol case. The Italian spokesman explained that the pasha was ready to negotiate a ransom for all the Muscat prisoners.

The first impulse of Noronha was one of intense indignation that any Portuguese should have been so weak as to surrender to Turks. He imprisoned the whole deputation for two days. On the third day he ordered them all to be fitted out with new clothes, and brought them before him. On second thoughts he was prepared to ransom the two men of Costa's crew, as he did not blame them for trying to escape the way they did, and he sent valuable presents in place of them. But in spite of the tears of John de Lisboa's wife, he ordered her back to her husband, and refused to stir a finger to liberate the rest of the prisoners.

Fortunately, the Pasha declined to be burdened any longer with the two old *fidalgos* and Lisboa's wife, and meant to send them back later. He now sailed for the island of Kishm, where most of the wealthy inhabitants of Ormuz had taken refuge. Leaving the three useless prisoners mentioned there, he proceeded to sack the defenceless town. The richest man in it was a Spanish Jew named Solomon, from whom the Turks stole eighty thousand *cruzados* in gold and precious stones. Of the twenty thousand inhabitants, they seized for slaves as many as the ships could hold, inflicting inhuman cruelties on a great many others. They then sailed for Basra, lest they should be overtaken by the Viceroy's big fleet.

This was the news that the Viceroy received on his arrival at Diu, making it superfluous for him to waste so much money on a fleeing enemy. But a second nephew of his, who was also his namesake, reached Ormuz in November with thirty-two ships, in good time to discount the limited triumph of Piri Bey.⁹¹¹ This young Portuguese admiral sent his best sea-scouts, two of them, to the entrance of the river at Basra. One was to remain there on guard until further orders, whilst the other was to report the latest news to Ormuz.

Meantime the Pasha of Basra, who was no friend of Barbanegra's, sent word to the Sultan of Turkey that his admiral had disobeyed orders by disembarking at Muscat and Kishm.⁹¹² Pursued by the spectre of the Sultan's wrath and the fear of a sudden attack by the Portuguese, Piri Bey decided to make straight for Constantinople, in order to pacify the Sultan by casting the rich booty at his feet. It was popularly estimated at one million *cruzados* of gold. This he placed in three light galleys, and it included the Portuguese prisoners, whom he

placed in irons. In this way he hoped to save his head, if not his fortune. After leaving Basra at night, he hugged the Arabian coast so that no big ships of the enemy could come near him. But the Turkish ships kept so close to the shore, that near Katif one of them ran upon a sandbank and was disabled. The other two were able to save the goods and slaves, but they had to abandon the badly shaken galley to its fate.

The scout-ships, however, gave notice to Ormuz of the flight of the three Turkish galleys, and the fleet of young Anthony de Noronha sped away in pursuit. But it was the season when the stormy north winds blow which the Arabs call *shamala*. They carry clouds of sand with them, which makes visibility bad. By taking great sea risks and travelling at night, the wily Turk got away with his treasure, leaving the bulk of his fleet bottled up in the mouth of the River Euphrates at Basra.

Most of February was spent in this fruitless search. In May of 1553 young Anthony de Noronha was appointed Captain of Ormuz, and he handed over the command of the fleet to Diogo de Noronha, the hunchback. The new admiral was a capable character, as many a man with his physical disability has proved himself to be. It will be noted that the Noronhas were fully represented in the leading posts of this chapter of Portuguese history, a phenomenon common enough in the history of all great empires. Sometimes empires have been established by the adventurous riff-raff of a nation, but later administered by the great families that have issued from the adventurers. Portugal's empire was founded chiefly by the nobler families, and carried on by their lineal successors in the days of her greatest glory.

Amongst all the leading families of Portugal, the Noronhas had the reputation of being the most masterful. As a family they were credited with being somewhat heavy in manner and outspoken as well,⁹¹³ which made it sometimes difficult for their equals in spirit to work smoothly with them. Thus, when the next Governor of Ormuz, the high-spirited Bernardin de Sousa, found that his admiral was to be yet another relation of the Viceroy's, although the new admiral was a personal friend of his, he asked him point blank whether he had any power to interfere with him as governor. Only when he had his assurance that he would be a loyal subordinate, did Sousa consent to go to Ormuz.⁹¹⁴

But let us return to Piri Bey. Though he escaped the vigilance of his Portuguese pursuers, he did not escape the vengeance of his Muslim enemies. At Suez he anchored his

ships, and he took all his treasure and prisoners with him on camels through Alexandria to Constantinople, fully confident of making a great impression at the Porte. The Sultan had him beheaded for cowardice, and sent the Portuguese prisoners to the galleys as slaves, whence many of them afterwards escaped.

The worst grudge that the Sultan had against this pasha was that the Portuguese were now in a stronger position than ever in the East. The Pasha of Basra sent information by land to Constantinople, telling how there were now two strong Portuguese fleets in eastern waters. One was bottling up the derelict fleet of Piri Bey at Basra, and a new fleet appeared at the mouth of the Red Sea under Peter de Taide Inferno. This latter armada alarmed the Sultan most. It looked like a threat to the Prophet's house in Mecca.

At this time Murad Bey, the dispossessed captain of the Sanjak of Katif, was living at Constantinople, and volunteered to tackle the Portuguese. He was sent down the Euphrates to Basra, where he arrived at the end of July. His orders were to select fifteen of the best ships, to mount them with the strongest guns, and to choose the most suitable among the soldiers available to man the ships. With these he was to go and guard the shrine of Mecca by forcing his way into the Red Sea.

Murad does not seem to have realised how wide awake the Noronhas were at Ormuz, or to have planned how he could evade them. This is the laconic account of the Turkish chronicle: "Opposite Ormuz Murad Bey came upon the infidel fleet; a terrible battle followed, in which Suleiman Rais, Rajab Rais and several of the men died a martyr's death. Many more were wounded, and the ships terribly battered by the cannon balls. At last night put a stop to the fight." The Portuguese fill out the tale.

It was the feast of St. Lawrence, the tenth of August, when the fleet of Diogo de Noronha came into contact with the Turks. A mischievous wind caught the galleon of Gonsalo Pereira Merramaque and carried it towards the coast of Persia, where it was surrounded by the whole Turkish fleet. For hours Merramaque fought until nothing but the hulk of his ship was left. When one of the gunners was killed, a *fidalgo* who had never fired a cannon in his life handled the abandoned gun like an expert. At length the wind abated, and other ships rescued what was left of the galleon. They found every survivor full of wounds, but still full of courage.

The united fleet then chased the Turks for seven days, and drove the surviving ships back to the cover of the great river at

Basra. On the first day of the battle Diogo de Noronha had a hot, but one-sided, altercation with Saint Lawrence, because on that saint's feast day he could do nothing to help Merramaque in his heroic fight. But when the week's work was triumphantly accomplished, Noronha came to the conclusion that the saint knew that the Portuguese needed no help. "From their mother's milk they drew the courage and sense of honour" which made such a victory possible. The hunchback admiral now felt, what he had always believed, that God and the saints only intervene to help those who cannot help themselves.

Solyman the Magnificent, however, was not the man to abandon the fight as long as he had a ship left. For his next attempt to liberate the ships of Basra for service in the Red Sea, he chose a sea captain whom the Portuguese called Alecheluby, or Ali the Dandy. This new leader has left us a quite sufficient autobiography. "I the humble Sidi Ali bin Husain, also known as the Turkish author, most gladly accepted the post. I had always been very fond of the sea, had taken part in the expedition against the island of Rhodes under the Sultan; and I had since had a share in almost all engagements by land and sea. I had fought under Barbarossa, Sinan Pasha and other captains, and I had cruised about the Mediterranean, so that I knew every nook and corner of it. I had written several books on astronomy, nautical science and other matters that bear on navigation. Since the conquest of Constantinople, my father and grandfather had had charge of the arsenal at Galata. They were both eminent in their profession, and their skill came down to me as an heirloom."⁹¹⁵ The Portuguese add the important information that he had also been treasurer of Cairo, was very rich and a favourite with the pashas.

It was at Aleppo that the post of admiral of the Egyptian fleet was given him by the Sultan, who was on a visit there. Ali started off on the seventh of December, 1553, to make a series of pilgrimages to shrines of the Muslim prophets, as far as Baghdad. Then he took a river boat down to Basra, which he reached at the beginning of February of the following year. For the five months before the new monsoon he was busy, with the aid of the local commandant, Mustapha Pasha, in repairing the ships and fitting them with new guns. Some of these guns he obtained from Ormuz, a sign that he had friends among the Muslim there under the Portuguese flag.

In Goa the Viceroy was also preparing for the final contest with the Sultan for the control of the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea. Though he knew that he could always rely on the

sympathy of King John in his policy, he had reason to know that there were grumbler in India, who had the ear of some of the King's Council in Lisbon. The Goa corporation of merchants and craftsmen,⁹¹⁶ for example, complained that the Viceroy was asleep whilst Ormuz was being threatened by the Turks, that he thought of nothing but collecting money, and that he appointed only rash youths as admirals and commandants. For these disgruntled civilians, the sting was no doubt in the second grievance, as they disliked to pay so much for the defence of the realm.

It was to parry the last complaint that the Viceroy de Noronha rather ostentatiously appointed some of the old and experienced captains to staff positions with his son Ferdinand de Meneses, and his nephew Anthony, who were going as successive admirals of the fleet of the Persian Gulf. Among these older advisers was Pantaleon de Sá, who had just returned to India after his terrible adventures in Pondoland and Natal. He had also had much experience in dealing with the Turks of Katif and Ormuz.⁹¹⁷ The nimbleness of youth was indispensable for these ever-shifting scenes of warfare on land and sea, but it was well to have the wise counsel of experienced men at hand.

So quick and effective in action was the Viceroy that, a month after he had expedited the spice fleet of 1554, he had fully equipped the fighting fleet for the Red Sea. It consisted of six galleons, twenty-five well-appointed foists and 1,500 men. They left Goa in March; and after patrolling the Red Sea they were to winter at Ormuz, joining the fleet there already. In the same month of March a smaller fleet of five ships was sent direct from Goa to Ormuz under the new commandant, Bernardin de Sousa. These combined fleets were what Sidi Ali had to reckon with when he started out from Basra in August.

His local scout, Sherifi Pasha, reported after a month's cruise that the route of the Gulf was clear; as there were only four ships at Ormuz, these being evidently four of those that Sousa had brought from Goa. But the Turkish intelligence department was not alert enough to find out that the strong force of Ferdinand de Meneses was approaching. In the Red Sea it had encountered only three Turkish ships, which it had accounted for; and now it was about to clean up every creek on the south coast of Arabia up to Muscat, where it lay for a while before going to Ormuz.

With the reports of his spies before him, the Turkish admiral felt so safe that, when he passed the island of Kishm, he sent back a frigate with the Arab pilot on board. But when he

rounded the mysterious point of Cape Masandam, he suddenly found himself face to face with the fleet of Ferdinand de Meneses, sailing for Ormuz. "We hoisted our ensign to the mainmast," writes Sidi Ali, "the flags were unfurled; and full of courage, calling upon Allah, we commenced to fight."

The Portuguese account adds that as the Turks fired, they edged towards a small port named Lima⁹¹⁸ on the Persian shore and in the province of Migostan. The Turks claimed to have sunk one ship and to have been victorious. But the fact remains that they fled to the protection of the shallow water, where the bigger ships of Portugal could not reach them. At sunset the firing ceased. When Ferdinand de Meneses sounded the retreat, Sidi Ali believed that the enemy were afraid of him. He lived to know better.

The Portuguese commander left a few lighter ships to watch the movements of the cornered Turks. With the rest of his fleet he retired to the ample Bay of Muscat, where he prepared to resume the offensive. There the ships remained laying in water and wood, until the scouts announced that the Turkish fleet had arrived at the islands of Sohar on the Arabian coast.

We can imagine the surprise of the Turkish admiral who thought that he had disposed of the Portuguese fleet. He found it as strong as ever in his path at nine in the morning of the twenty-fifth of August, 1554, feast of Saint Louis the King, as the Portuguese duly noted. They met near the most beautiful and clean beach on the whole coast of Arabia. The Portuguese plan was to encircle the Turks. The long boats with oars went forward, a good way behind came the caravels, and then the galleys well spread out in a wide semi-circle. It was a beautiful thing to see, says the chronicler.

When the broadsides began the scene was changed into one of horror. "Our galleys were riddled by the javelins hurled upon us from the enemy turrets, which gave them the appearance of bristling porcupines. The stone balls which they fired at us from the cannons created quite a whirlpool as they fell into the sea. Even in the wars between Barbarossa and Andrea Doria no such naval action as this has ever taken place." This is the picture of Sidi Ali himself. Seeing that he was in danger of being pinned against the beach with his whole fleet, and captured, the Turkish admiral gave orders to row or sail at full speed towards a jutting point of the shore, where escape was possible into the open sea. Nine of his ships were able to carry out the order, but six were grappled by the Portuguese. After a long

and bitter fight, hand to hand, all of them were captured by the Portuguese.

When Sidi Ali saw his fleet reduced to nine ships, he made post haste to the nearest Indian port, pursued by the swift caravels. At Guador, on the coast of Baluchistan, he found friendly Muslims to give him refuge. But from there it took him two years of travel by land and sea to get back to Constantinople. A tale of woe is what he himself calls his own narrative of the adventures.

But the superb courage and naval efficiency of Portugal's sons had once more saved this jewel of the empire, which was Ormuz. To-day this town is little more than a barren rock, supporting a few hundred people; but then it had a population of some forty thousand, nourished in one of the most prosperous markets of the world. It was the kind of possession and centre of wealth that modern governments would cheerfully spend millions of lives to defend, but it had the added glamour of a poetic aspect denied to most of our conglomerations of wealth.

In this centre of Persia, however, military valour alone would never have kept the authority of Portugal supreme for over a century. It was the spirit in which that authority was exercised which helped to conciliate the many Persians and Arabs who lived contentedly under the suzerainty of Portugal. And when Portugal lost Ormuz, it was not so much on account of local revolt as of the intrigues and military attacks of European rivals. The Portuguese of that day looked upon all the races of mankind as a possible unit of culture. That any racial character or colour could be a bar to Christian civilisation was a notion that they could not have grasped. Thus, when the chief Hindu priest of Ormuz became a Catholic, they called him Paul da Santa Fé, and welcomed him as a guest in Lisbon as they would welcome a Spaniard or an Italian.⁹¹⁹ The friendly letters, sometimes in Persian, which passed between the kings of Ormuz and their chief officers on one side, and on the other John III and his viceroys, show how naturally the Portuguese had established a feeling of mutual trust between the two countries. But government in all countries and in all ages, no matter what its form, is based upon the power to enforce the law, and to protect the law-abiding citizen. In the matter of firm government the Noronhas and their officials wove a memorable link in the long and memorable chain of their country's achievements overseas. Among their active assistants was Pantaleon de Sá.⁹²⁰

He had been captain of Sofala and Mozambique in 1548. His misadventures in Natal were partly due to his anxiety about

the Turkish activity in the Persian Gulf. He was to have left for home in 1551, but hearing that the Turks had taken Katif, he asked to remain for service there. The delay caused him to take passage in the ill-fated *Saint John*.

Once again Pantaleon de Sá was to be captain of Mozambique, from 1560 to 1564. In the meantime he had married the widow of Diogo de Mesquita, the commandant who had received him so hospitably after his escape from the Kafirs in 1553. She was the sister of Manuel de Vasconcellos, who also took a leading part in these operations of the Persian Gulf. She must have been a woman of rare courage and endurance, to spend all these years in Africa and India.

During the first rough period of Portuguese expansion there was no room for the work of good women. But even then a Hindu king once expressed the wish to see the women of Portugal. He surmised that they must be noble types of their sex, since they bore such wonderful sons. It is one indication of the settled life that now began to emerge in the ports and towns of the Indian Ocean, that women began to emigrate more freely with their husbands and brothers. The King still considered it desirable to check the emigration by a system of special permits, but it went on steadily.

In Mozambique Pantaleon de Sá lived to enjoy some of the fruits of the victory which he had helped to win in the Persian Gulf. All along the coast, from Malindi to the Cape of Good Hope, the news of the victory was received with a sigh of relief. For the next seventy years the rich emporium of Ormuz was safe, under the Portuguese flag, for traders of every faith and nation who flocked there. You could find in its streets Arabs, blacks from Zanzibar, Indians, French, Italians, Spaniards, Dutch and English. The strong castle of Ormuz on the topmost hill of the island was surmounted by the Chapel of Our Lady of the Rock. When Portugal succumbed to the attacks of her trade rivals from Europe, this fine commercial city gradually ceased to be. Its place was taken by the mean Arab town of narrow streets on the mainland opposite, called Gamboon. During the period that we are considering, however, this key of the security, and to some extent of the prosperity, of the Mozambique coast was in the strong hands of King John III.

CHAPTER XXI.

OUR FIRST BOTANIST.

THE FIRST MENTION OF THE FLORA of the Cape of Good Hope is found in Pacheco's notable work, the *Esmeraldo de Situ Orbis*, most of it written in the days of King Manuel. The author says that the trees, plants and flowers of the Cape of Good Hope are much like those of Portugal, and he mentions a few names. But he adds that all this vegetation flowers in different months from those in Portugal, because the Cape is as far south of the equator as Portugal is north. The *Esmeraldo* is a scientific work on navigation, and the flora is described as a mere traveller would describe it, having nothing to do with navigation. Botany was then considered a department of medicine, and it is a physician who made the first scientific treatise on the flora of India, and incidentally dealt with south-east Africa.

His coming to these lands was accidental. In 1534 Martin Afonso de Sousa was sent to India as admiral of the Indian fleet, in reward for his splendid services on the coast of Brazil, where he had dealt most efficiently with the importunate pirates of France. He took with him his family doctor, Garcia de Orta, who had also accompanied him to Brazil.

Garcia was not anxious to emulate the feats of the soldiers, sailors and traders; but he desired to test for himself the new material which the overseas lands provided for the scientific investigator. He wished to see on the spot how the plants grew, and what they looked like as they grew. Having been a patient observer for nearly thirty years, he expresses the conviction that God would charge him with criminal silence,⁹²¹ if he left no record that might be serviceable to posterity. This was the genesis of his manual of botany, published in 1563 at Goa by the German printer, John of Emden, under the title of *Dialogues of the Simples and Drugs and Medicinal Matters of India*. It created a sensation in contemporary Europe, as it was the first scientific account of the flora of any country outside Europe. Every revolution of this kind looks mild to the generations that come later; because they take for granted all that went before and forget the laborious steps by which science is constantly ascending.

Within four years a Latin summary of this work appeared at Antwerp by the botanist, Charles d'Ecluse, a Frenchman who was superintendent of the imperial gardens of Vienna.⁹²² That famous editor of Orta's work pointed out that the author described many plants unknown to previous botanists, and that his account of those known to the ancients was more accurate, because the result of actual experiments in the places where the plants grew. This edition in Latin was an abbreviation, and the dialogue form of the original was abandoned. Editions in Italian and other European languages soon followed.

But Orta had written deliberately in Portuguese, though Latin was still the language of science. His notes were in Latin, and he had even begun his work in Latin. But on second thoughts he preferred the praise of a larger circle of his own countrymen, even those who did not know Latin, rather than the applause of the larger world of the learned. This he states quite bluntly in dedicating the book to his friend the Admiral of India: "You would be better pleased if it were in Latin, which you know even better than your mother tongue. But I beg you to take my book under your wing. Idle critics and biting tongues are sure to attack my book. Like the experienced farmer who trains delicate plants upon the trunks of strong trees, to protect them from storms, I place this book under the protection of your name."

This was a work of descriptive botany. Systematic botany was to be inaugurated twenty years later by the Florentine, Andrew Cisalpino, of Arezzo, who became physician to Pope Clement VIII. In his book, *De Plantis*, he distinguished and named fifteen classes to cover the 1,520 different kinds of plants then known, and sought the differential notes in their fruits.⁹²³ But Garcia de Orta undertook the more urgent task of recording what they looked like in their natural habitat, and what their medicinal values were. All botanical works up to that time dealt with the health-giving properties of plants. But Orta's was the first volume on the plants outside Europe.

The scientific reason for the production of this book is given, not by the author himself, but by a medical colleague in India; who writes a preface and dedication in Latin to Dr. Thomas Rodrigues, chief of the medical faculty of the university of Coimbra and his former master. On the subject of medicinal herbs in the East Indies, "so little that is authoritative has been published, that many have been bold enough to put forth ridiculous figments of their imagination." The hard facts of this volume would provide a much-needed antidote.

He goes on to say that in narrating the history of plants, the Greeks, Dioscorides and Galenus, had done good work in their day. But "time the judge of all things" had declared their work insufficient for advanced nations like the Portuguese, and out of date. "Let us not talk of the Arabs, who are mere dreamers; because they stumble so badly on the threshold of the subject, that they give us nothing trustworthy upon which we should care to risk the health of our patients."

He maintains that the only method of real progress in science is that which he has chosen. "We have followed the method you have always taught us," he writes to Dr. Rodrigues; "and Dr. Garcia has followed the life history of these plants from the seed to the fruit in our own gardens." But this Spanish colleague of Orta's, whose name was Dimas Bosque, ends with a tribute to his friend, which is useful to recall to-day when so many of our scientists tend to become rhetoricians. "Dr. Orta has dealt with truths alone without rhetoric, because a plain style is quite sufficient when we are telling the truth."

Garcia de Orta was abreast of the best scientific methods of his day. He had studied at the Spanish universities of Salamanca and Alcalá, and he had practised medicine for some years at the fashionable town of Castelo de Vide, near the Spanish border.⁹²⁴ For two years he lectured on medicine at the university of Lisbon. In India he constantly sought out the Indian doctors, in order to test their methods and to make use of any sound practice of theirs, or any of their medicinal herbs which he found effective.

"I used to draw them out in conversation," he writes, "because there is no man so ignorant that he does not know something good." But he notes that the Indians are quite ignorant of anatomy, and that their remedies are merely traditional. He also deplores the fact that some Portuguese doctors, just to satisfy the foolish craving of their more ignorant patients, use worthless Indian medicines. This he condemns as mere money-grabbing. More often the Indian doctors employ Portuguese methods, but unskilfully as a rule. "I try our European remedies first, and if they do not succeed I try those of the Brahmins that I have tested."⁹²⁵

Leaving Lisbon on the flagship *Rainha*,⁹²⁶ he spent some days at Mozambique and reached Goa in September, 1534. In India itself he gleaned a good deal of information about the east coast of Africa, if he did not pay any long visit there himself.

He mentions with some annoyance his difficulty in getting any information about plants from the Kafirs. The statement

occurs when he is discussing the habitat of an unidentified species of the plant which produces the grains of paradise, which species Avicenna seems to place in Sofala. But Orta could find no trace of it there. "It is possible that it may really grow in the district of Sofala, or in one of the neighbouring districts. We cannot find out for certain, because the people there are barbarians, quite unaccustomed to converse with civilised men."⁹²⁷

It was at Sofala, however, that he first met the king of all fruits, as he maintains the banana to be. The Portuguese called it the fig of India, the Kafirs *iningga*, and the Malays *pisang*. A Franciscan friar who had been to Jerusalem once told him that this was the forbidden fruit which caused the sin of Adam.⁹²⁸ "I do not profess to know whether this was really a tree of the terrestrial Paradise, and I am prepared to leave the question to the doctors of theology; but I must confess that its fruits are most excellent. The bananas that I tasted in Sofala were of splendid flavour. As, however, I had only just arrived from Portugal, everything at that moment tasted good to me, and perhaps I was not then a good judge." He goes on to give a full description of the plant. He ends by noting that it was already cultivated in some parts of Portugal, especially on the farm of the nobleman, Francis de Castello Branco.

About the medicinal bark which the ancients called cassia, Orta had a good deal to say that was new to his generation. He reported many new species and various new uses of it which he had discovered by his own experiments. But he could not verify the rumours that a species of it grew in Sofala, "because the natives manifest no interest in matters of this kind."⁹²⁹

For the Portuguese, the most important of all plants was the cinnamon tree, whose aromatic inner bark was the most desired of spices, with an unlimited market in Europe. Germans and Flemings eat pepper and the blacks eat cloves, says the medical interlocutor in the dialogues of Orta; but Spaniards and Portuguese eat only cinnamon. This made it important to find out whether a new source of supply could be found in Africa. Ancient writers held that it could, and both Herodotus and Pliny dished up many fables on the subject. "As the price of cinnamon is high and the avarice of man is great, the ancients sold many false drugs under this name." But Orta adds that even the genuine cinnamon of the Portuguese market might deteriorate completely on the long sea-voyage from the Malay Islands, and be useless; "just as the dead man is no man at all." It would halve the duration of the journey if this plant were found on the Mozambique coast.

In the face of all these hopes Garcia de Orta is compelled to deny emphatically that any cinnamon is to be found in Africa. In Goa he met a priest who had crossed the continent of Africa, from Guinea to Sofala and Mozambique. Many Portuguese had been wrecked along the whole coast from the Cape of Good Hope to Malindi. None of these ever came upon a cinnamon tree. It is true that reports from Madagascar sometimes raised hopes. But all that the barbarians there were able to show amounted to some aromatic nuts, which had the odour of cloves but were not spices at all. Ancient traditions in India and Ormuz still spoke in Orta's day of the Chinese junks that came from time immemorial to fetch cinnamon from Ceylon and Cochin, "just as the Portuguese do now".

At Sofala, Mozambique and Malindi he found the betel leaf and much myrrh, but both were imported. The myrrh tree came to Mozambique from Abyssinia. It was brought first by peasants to Mogadishu and Brava, the nearest ports to Abyssinia by land. This information Orta obtained at second hand, from an Abyssinian priest and an Armenian bishop; but he was never able to secure a specimen of the myrrh tree or of the natural gum-resin which the bark exudes. "As I have never seen any of these things myself, I cannot say whether they are true or not."⁹⁸⁰

The famous timber of Mozambique was naturally one of the first things that he investigated. Here he finds a point of contact with the Arabic writers from whom he differs so often. In fact, among the medicines of Avicenna there is a wood from "Almudilum, which is Malindi or is presumed to be; because in these parts there is a black wood which sinks to the bottom in water. Avicenna also says that the wood is found in Sofala. Now it is found in the Zambesi⁹⁸¹ region, which is near; and there is no difficulty in the fact that he calls Sofala a region of India, since that was the custom of the Ancients."

Serapion of Alexandria considered the wood of Sofala, which he called *abel*, second only to the scented eagle-wood of Sumatra in medicinal value. "They must have scented it artificially," suggests Orta.⁹⁸² But Serapion also notes that the wood of Sofala was much sought after in Egypt for making tables and combs.

But pepper was the great staple of Portuguese industry in the matter of spices. And here Garcia de Orta takes the wrong side in a debate amongst the scientists, which was as old as the advent of pepper to Europe. Were white pepper and black pepper fruits of the same tree, or of two different species of

tree? The Portuguese traders in Cochin and other places of the Malabar coast did not deal with pepper trees, which were cultivated by the Indian farmers. The Indians gathered the peppercorns, and sold them in two commercial varieties, white and black pepper.

On one occasion Garcia de Orta fought the whole question out with a Portuguese apothecary in the presence of the Viceroy John de Castro.⁹³³ The Viceroy was greatly interested in plants and trees. On his estate in Portugal he cultivated only those trees and plants which were exotic or wild, and there he was often visited by Prince Luis, who had similar tastes in botanical novelties. Castro was therefore an attentive listener to the debate between his two experts.

The apothecary declared that a long enforced stay at Mozambique years before had settled the question for him. The ship in which he was travelling leaked so badly that all the pepper had to be unloaded on the shore, that she might be tightly caulked. The cargo was supposed to be black pepper only. But having leisure to examine it at Mozambique, he found patches of white pepper here and there. On closer examination, he became convinced that this white pepper was just the black pepper that had been skinned and rubbed. That was, in fact, the way in which the Malabarese prepared the white pepper. They removed the dark skin of the peppercorn and some of the inner fleshy part, drying it in their homes for the market. Thus it was less pungent, and became a delicacy "which the Indian gentlemen place on their tables, as we do salt."

Orta knew well that there was nothing in the outward appearance of the trees to distinguish those that produced the white pepper from those that produced the black variety. "Only the people of the country can distinguish them. We cannot do so, just as we cannot at sight distinguish vines that bear white grapes from those that bear black grapes."

In the end both disputants were led astray by no less an authority than the Rajah of Cochin. As neither debater would yield his point of view, it was agreed that the Viceroy should write to the Rajah who ruled over these pepper lands for a decisive opinion on the subject in debate. The reply was that there were certainly trees that produced white pepper, and to prove it the Rajah sent a sack of white pepper. If Orta had noticed it, some words that he ascribes to his interlocutor on another page would have fallen appropriately here. "Your only proof of this is that a king said it. Indeed, a king's word is

proverbial for truth; but this does not mean that kings never lie, only that, being kings, they ought not to lie."⁹³⁴

In accepting the royal verdict, Orta departed, as all scientists will do occasionally, from the central principle which he lays down so emphatically and so often in the course of his work. "Don't try to bully me with the authority of the ancients, Dioscorides and Galenus, because I mean to tell the truth as I know it myself." In another place: "I bow to myself where I have seen things with my own eyes, rather than to all the Fathers of Science when they were badly informed."⁹³⁵ In this case he certainly omitted to ask the Rajah of Cochin how he knew that the peppercorns that he sent, came from any special tree. The sackful of them was neither here nor there in deciding the issue.

But it is refreshing to read the energetic terms in which this Portuguese botanist of the sixteenth century belabours those who rely upon authority in matters of natural science. In later centuries many devout worshippers of Hellas might have learned wisdom from Orta, when he rebuts the accusation that he is neglecting the teaching of the classic Greek scientists. "The Greeks were the inventors of a great literature, but they were also the inventors of many lies. Many of them were evil livers and effeminate in their ways. Even pagan Rome accepted many things from them that are bad."⁹³⁶ Unreliable as the Arabs are about India, he considered them better than the Greeks, who just drew on their imagination in India matters.

When confronted with the authority of Avicenna about the properties of sealing-wax, he says roundly that Avicenna was evidently guessing, and could not possibly have seen it. Orta therefore prefers the evidence of his own senses. "By all means tell me what these people say, and I shall tell you what I know."

Even the great Saint Isidore of Seville, who compiled a dictionary of the science of the sixth century, does not overwhelm him. He excuses the Saint's errors in science by saying that he handed down many fabulous ideas, because they were held by respectable contemporaries. Much less would Orta accept all the views of his own contemporaries. Many of the leading scientists then were Italian, Portuguese and Spanish friars. "When they discourse on moral themes from the pulpit, I am prepared to bow to their superior knowledge. If they write about science, I listen to them with respect; but when I differ from them, I prefer the evidence of my own eyes and ears to all the writings of the Reverend Father Apothecaries."

Much less was he dazzled by the authority of the contemporary Leonard Fuchs, a German Lutheran who denied that

there was any such thing as pure ivory in the world. "There are some lies so gross that they do not deserve to be confuted; but they should be allowed to go ahead until they strike twelve, like the clock at midday." Orta also disliked Fuchs because he was a Lutheran, and he flings at him a few sentences in that style of invective in which Luther had set the fashion. The fashion did not flourish in Portugal, and little of that type of polemics is found in Portuguese literature.

Orta informs us that from Sofala and Malindi no less than six thousand quintals of ivory was imported every year into India. We learn from him that the Kafir word for ivory was *ytembo*. "These Kafirs kill the elephants in order to eat the flesh, and they sell us the tusks. They capture them with snares made of wood. It would seem that there are more elephants in Ethiopia than there are cows in Europe."

The large demand for ivory from the Mozambique coast was due to a superstitious custom of the Banians of Cambaia. The womenfolk of these prosperous merchants usually wore about twenty ivory bracelets each. When a relative died, they destroyed all their bracelets in sign of mourning, and renewed them when the period of mourning was over. He reckoned that "the Devil, who prompted this Pythagorean superstition of the wealthier classes of Gujarat," was the best trade agent for the ivory of Sofala. "Other nick-nacks of civilisation were made of ivory then in India, but in total value they did not amount to much. Weight for weight, the larger tusks were more valuable than the smaller ones. In the end Orta apologises for writing so much about elephants in a book about drugs and plants; but he observes that he is following a famous precedent, since Pierandrea Mattioli of Siena⁹³⁷ did the same in his *Herbal*, "though he did not retail so many new truths as I have done."

Another mystery of nature which Garcia de Orta hoped to unravel on the Zambesi coast was the origin and habitat of ambergris, or grey amber. As the name indicates, it was thought to be a vegetable substance like the common amber, which Pliny held to be a resinous exudation from trees of the pine family, though he did not know that it was also a fossil. Averroes, indeed, had said that grey amber was a kind of camphor, generated in the depths of the ocean; but this guess "was unworthy of such a great philosopher", as quite evidently the two substances are not of the same species. But the Portuguese travellers and traders had confirmed the statement of Serapion of Alexandria, that much grey amber was found in the land of the Zingue. Orta explains the meaning of the last word.⁹³⁸

"Zingue or Zangue, as used by the Persians and Arabs, means Kafir or black; and because all that coast of Ethiopia belongs to the blacks, Serapion calls it the coast of the Zingue; and Avicenna also mentions Malindi, and calls it the coast of Almendeli". The greatest amount of grey amber, Orta adds, is found between Sofala and Brava. This, then, was the spot for probing the mystery.

Some writers had already suggested that ambergris might be the excrement or sperm or saliva of the whale or some other fish. But this hypothesis Orta rejected too hurriedly on the ground that there were plenty of whales on the coasts of Portugal and Spain, and yet no one had ever gathered grey amber there. Moreover, the substances mentioned were repulsive, whilst ambergris was delicious in odour. But he mentions a phenomenon casually which only in our day was to be thoroughly examined, thus leading to a definitive solution of the problem. When the east wind blows and brings chunks of grey amber to the Mozambique coast, "they are often found full of the beaks of birds," says Orta. The horny mandibles of the cuttlefish called the squid have been found in the ambergris taken from the intestines of whales, and it is inferred that some morbid condition is responsible for this formation.

Thus it is an animal substance, and not amber at all. In English the ancient error is disguised by the common usage of the French word ambergris instead of its English equivalent, grey amber. The largest piece of it that Orta himself ever saw weighed fifteen pounds, though in 1555 he heard of a piece of thirty hundredweight found near Ceylon. The best market for the sale of this commodity was China, where it fetched 75 *cruzados* an ounce. "But our people are selling such large quantities of it there," he notes, "that the price is falling and will continue to fall in proportion to the greedy competition of those who export it there."

During the intervals of his medical practice Orta was constantly on the watch for specimens of any rare plant that he heard of. If he had been a mere fortune-seeker, he would have had no intervals at all for research. He was the friend and physician of the rich Nizam Shah of Balaghat, and was therefore tied down to some extent. But the Nizam's son offered him an additional sum of forty thousand *pardaos* if he would visit him once a year. This he refused, in order to be free for his botanical investigations. On one occasion he sent a vessel of his own to Ceylon, in order to obtain a rare specimen of cardamom. He complains that the traders are very little help

as a rule. "They are not the least inquisitive in these matters. If they know of fruits from others, they never think of asking to see the tree; or if they see a new tree, they never notice how it differs from our trees in Portugal. Nor do they ask if there is a flower or fruit."

His best helpers were the Franciscan friars of Goa. To show this, Orta describes in one of his dialogues the entry of one of his female servants, announcing that "there is a boy outside with a basket who has come from the friars of St. Francis." He orders her to send the boy in. "There will be nothing to eat in this basket, because the friars are often in need themselves." When the messenger enters, the basket is found to contain specimens of plants, and among them an oxalid with sensitive leaves. It had yellow leaves, and looked like one of which Orta had read in a new work, *Nova Hespanha*, which plant was said to be growing in the new land of Peru.

The Indian doctors were another source of useful information, on condition that he could check their information with his own experiments. But the most hopeless people were the Yogis, who travelled continually and might have been expected to pick up many scraps of useful data about plants. "They are a class of people who tell you one thing to-day and deny it to-morrow." Botany, he points out, is a subject that can dispense with all the philosophical subtleties of the Yogis; but he hopes some day to thresh out even this recondite aspect of plant life, "if God only gives me the needful length of days."⁹³⁹

Meantime he promises his medical colleague in Portugal to keep him posted in the progress made, by an annual report of any new discoveries or of any changes of his opinions about plants and drugs. "Whatever I learn I communicate at once to apothecaries, scientists and everybody else in India. I know well that this is not good for me personally, because afterwards some boast of having made these discoveries themselves, and take all the credit of my work. But I follow this course, so that everybody may profit by what I may discover."⁹⁴⁰

He also sends a personal message to his old master in medicine, the famous Dr. Thomas Rodrigues, of the university of Coimbra. The European doctors generally believed that there was a special species of the cinnamon plant called Aleppo cinnamon, which they sometimes prescribed. Orta states that he has investigated the matter fully, and that no such species exists. Because the plants that came through Aleppo were fresher and less damaged than those that took longer routes, it was imagined that this was a finer species of the plant. "Tell the great Dr.

Rodrigues that thus the scientists of the King of Portugal have begun to respond to the exhortations of Mattioli, that they should clear up such matters. This is always subject to better advice from Dr. Rodrigues himself."

To European botanists this work revealed a new world. It created the same kind of sensation that Darwin's *Origin of Species* did three hundred years later. Many of Orta's theories have been superseded, just as Darwin's theory of natural selection has proved less satisfactory than some later hypotheses. Both works were ferment in the scientific mass, which heaved with movements that were fruitful in new lines of thought.

The greater part of Orta's work is devoted to Indian⁸⁴¹ plants, of which he gives first-hand descriptions for the first time, to replace the imaginary descriptions of Greek, Persian and Arabic literature. But the first edition of the *Colloquios* contained no illustrations. These were first published in a Spanish edition of 1578 by Christopher Acosta, who visited India in order to revise the work of Orta, and added over forty designs of plants made there. Editions soon appeared in the other languages of Europe, especially Latin and Italian; but the dialogue form of the original was generally abandoned.

As a patriot, Garcia de Orta could not resist the opportunity that science gave him to drive home Portugal's claim against Spain in the spice islands of the Malay Peninsula. In Goa he met the Rajah of Ternate, who was the first Malay ally of Portugal. This native king told him that "when Spaniards came to ask his support in the quarrel with Portugal, he replied that God evidently intended the Portuguese to have the cloves, because each clove had the *quinas* of the arms of Portugal upon it."⁸⁴² Even thus did Balaam prophesy through a pagan, and his ass through an irrational creature." Patriotic scientists in our day have quite outdistanced Garcia de Orta in such adaptations of science to political and military warfare, but then science was only beginning to warm up to such possibilities.

The Portuguese of that generation were fully conscious that they were making scientific history. One of Orta's repartees illustrates this vividly. He was faced with some botanical specimens that the Roman emperors were said to have possessed. "I reply that more is discovered by the Portuguese in one day than the Roman emperors got to know in a hundred years."

Before Garcia de Orta went to India, the historian John de Barros had planned a complete history of the plants and animals of Portuguese India and the Far East. Whilst he was still alive, a Carmelite friar, Simon Coelho, in a lecture lamented the fact

that the King did not free Barros from his administrative work of many kinds, so that he might devote his original mind to unique work of this kind. There is some reason to believe that an incomplete work on this subject, which Barros wrote, has been lost.

The memory of this work has been preserved by a Portuguese born in Africa,⁹⁴⁴ who was a pupil of Garcia de Orta. This was Christopher Acosta (whose Portuguese name was really Da Costa), whom we have already mentioned as editor of the first Spanish edition of the *Colloquios*. His remarks about John de Barros occur in a treatise of his on the elephant.

But we cannot take leave of Garcia de Orta without noting the atmosphere of European culture which these Portuguese leaders created wherever they foregathered overseas. At Government House in Goa, over which Martin Afonso de Sousa presided, not only did they discuss problems of botany and medicine, but intellectual subjects of many other kinds.

Once, for example, Orta confided to the Governor of India his difficulty in finding out what the exact difference was between the Turks and the Rumes.⁹⁴⁵ Both were Muslims, but not of the educated class that was sometimes to be found in Spain and in Persia. In reply, Martin Afonso de Sousa took down from his library shelves Platina's *Lives of the Popes* in Latin, and he read aloud how in the days of Pope Silvester the Emperor Constantine had transferred the headquarters of the Roman empire to Constantinople, leaving Rome to the popes. Thus the people of Constantinople and the surrounding country were called Romans, or Rumes in Arabic. When the Muslim took Constantinople, they, too, assumed the name of Rumes, leaving the word Turks to designate those who lived in the province of Anatolia, "which we used to call Asia Minor".

On another occasion they were discussing some of the graceful legends that Hindu mythology wove around the origin of certain trees and plants. "Surely Ovid must have visited these parts," suggested Orta, "because his fables are composed in the self-same style."

Chess was the favourite game, when Hindu guests or Muslims frequented the Governor's circle. Even here Orta could not refrain from asking questions. He knew Arabic well, as he tells us that he often checked the Latin translations of Avicenna's botanical works with the Arabic originals in his hands. By dint of judicious questions, he found out why chess players say "check" when they threaten the king on the board. A famous Persian king was sometimes called Xa Ismail by the Portuguese

and sometimes Xeque Ismail, the former title being Persian and the latter Arabic. The Persians who invented chess used to say Xa (Shah) when the king was attacked by another chess-piece, meaning "Mind your king." The Portuguese would use the more familiar word Xeque, which they pronounced in a manner very similar to our English word "check".⁹⁴⁶

These samples of the thinking of Garcia de Orta are enough to show that he went to India not only to communicate the culture of Europe, but with an open and receptive mind, ready to learn all that the traditional wisdom of the oriental races could teach.

CHAPTER XXII.

ENGLAND LOOKS TOWARDS THE AFRICAN TRADE.

AS EARLY AS 1527 the attention of Henry VIII of England was called to the possibilities of an English share of the spice trade of the East, which the Portuguese had opened up. There could be no question then of competing with the powerful Portuguese on the route around the Cape of Good Hope, even if international law allowed such poaching. But Robert Thorne, an English merchant of Seville, wrote an interesting report to Dr. Lee, the English ambassador to the Emperor Charles V, in which he endeavoured to persuade Henry VIII, through him, that there was a shorter way north to the eastern spiceries than that known to the Portuguese and Spaniards.⁹⁴⁷

Robert Thorne's father had taken part in the earlier expedition of John Cabot during the years 1497 and 1498, when they reached the coast of Labrador and Newfoundland. Like Columbus, Thorne still believed that "the land we found is all one with the Indies". If he had consulted the Portuguese scientists, he would have shed that delusion, as well as the other that there were shorter cuts to India by the northern route, "nearer to India by about two thousand leagues".

Though the Seville firm in which the younger Thorne was a partner contributed 1,400 ducats to promote a voyage of Sebastian Cabot's in 1526, it had no promising results. But this relative failure did not damp the trade convictions of Thorne, who in the last year of his life pressed the King to resume these projects, and sent a map which purported to show how the land lay. Up to the end he urged Henry VIII to this glorious enterprise. If the English would only take their courage in their hands and dash by way of the North Pole to Tartary and China, they could return by the Malay islands and India; "and following the way they return hither by the Cape of Buona Speransa, and thus they shall compass the whole world." But these views, which Thorne had imbibed in Spain, were not fashionable as yet among English traders and seafaring men. Even the voyage to Guinea was regarded as long and dangerous, as we see from the last will and testament of an English sailor, drawn up in 1557.⁹⁴⁸ Thorne's letter to Henry VIII was like a voice in the wilderness.

Living in that hive of maritime industry and science called Seville, Thorne had been spurred to emulation by Magellan's discovery of the south-west passage into the Pacific Ocean, with which the world was ringing three years before the Englishman's letter was written. Undoubtedly he was present in the Cathedral of Seville when the survivors of the expedition went to High Mass, to render God thanks for their success, and especially for bringing them safe through the last terrible lap of the journey from the Cape of Good Hope to San Lucar. If the Spaniards under a Portuguese leader found a way south-west, why should Englishmen not find a north-western route to El Dorado?

He does not seem to have given much thought to the north-eastern route through Russia, mostly by land, which had been suggested the year before to Henry VIII by the Genoese banker, Paul Centurione. This original thinker first tried to interest Pope Clement VII in the scheme of bringing spices from Calicut through the Crimea to Italy. He made two or three journeys into Russia, and was convinced that his plans were feasible. The Pope had sent the Bishop of Potenza into Russia in order to second Centurione, but mainly to establish friendly relations with the Russian Church through the Tsar. On second thoughts, Centurione concluded that it would be more profitable to pass from England to the Scandinavian coast, because the Baltic coast was in the hands of the Hanseatic League. If English ships could reach the north coast of Norway, English traders could complete the chain by using the Russian rivers to reach the Caspian Sea, and so to India on one side and to China on the other. The state bank of San Giorgio in Genoa, which Centurione represented, was prepared to help in financing an English expedition.

This would avoid any clash with the Portuguese on the route of the Cape of Good Hope, and would benefit England and the republic of Genoa. The proposal was well received by Henry VIII; "but the good and industrious Paul fell sick in London, and went to discover the countries of the other world." So writes the Italian annalist, Augustine Giustiniani.

The project, however, was taken up again in the reign of Philip and Mary by the English Muscovy Company, of which Sebastian Cabot was then head. In 1553 he sent north three ships under the command of Sir Hugh Willoughby. The whole crews of two ships were frozen to death in the White Sea. The captain of the third ship, Richard Chancellor, reached Moscow and returned with a commercial treaty signed by the Duke of Muscovy, as the Tsar was then called. Cabot died in the same

year as John III of Portugal, and the English Muscovy Company was only galvanised into a short life again thirty years later.

But Robert Thorne's ideas had a measure of success on the other route. A few months after the King received Thorne's letter Cardinal Wolsey caused two ships to be equipped "for the discovery of the north regions". One seems to have been financed by a rich priest who was Canon of St. Paul's in London, being also a great scientist. His ship was called the *Dominus Vobiscum*, "which is a name likely to be given by a religious man of those days", as Richard Hakluyt justly notes, because this invocation occurs often in the Mass. The other ship was the *Mary of Guilford*, called after the wife of the Controller of the King's Household, a rich knight named Sir Richard Guilford, who no doubt provided the capital.

Both ships missed the openings into the Pacific between the Labrador coast and Greenland. Only the *Mary of Guilford* ever returned after making the West Indies. There the English captain, John Rut, had a brush with the Spaniards, which was apparently hushed up for reasons of state. Except as a reconnoitring expedition, this venture brought no profit.

Thorne had endeavoured to impress upon his King what the conversation of many pilots had taught him: that every sea could be navigated, given sailors like the Portuguese and Spaniards; and that every land could be colonised, if the proper men tried. It was possible for England to sell her cloth in Tartary, and to buy in the markets of India and Cathay. If her sailors persevered, "without doubt they shall find the richest lands and islands of the world, of gold, precious stones, balms, spices and other things that we here esteem most."

Yet it was a private venture that marked the next step of these developments. In 1536 thirty gentlemen of London chartered three ships for another quest of the north-west passage. But on the coast of Newfoundland they and their ninety seamen were reduced to such a state of starvation, that "the fellowe killed his mate while he stooped to take up a roote for his relife, and cutting out pieces of his bodie whom he had murthered, broyled the same on the coles and greedily devoured them." This is what Richard Hakluyt was told by one of the gentlemen who survived. Under such circumstances, cannibalism does not indicate any special fierceness or brutality, but rather cowardice and weakness, according to the anthropologist Cipriani, who had much contact with the cannibal tribes of the Congo.^{848a} Those who managed to struggle home, landing at St. Ives in Cornwall, were so emaciated that their own families did not

recognise them. Only by plundering a French ship had they obtained enough food to reach home. But Henry VIII "was so moved with pity that he did not punish his subjects (when the French complained of the robbery), but out of his own purse he made full and royal compensation to the French." But during the reign of Henry VIII "English enterprise was mainly parasitic", as Pollard writes (*History of England*, VI, 303). "More was won by pillage from the fleets of others than by original and legitimate trade; and it is significant that no small proportion of the diplomatic correspondence between England and Spain during the last years of Henry VIII is occupied with disputes over robberies committed by English pirates on Spanish merchantmen. For the rest, there was promise but little performance."

The final attempt of the English, during the reign of King John III, to discover a northern route to India was made in the last year of Sebastian Cabot's life. At this time Cabot had given up all hope of high command in Venice and Spain. Eight years had passed since he accepted the lucrative post of Grand Pilot of England, when he prepared a pinnace named the *Serchthrift* with ten sailors. It left Gravesend in 1556 under Captain Stephen Borough, who had served under Chancellor in the Russian venture of 1553. Borough himself has left an account of the parting scenes.

Cabot had lost nothing of his Italian vivacity, and he went on board with a merry party to share the good cheer of the ship. Then he gave each of the sailors a sum of money, and among the poor ashore he distributed liberal alms, asking them to pray for the success of the enterprise. Afterwards, writes Borough, although Cabot was an old man, "he joined in the dancing himself amongst the young and lusty company: which being ended he and his friends departed, commanding us to the guidance of Almighty God."

The voyage added greatly to the reputation of Stephen Borough as a pilot, but it failed in its principal aim of finding a way to India by sea along the north coasts of Scandinavia and Siberia. They discovered the island of Vaigatch at the opening of the Kara Sea, but for unknown reasons they failed to complete the passage through the Bering Straits. It was a fine feat of seamanship, and the first to applaud it were the Spanish pilots of Seville.

The pinnace called there on her way home, and the Spaniards invited Stephen Borough to their renowned *Casa de Contratacion*; where they congratulated him upon his discovery,

"presenting him with a pair of perfumed gloves worth five or six ducats." Nothing could show more plainly how little the Spaniards and Portuguese thought of dominating all the ocean routes of the world. If the English could find a route of their own, these gentlemen pilots were ready to wish them well.

During the ten years after receiving Thorne's letter, Henry VIII was more bent on spending money on his ambitious schemes in Europe, and on vain display. The London merchants found ample outlet for their capital and energy in the wool trade with the continent, a trade which Henry VII had built up. But the ambitions of Henry VIII had given England a period of incessant wars with the consequent heavy taxation. Cardinal Wolsey was sacrificed to the bitter hostility which both merchants and people showed, on account of the grinding impositions of the Crown. But neither the confiscated estate of Wolsey nor the later plunder of the monasteries could fill the serious deficit in English trade which Henry's later acts were to cause.

The fifty years before 1538 had been a period of moderate prosperity in England, during which the country felt no urgent need to dream of foreign adventures; as its home industries furnished sufficient business for the merchant class and ground rent for the landowners. It was easy for England to acquiesce in the international code of law, which assigned large tracts of the new-found world as trading spheres for Portugal and Spain. The wool trade provided England with a prosperity that had brought peace to the country after the disastrous Wars of the Roses. The magic prosperity of Portugal and Spain beyond the seas also made these countries solid customers for the purchase of English wares.

Henry VII had built up English markets in Germany, the Netherlands and the Iberian Peninsula. His friendship with the Hapsburg emperors had secured a system of special alliances with these continental countries, which gave England something like a monopoly of the wool trade in the north and west of Europe; and it made the English colony of wool merchants an important element in the commercial life of distributing centres, such as Antwerp and the Hansa cities. It was a system calculated to last, because based on the permanent interests of all concerned.

But the last decade of the reign of Henry VIII saw the beginning of disaster for the staple trade of England. It began with the shameful treatment of his first wife, Katherine of Aragon. The friendship of her nephew could hardly be expected to survive such conduct. When Henry grew tired of her and of

Ann Boleyn, his brutal treatment of all the women who came into his life and the savage judicial murders of the men who refused to bow to his changing whims, led people on the Continent to doubt his mental sanity.

In earlier life he had been a brilliant personality, and a friend of scholars like More and Erasmus. But self-indulgence and an incredible vanity had undermined his character beyond recognition. It was a monstrous picture, which filled Europe with horror. The breach with Rome turned against him even the French King, who was driven into an unwilling alliance with the Hapsburgs. In 1538 Francis I and the Emperor, much as they detested one another, were seriously discussing the invasion of England.

The subservience of the cowed Londoners to the King was the wonder of the Venetian ambassadors in England. One of them reported to his government that the Londoners would turn Mohammedan or adopt the Jewish faith, "if the King showed that that were his belief and he so wished."⁹⁴⁹ The English historian, Dr. Pollard, is even more emphatic: "Parliament seemed to assemble only to register the royal edicts, and clothe with a legal cloak the naked violence of Henry's acts. It remembered its privileges only to lay them at his feet." Resistance to this tyranny came only from a few learned men like Sir Thomas More and Cardinal Fisher, from many of the older families and from the solid peasantry, especially in the north of England. But the political and economic strength of the Londoners easily smashed these forces of freedom.

"But Henry's breach with the Church of Rome coincided with other changes to introduce a time of danger. The output of silver from Spanish mines in the West affected all European countries, and England not least. Prices rose and old contracts needed revision. The dissolution of the monasteries caused the change to be rapidly and unjustly effected. The new owners of land demanded profit. They raised rents and evicted the customary tenants who could not pay. They enclosed commons and deprived the peasant of part of his livelihood. They converted ploughland into pasture which employed fewer hands. The enterprising men who thus made fortunes were looked upon as upstarts, and the cleavage thus arising was accentuated by religious differences; for it was often the newly enriched that were Protestants, while the old families remained Catholics. Among the people the change produced alarming discontent, pauperism and vagrancy."⁹⁵⁰ . . .

But the climax came two years before the death of Henry VIII, in the year 1545. In that year the Emperor Charles V retaliated upon the attacks of English privateers against Spanish and Flemish shipping by arresting all English merchants in Spain and the Netherlands and forbidding trade with England. Though the veto lasted only one year, English trade was ruined, and the Hansa rivals of England firmly established in its once lucrative posts. "The only gainers on the English side were the freebooters of the seas, and that was a circumstance significant of much that was to happen in the future."

Yet honest and patriotic merchants and sailors in England, whether they retained the faith of their fathers or embraced the new religion which the King was forcing on the whole people, were united in the desire and effort to retrieve the trade disasters which he had brought upon the kingdom.

A beginning was made during the eight years of the reign of Edward VI, the sickly but gracious boy who succeeded his father, Henry. Peculation, injustice and misgovernment were rife during these years of the helpless boy-king, especially when the Duke of Northumberland was supreme in the royal councils. He was the son of an extortioner who had been executed for his crimes at the beginning of the last reign; and he is reckoned the worst man who ever had power in England up to that day: a hypocrite in religion, and a plunderer of the public exchequer. The English shilling fell down in value to sixpence, even though the churches were robbed of their remaining plate.

But in one matter, like the unjust steward of the Gospel parable, Northumberland showed himself wise in his generation where the mammon of iniquity was concerned. He discerned the dazzling prospects of trade expansion in the wake of the Portuguese and Spanish.

His character left him without inconvenient scruples in regard to piracy. In 1552 he conceived the idea of a sea expedition up the River Amazon to rob the Spanish colony of Peru, which was already renowned for its wealth in silver and gold. Probably with this end in view, he had invited to England with large promises the great pilot, Sebastian Cabot, an Italian who had served under the Spanish crown for 35 years. Cabot rendered many conspicuous services to English trade in later years, but he appears to have refused these piratical proposals. In any case, Edward VI died the following year and Northumberland fell from power, being executed for his crimes by Queen Mary Tudor with the approval of the large majority of Englishmen.⁹⁵¹

Another project of Northumberland's, however, the Queen allowed to be carried out. It was the first venture of an English syndicate upon that part of the African coast which the Portuguese had opened up. Captain Thomas Wyndam sailed in charge of three ships, and he took with him as an expert adviser a Portuguese refugee of considerable naval knowledge named Anthony Pinteado. They left Portsmouth a month after the Queen's accession, and were admonished to avoid the settlement of Elmina and all that part of the coast effectively occupied by the Portuguese. They bartered for gold, ivory and pepper with the negro tribes that owned no allegiance to Portugal. But the deadly delta of the Benin coast, where the Niger discharges its twenty poisonous outlets upon the ocean, took a terrible toll of the crews. Both the leaders died of fever, and one hundred and forty men. Only forty emaciated men returned to England, but the wealth they brought back was an alluring revelation to the investors of the city of London.

An English historian of note⁹⁵² thinks that this action of Queen Mary implied that she repudiated the validity of the papal bulls confirming Portugal's international rights in regard to the Portuguese discoveries. But the phraseology of these bulls, whilst it satisfied the legitimate claims of Portugal and Spain, left a large margin of doubtful points where other nations could fasten their reasonable demands for a fair share in the world's trade. Mary Tudor, with her brave and thoughtful temperament, was the last sovereign in the world to surrender any right of the English people.

English opinion in those days, like that of the rest of Europe, recognised the right of a national monopoly of sea routes in trade, just as if they were territorial routes. The passage round the Cape of Good Hope was Portugal's, legitimately acquired in terms of the common law of Europe through the valour of her sailors. The first step was to train English sailors capable of similar exploits. The Wardens of the London Drapers' Company urged this upon Henry VIII in 1521, quoting an old proverb of the sea: "He sails not surely that sails by another man's compass."

If this training were achieved, there was nothing to prevent the acquisition of an English monopoly of some new route "to the Grand Khan", that is, to the eastern seas. In those vast regions there must be many spice islands and rich emporiums, which neither Portugal nor Spain had tapped. This was the sound position of the constructive thinkers, of whom Queen Mary was one.

Richard Eden may be taken to represent her views, as he wrote his account of Wyndam's piratical incursion into Guinea during the first years of her reign. He does not spare his countryman, who was financed by the Merchant Adventurers' Company of London. But he formulates the views of sensible men against extremists among the Portuguese and monopolist companies of England. He denounces the ambition of those "who on account of conquering forty or fifty miles here and there, and erecting fortresses or rather blockhouses among naked people, think themselves to be worthy to be lords of half the world, envying that others should enjoy the commodities which they themselves cannot wholly possess."

Like her predecessors, she recognised the international law that these bulls endorsed, but only within the strict letter of the law. The claim of the London merchants, endorsed by the Privy Council and Queen Mary, was to the right of trading with all friendly peoples in Europe, Asia and Africa. America was still regarded by the English as part of Asia. The only restrictions to such trade were immemorial customs and international agreements. Queen Mary evidently did not regard the natives with whom Wyndam traded as Portugal's subjects in trade.

This position remained intact even when Mary married Philip II. He had no interest in promoting Portugal's claims. Though England was only a small part of his vast domains, he naturally preferred its interests to those of Portugal, which was a rival in trade. When, therefore, Portugal demanded the surrender of the gold which Wyndam brought home, Queen Mary's reply was discriminating. Pinteado was dead. But both Mary and Philip refused to give back the gold, which clearly meant that they regarded it as legitimately acquired. As a matter of friendly policy, however, it was agreed to prohibit all further voyages to Guinea for the present.

This sop to Portuguese feeling was probably prompted by the fear that Wyndam might have exceeded his commission, and acted illegally in detail. For he had a bad reputation even in England.⁸⁶³ The French ambassador described him once as an expert in piracy. English courts had twice sentenced him to heavy fines and compensation for filibustering on the high seas by capturing ships of friendly nations. But even Wyndam bears witness to the cultural influence that the Portuguese were exerting already on this coast; as he expresses his surprise that a native King of Benin whom he met could speak Portuguese, having learned it as a child.

After Wyndam's expedition, two other famous adventures were made along the Guinea coast, and probably many less

known, during the reign of Queen Mary. In 1554 John Lok, son of a London alderman, Sir William Lok, went to the Gold Coast and returned the following year with a rich cargo. This included four hundred pounds weight of gold, a large amount for those days. With him was a youth named Martin Frobisher, who was to become one of the most successful Channel pirates of the next reign. The gold they brought back was invaluable in financing the wool merchants of London, in their efforts to regain the lost trade of Germany and the Netherlands, as well as the new trade of Russia.

Again in the last year of Mary's reign, William Towerson sailed for the Gold Coast.⁸⁵⁴ This was his third voyage there. In 1555 he secured a cargo of ivory and gold dust, though he had a running fight with some Portuguese cruisers based on Elmina. A year later he joined some French pirates on the same coast, but found them indifferent allies. On the way home with his ship he was attacked by another French pirate vessel, whose letters in German showed that their principals were in the German towns of Hamburg and Dantzig. This was no doubt the reason why his squadron of the third expedition included two stout ships of the Royal Navy, a fact of great significance in gauging the Queen's views.

She distinctly forbade her sailors to attack Elmina, or any port where the Portuguese were in possession, or to trade with tribes that had acknowledged Portugal's protective regulations. But she did not interpret the bulls of Alexander VI as a legal partition of the whole trade of the newly discovered lands between Portugal and Spain.

Her Spanish consort also took this view. Because jointly with Queen Mary, Philip II issued a charter to the Muscovy Company of London, authorising them to fit out ships for the exploration of the north-east and north-west passages to Cathay, as China was then called. Its literal terms were an infringement of any monopoly of trade in these seas, which the lawyers most favourable to Spain claimed. But King Philip thus gave his authority to the more moderate view, which was conformable to the claims of English enterprise.

Until the law of nations was further defined by mutual agreement, the Queen felt free to push the rights and interests of England as far as she thought just, and profitable to English trade. If necessary, she was prepared to defend her people's legitimate commerce with the fleet. Just as Portugal and Spain had come to a workable division of their interests in the new discoveries, which was afterwards ratified by the Pope, so England

and Portugal could define their borderline claims in the South Atlantic, and perhaps afterwards in the Indian Ocean. In the meantime, whilst the interpretation of the law was doubtful, each sovereign nation would protect its own interests as best it could.

If Queen Mary Tudor had lived another twenty years, such a peaceful modification of international law would probably have come about. There would surely have been a few clashes between the fleets of the two countries. But it would as certainly not have been a fight to the finish. The Portuguese were not averse to negotiation. This can be seen from the remarkable work of Serafim de Freitas, the Portuguese lawyer whom Philip II appointed later to teach international law in the university of Valladolid.⁹⁵⁵

His lectures breathe a far finer and more practical spirit of compromise among the nations than the records of the Geneva League created in the year 1919. No right of any kind is based on the claim to be better than other nations. Not even the privilege of being a Christian, which the Portuguese valued most highly, is considered legal ground for dictating to pagan nations. If war must come, writes Serafim de Freitas, let us have victory. But his view of the meaning of victory is unfortunately out of date, medieval in fact. "Just as your soldier rejoices when he has beaten the enemy, so let your enemy have reason to rejoice when he has been beaten." Thus does he give a Christian meaning to a distich of Ovid, which would have made Ovid gasp.

Utque tuus gaudet miles, cum vicerit hostem,
sic cur se victimum gaudeat, hostis habet.

During Mary Tudor's reign, however, there was no serious contest with Portugal. English sea-traffic was beginning to expand in many directions. There was every prospect, therefore, that step by step England would gain her proper share in the wealth of the new world without having to fight Portugal or Spain. They could be friendly rivals. For the average Englishman of that day, the real threat to the nation's trade prospects came rather from France and Scotland, who were allies and both unfriendly to England.

A scene described for us by the Venetian ambassador in Brussels, two years before the death of Queen Mary, shows how much leeway England still had to make up since the disastrous trade situation created by Henry VIII in his last years. King Philip II supped there right royally on the night of the third of February, 1556. Returning home, he passed through the street where the English merchants lived, and in the hearing of his many local attendants, he asked about the English residents of

Brussels who were then his subjects. According to the customs of gentlemen of the day, this was to offer them the honour of his dining with them, when they invited him. But "as they were very few and not very wealthy", says the Venetian Federico Badoer, they were regrettfully compelled to forgo the honour.⁹⁵⁶

But there were some enterprising Englishmen who were working hard to restore the trade harmony between England and the dominions of the Hapsburgs. One of the most active of these was Michael Lok, brother of the leader of the expedition of 1554 to Guinea. He had been educated in Flanders and France, and spent years in business in Seville and Lisbon. For twenty-four years he travelled all over the continent of Europe, and was once captain of a large ship trading in the Levant. He had also studied history and languages, and "all matters pertaining to the traffic of merchants, spending more than five hundred pounds in books, charts and instruments". It must have been gall and wormwood for him to learn that, a few months before the banquet mentioned above, a fleet of eighteen Portuguese ships came to Antwerp with spices of India and other merchandise, as well as cash to the value of one hundred thousand crowns; and that a fortnight later twenty-five Portuguese ships left Antwerp, laden with grain and other exports for Portugal.

The first steps in the way of betterment was to wake England up to the facts of the situation. This important work was taken up by Richard Eden, who was twenty-six years old when Henry VIII died. He had been educated on the continent, and filled a position of trust in the household of the Prince of Spain.

Eden first came into prominence as the secretary of Sir William Cecil, who then professed to be an ardent Catholic, as Queen Mary was on the throne. At this time Cecil had not conceived his policy of aggressive rivalry with Spain, and was inclined to encourage his young lieutenant in educating England regarding the facts and figures of world commerce. As Eden had lived so long on the shores of the Mediterranean, which Charles Kingsley has called the sea of all civilisation and of all history, he saw clearly how insular his own countrymen were.

Wool alone, and that exported only by way of the Spanish province of Flanders, could never be the fitting basis of a great empire like that of Spain. In a memorandum of 1564, Cecil himself formulated the maxim which had long been simmering in his brain: "It were better for this realm for many considerations, that the commodities of the same were issued out rather to sundry places than to one."⁹⁵⁷ But this meant ships and a

knowledge of the oceans, in neither of which could Englishmen compare with Portuguese or Spaniards. Eden's idea was to be the prophet of this new era of England's expansion.

He began by translating into English the *Cosmologia Universalis* of the German geographer, Sebastian Münster, a useful compilation of current science in navigation, which had been published eight years before. Then he turned his attention to the narratives of many travellers, especially Portuguese and Spaniards, who were transforming the world by their energy. His collection of English versions of these works was published in 1555 under the title of *Decades of the Neue Worlde or West India*. Among the tales of this small library of travel was that of Ludovico di Varthema, the Italian who had visited so many countries of the Indian Ocean, returning by way of Mozambique and the Cape of Good Hope.

These famous places represented for the untravelled Englishman of that day the gates of a golden Paradise of trade, which as yet he had discovered no means of entering. When England did enter, it was not altogether by the road which Eden indicated, but by other methods which are represented by the names of Lord Burghley (as Sir William Cecil was known later) and Sir Francis Drake. All this, however, belongs to the story of the next reign.

Meantime the spices of the East that the Portuguese brought around the Cape of Good Hope reached London through Antwerp, which the agents of the London merchants frequented. The more enterprising sailors of Plymouth went straight to Lisbon, where they got not only spices, but much information from Portuguese captains. After 1544, however, the freebooters of the south of England saw a chance of greater profits than the tame voyages to tropical seas could give. That year, when Charles V made peace with England's enemies, the French; Henry VIII gave letters of marque to his sailors to attack Spanish and Portuguese ships on the pretext that they carried French goods. But Robert Renneger, of Southampton, and William Hawkins, who had become Mayor of Plymouth and an abettor of the King in despoiling the local church and monastery, discarded all law in their privateering. Having France and Scotland as enemies, Henry had no wish to provoke the Emperor. "But in licensing the privateers, he had let loose a monster which even he could not control." Though the English courts compelled them to restore much of the stolen goods, they became rich and their captains experienced in this Channel piracy, which was to have much ampler results in the hands of his son, Sir John Hawkins.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE FIRST HISTORIANS OF SOUTH AFRICA.

BEFORE QUEEN ELIZABETH ascended the throne of England, four great historians had written in Portuguese the history of South Africa for the preceding years, three of them largely from personal experience. As yet no vernacular historian had arisen in England itself comparable in talent and output with these four Portuguese writers: Gaspar Corrêa, John de Barros, Fernão Lopez de Castanheda and the author of the *Commentaries* of Afonso de Albuquerque.⁶⁵⁸ South Africa was not the main theme of their work, simply because it was reckoned a province of the dominion of India. But its role in the great Indian empire of Portugal was fully sketched in the light of the policies of its rulers, their ambitions and characters, the clash of world systems of rule, trade rivalries and military plans. Their vivid prose was worthy of the heroic sweep of the generations whose deeds they narrated. Yet to read these enthralling word-pictures of other days is to realise how easily the monuments of the greatest empires may be buried in the sands of popular oblivion, when the current of the richer part of the world's interest passes some other way. But it is Portugal's glory to have first taught the world how history should be written in the vernacular.

The most accomplished of these Portuguese historians was John de Barros. Men have wrangled much about the gifts that make the perfect historian. But Barros displays characteristics which have rarely been found together in writers of any age.

Literature attracted him as soon as he was able to wield a quill, and in early youth he composed an imaginative picture of the perfect prince in the shape of a novel. This work he completed with the assistance of Prince John, who later became King John III. It was an unconscious rehearsal in literary style and in political philosophy for the real work of his life.

When his friend John III ascended the throne, he appointed Barros governor of the Gold Coast for four years, then to the lucrative post of treasurer of India House, and later also of Guinea House. These are occupations, he writes in his first *Decade*, "which generally drown or enchain every sense of culture."⁶⁵⁹ He, however, became interested in the documents that passed through his hands in the course of business. Among

these papers he made the pleasant discovery of full reports about imperial administration and detailed letters about policy from Albuquerque, Almeida and Nuno da Cunha. These he carefully studied at night when his official work was done, and he began to make notes for a history of the period covered by these names.

Thus he became familiar with such places as the Agoada de Saldanha (where Cape Town now is), Sofala, Mombasa, Mozambique, Goa and Calicut. Ten years passed in these congenial researches, when the man whom John III had destined to be the official historian of these times died. This was Lawrence de Caceres, once tutor of the King's scholarly brother, Prince Luis.

Barros was appointed to take up the task in 1531. At the Records Office called the *Torre do Tombo*⁸⁶⁰ he had the assistance of an old friend, Damian de Goes,⁸⁶¹ who was chief archivist of the kingdom. From the days of King Sancho I (1185-1211 A.D.) duplicates of all important documents were kept, and the Tower of Lisbon was used for storing them since 1378 at least. Kings Manuel and John III were so convinced of the value of these records, that they gave the *Torre de Tombo* a new life by insisting upon frequent and detailed reports from their officials in India and on the Zambezi coast, and by filing the originals.⁸⁶²

In this mine of first-hand information Barros spent laborious nights, delving for the materials of his history; and he has used them with a discrimination that has rarely been excelled. To the principles of sound judgment in history, which he embodied in his prefaces to the *Decades*, he added the experience of a man of business, a civil servant and a courtier.

We see how little advance the world can show in the substance of historical criticism; when a noted and widely read historian like Dr. C. P. Gooch can speak of the paralysing effect of the censorship,⁸⁶³ lay and ecclesiastical, in the sixteenth century and imagine that complete liberty of expression was achieved in the nineteenth century. Even in the twentieth century the state (to-day absolute and effective in repression in a way undreamed of in the sixteenth century), although no longer interested sufficiently in religion or morals to control books on these subjects, yet destroys or censors holocausts of historical books, when the vital interests of reigning politicians are affected. Victory not truth is the aim of governments,⁸⁶⁴ even the most modern and democratic; and our popular histories, based on the learned ones allowed to appear, are a tribute to the vigilance of modern censorships. Our Official Secrets Acts are not intended to fool all the people all the time, a purely academic operation. Truth is

always allowed to appear; when no one cares any longer whether it be true or not, and when the contrary tradition is firmly established.

Barros, however, has warnings against factors that disturb the critical faculties of the historian, to which many of our leading historians are deaf. Patriotic exaggerations and abuse of foreign countries and kings, he writes, "bring more shame to those who indulge in them than to those whom they attack."⁹⁶⁵ Grave faults of this kind in the twentieth century have spoiled the works of many learned authors. In such cases the wise voice of this historian of the sixteenth century exhorts us in graphic language to "hold our noses, as decent persons do when they have to rescue precious stones from a dunghill."

It was of the humanistic school to which Barros belonged that Goethe was thinking (though he did not know the works of Barros), when he said that the Reformation had thrown back European culture for a century. The bitter personal and class strife of Reformation polemics was an unhappy interlude, and a real setback, mainly the work of politicians. But Barros expressed the best thought of his day when he wrote that to stint praise or lavish blame merely out of personal hatred, or the desire to please some powerful person or group, is fatal to the historian's character. As a contemporary example in point he mentions the *Chronica* of Anthony de Nebrissa. "May his spirit pardon me for saying so, but it is more honest to brand him as a partisan or toady, than that excellent sovereigns like Henrique and Joanna should suffer infamy from the abominations that he has written."

He also utters a formal warning against being prejudiced in regard to writers whom we dislike. He reminds the historian how St. Augustine⁹⁶⁶ of Hippo, before he became a Catholic, learned many truths from the heretical sect of the Manichaeans. If heretical or pagan books can thus serve as a first step on the road of Catholic truth, it is much more common to find in unexpected places information which may help the historian in his search for the advancement of culture.

But not all kinds of truth are of equal interest to the historian. Some truths, in fact, are beneath his attention. The first beacon of sound history divides it from that territory, where nothing but cruelties and vices abound in the narratives. Writers who specialise in such tales cannot escape some degree of complicity in the crimes that they are always advertising. The only plea that they can make is that of loose women, who because

they can boast of many lovers, expect us to condone their faults. With this thrust, Barros dismisses the pornographic school.

Nor is everything that is published as history really worth publishing. Inexperienced youths especially need to learn how to discriminate in reading history. Plato, speaking in the name of Socrates, shows how the danger of poisonous books is greater than that of poisonous food.⁹⁶⁷ With food we have time to consult the doctor as to what is wholesome. But the historian ought to be conscious of a greater responsibility, as his poisonous book may be consumed before anyone is consulted.

Then there is no doubt that literary form counts for much in history, though it is by no means the principal consideration. Nothing would persuade a man to drink out of a golden vessel, if its shape reminded him that it was designed for vile uses. One would rather drink from an earthenware cup of normal shape. Yet such is the force of style, that a fable told in an attractive way is more pleasing than the truth told without order or ornament. Among many examples of this effective style that he gives is what he calls the "modern fable of Thomas More, in which he tries to teach the English how they ought to conduct their government". This contemporary account of the purpose of More's *Utopia* has an interest of its own.

No serious historian has ever escaped from the steady guidance of some philosophy of life, positive or negative. Barros has his point of view, that of an intelligent Christian. Without some human standpoint, the intelligent investigator becomes a mere collector of dead events, leaving the impression that the leaders of the bygone world were men without our mingled hopes, fears and ideals. But in one attitude of mind Barros escapes the fetters that many modern historians have forged for themselves.

A distinguished instance of this modern school is the erudite J. B. Bury. With him the history of nations was a process of evolution. Not only did he take for proven the Darwinian perspective, but he honestly believed the evolution theory to be "raised to the rank of an established fact by most thinkers whose brains were not working under the constraint of theological authority".⁹⁶⁸ He did not realise that it was the constraint of logic that impelled many who, whilst they accepted evolution as a useful hypothesis in some lines of thought, saw no solid reason to regard it as a fact.⁹⁶⁹ If there is one lesson that history teaches, it is that the unfittest often survive, flourish, and ruin the generation that had the misfortune to produce them. Even the poet Horace thought he saw in pagan Rome three generations of deterioration, not evolution.

The Portuguese historian was a Mendelian philosopher born four hundred years before Gregor Mendel. Mendel corrected Darwin by proving experimentally that many species of plants in their developments return always to a mean line characteristic of the species. The observations of Barros led him to a similar conclusion about the human species. "If the son does not look like the father, he will be very similar to the grandfather or some other relative; because Nature can never degenerate to such an extent, that any species becomes a permanent monster."⁷⁰ The same circular fidelity to type he maintained to be a characteristic of nations and races also.

That is not only a more rational standpoint than Bury's, but it gives a new dignity to history. Evolutionists who dream of some Utopian progress of the human race, are prone to forget how much discarded nobility and wisdom are to be found in the forgotten past. Sometimes mankind progresses best by returning to the past, after a season of progression to the brink of chaos.

Chapters of accidents puzzle both the zoologist and the historian. In view of the rise of Napoleon, and the far-reaching effects of Anne Boleyn's short-lived glamour, Bury expressed the curiously unscientific hope that such freaks will decrease to vanishing point with the advance of democracy and knowledge. Since then we have seen three democrats seize the machinery of democracy, and impose upon the world the most mischievous instrument of misery that the nations have yet known. Clemenceau, Lloyd George and Woodrow Wilson emerged from the stream of Evolution, and a secret chamber in Paris, with the Treaty of Versailles in their foolish hands. It is therefore hardly possible for us even to dream that we have evolved any method of insurance against the recurrence of the poisonous freak in human affairs.

Barros believed that such phenomena were the scourges with which a kindly Providence disciplined an erring generation, for its own reform and the salutary terror of the next generation; so that man might realise the responsibilities of God's gift of free will to our race. That kindly dogma certainly brings the comfort of hope to those who survive the catastrophes of history.

In an analogous way Barros saw the thread of divine guidance in Portuguese history, when undeserved misfortune fell upon his countrymen, as in the case of Francis de Naia's wreck upon the coast between Kilwa and Sofala. "Let no man impute moral blame to his neighbour on account of personal misfortune, because a second visit may bring misfortune to his own home."⁷¹

There were mysteries as well as freaks in the fortunes of men, and whilst they plucked at the heart-strings, they hardened the resolution of these men of generous faith.

Though Barros was a working politician as well as an historian, he was not one of that wide class whose admirable principles are intended only for the guidance of others, or as a means of outwitting others. In 1535 he invested heavily in one of those colonising schemes promoted by John III.⁹⁷² As *donatario* the historian received a grant of fifty leagues of the coast of Brazil, and his eldest son led the pioneer party of ten ships and nine hundred men. Shipwreck and the hostility of the natives brought about a complete failure. Barros might have limited his financial responsibilities to the amount of his shares in the enterprise. But he took the full charge of maintaining in Portugal the families of all the men who lost their lives in his ships on the coast of Maranhão. His biographer notes this as a trait in the life-long conduct of Barros, whose many lucrative positions in the state might have brought him great wealth. "But he always confined the desire for wealth within the basilica of his conscience." This was the terse verdict of the quasi contemporary Manuel Severim de Faria,⁹⁷³ after reading all the records of the activities of John de Barros.

Only as an historian has he achieved the laurels of immortality, denied to the many richer men of his day. When he was writing his history, he was not sanguine of this result, but he strove to deserve it. His view of the function of history was that, in narrating the past from trustworthy sources, it should provide instruction for life, both for the individual life and the life of the community. In the field of history men of other days have sown the seeds of all kinds of wisdom: rational, moral, divine and practical. The duty of the historian is to reap the ripe fruit, when it matures in the actions of men and the policies of nations.

Amongst the nations of that day, Barros regarded the Venetians as the most alert in using their opportunities in this matter. They realised that men who know nothing of the past remain children all their lives. Men who pride themselves on being practical, whilst they despise literature and history, are to this extent degenerates, because the desire to know is eminently human, and is most nobly satisfied by learning facts from life.⁹⁷⁴ These disclose a higher wisdom than the dead specimens of life in the museum or the laboratory. Hence the care with which the Signoria stored the historical reports of its ambassadors in many lands, insisting that every young servant of the Republic should

study them. To this policy of historical wisdom, more than anything else, Barros ascribes the long-continued prosperity of Venice.

But in collecting materials for his history, he discovered how impossible it would be to give universal satisfaction to his readers. "When speaking to sailors, I found that they wanted everything recorded to be in their line; the gentlemen wanted only the achievements of their class; the geographers only accounts of sites of the earth; the merchants only data about prices and weights; the general reader only novelties and the picturesque ways of different nations. If I could present our (Portuguese) Asia as a pharmacy, where drugs for all their diseases might be found, they would still be dissatisfied, because each one wanted it stocked entirely with remedies for his own complaint."

The only large class known to us that made no demand on Barros is that which delights in a hybrid type of history, thrown upon the market with a certain profusion during the first quarter of the present century. Compounded of some original history and much fancy, this new type adds the coarse salt of regular doses of bawdy or wrong-headed sniggering at details of the private lives of public personages. Salacious and malicious chronicles meet a certain taste in all ages. But no educated man in the age of Barros would call them histories, or even biographies of eminent Europeans.

Setting aside the baffling claims of the classes that Barros mentions, he himself chose the real road to worthy achievement. Rather than seek general approval, or write history for those who sought only amusement, he would give them a lucid and balanced picture of what Portugal had done in Asia, up to its boundary of the Cape of Good Hope, during the last fifty years.

"Not too much of any one thing, but a certain proportion in everything," is his fundamental rule in his own words.⁹⁷⁵ This was also an oracular saying ascribed to Apollo, whom the Dorian ancients imagined to be the guardian deity of well-governed cities. Barros, like most writers of the great Latin tradition in literature, loved to continue the use of Greek mythology, taking the gods as symbols of natural gifts and virtues. Apollo was the symbol of the rational wisdom behind the ideal of a perfect state. The historian knew that he could add a much higher wisdom based on the Gospel, to complete that Hellenic ideal with nobler examples that his own Christian country could furnish. "I rest my pen sometimes," he explains, "in order to point the moral." But as a rule he is convinced that

the moral will emerge spontaneously from the facts. His main duty is to give the facts in a duly proportioned picture.

But no Portuguese historian, and least of all Barros, could make a religion of the Portuguese empire's interests, as some later writers and politicians have done in regard to more recent empires. As the first great English poet, Chaucer, saw clearly enough, guided by his Catholic instinct; no nation or empire can legitimately claim that its history is in any sense the common adventure of all mankind. Barros weaves no fantastic chain of causality, leading his country up to the role of chief champion of the world's freedom and well-being.

Portugal is just one of the trustees of Christian civilisation, whose spiritual ideals are in the responsible keeping of the Church. There would always be differences between Church and State, but there need never be discord. For the missed opportunities in the history of Church and State he never spares the guilty rulers, whether kings or popes or princes. Those, he argues, who take no trouble to study the blunders and public crimes of rulers in the past, will be chastised by suffering from the repetition of the same in the present.

The mind is also unbalanced by exaggerating the faults of foreign nations, even the barbarous ones. A typical instance of this international breadth of view of his occurs in his description of the first Portuguese embassy in China, headed by Thomas Pires in 1521. Barros narrates the delays, difficulties and obstacles which the Emperor of China placed in the way of receiving the ambassadors, and he displays much sympathy with the Chinese standpoint. At the end of the chapter he tells how the Chinese believed that the Portuguese kidnapped boys and girls, in order to eat them after roasting them. "It is not strange that they should credit such reports," he adds, "because we believe similar things about them, and about other distant nations of whom we have little knowledge."^{97a}

But with all his grave idealism in the *Decades*, Barros does not lose his sense of humour or the consciousness of his own fallibility. "If we do not meet with complete approval, we shall at least give material for reproof and criticism, which is the sweetest fruit of the earth. Thus we shall give pleasure to all: to some the pleasure of praising what is well said, to others the pleasure of condemning what is badly done."^{97b}

From time to time he rejoices in preserving, as a result of his own researches, the memory of some hero whom the incalculable tides of fame had left high and dry in some distant port of the empire. Such a one was Captain Dominic de Seixas, who

for twenty-six years held high the name of Portugal in Siam, and died poor in a Lisbon hospital. Barros informs us that all the data about Siam in his *Geography* were furnished by Seixas. "As the world has refused him any earthly recompense, we owe this tribute to his memory, since he has had no other reward."⁹⁷⁸

Barros pondered over, weighed and sifted his documents for twenty-one years before he published the first volume of his *Da Asia* in 1552, which brought the record of Portuguese expansion up to the year 1505. We have his own description of the broad design of this fundamental volume. "We have founded our building upon the rude stones of Guinea affairs, set upon the firm and steady determination of Prince Henry, the results of which were filled in naturally as we discussed the affairs of the reigns of King Afonso and King John II, until the days of King Manuel, when the building was seen above ground with the discovery of India. Then our Europe began to take notice."⁹⁷⁹

The following year a second volume appeared. In the Preface he points out that the kingdoms and cities of the empire now formed an arena so immense, that "we shall take no further account of minor deeds because of their multitude." In the selection of noteworthy deeds, he observes that tastes must always differ, as even the son who inherits the home of a beloved father will insist on rearranging it in accordance with his own taste. No law but the true historian's instinct can be a sure guide here.

The third volume or *Decade*⁹⁸⁰ appeared in 1563, and brought the stirring events of Portuguese Asia and South Africa down to 1527. But even before this volume was published, the previous volumes were translated into Italian.⁹⁸¹ This gave them a wide circulation; as in the sixteenth century Italian was the native language of all cultured people in Europe, though Portuguese was already the trade language of the East. Barros was undoubtedly hurt that his own countrymen did not give his work the same enthusiastic welcome that many foreigners did. "Faithful are the wounds of a friend", the author of the book of *Proverbs* (XXVII, 6) tells us; and so they are when the verbal knife is used justly to remove our errors and conceit. That saying of the Scriptures was justified in a new fashion, when the indignation of John de Barros, stirred by the frigid silence or cutting remarks of some of his dearest friends, produced one of the noblest defences of the historian's craft.

This forms the *Prologo* of the fourth volume, and is entitled *Apologia*. It is the only portion of that *Decade* which

has come down to us just as he left it at his death in 1570, without the change of a word or a comma. Only in 1615⁹⁸² was it printed for the first time through the generosity of Philip III of Spain, who was then King of Portugal also. His father, Philip II, had heard that the manuscript of the ten incomplete books was in possession of the widow of Barros's eldest son. This king paid a handsome price for the manuscript in 1591, and his son charged a practised writer, John Baptist Lavanha, to edit it, to fill the gaps in the history with notes from authors who had written since, and to see the whole work printed. Lavanha had just published his fine account of the wreck of the *Saint Albert*⁹⁸³ on the coast near Kwaai Hoek, in which he described from the pilot's reminiscences the marvellous journey of the survivors through Pondoland and Natal to Mozambique by land in 1594.

But the gem of this *Fourth Decade* is the Preface, in which Barros champions the dignity of the historian's craft against the cold-blooded pragmatists, some of them his own best friends. More in sorrow than in anger, they reminded him that he would be better employed in making money for his family, or in practical politics on behalf of the empire, than in writing histories that were, after all, a luxury.

"Get rich first and then philosophise," they said. This sensible maxim was carried out by such outstanding writers as Aristotle and Seneca. The elegant, if light-hearted Greek poet, Menander, sang that his favourite gods were Gold and Silver, because Jupiter and all the rest would be easily appeased if these two were in the sanctuary of home. If Virgil had ever suffered the pangs of poverty, he would never have written such a pleasant account of the infernal fury, *Eriphys*.

Barros makes a spirited retort. Even these pagans, little as they knew of the things of the spirit, invented the instructive parable about Midas, whose touch turned everything into gold. Yet in the end he was discovered to have the ears of an ass. A greater than all these pagans, St. Ambrose of Milan, saw that there is no wisdom in the multitude of counsellors ready to shape the lives of other people. We who value intellectual treasures do so because they are not subject to the accidents of fortune. Good books remain for ever, whilst the noblest of deeds often pass into oblivion without the aid of the recording quill. "When the sarcasms of the day are forgotten, perhaps my books may remain."

The second grievance of his friendly critics fared no better at his hands. They hinted that with these scribblings he was

wasting time that would be better employed in the work of the high offices with which the King had entrusted him. Such a charge he indignantly repudiates. "These days of leisure for writing were gained by curtailing my sleep, giving up my holidays, not promenading the town, taking no excursions to the country, refusing invitations to dinner, deliberately renouncing mere pastimes such as cards, hunting and fishing."

Though generally lucid in style, Barros is sometimes very involved in this Preface, perhaps by reason of his age. But his involutions are always worth straightening out, because they contain real thought. He goes on to appeal to the judgment of many busy princes, who rested their minds after the fatigue of affairs of state by taking refuge in paper and ink. Julius Caesar, besides writing the classical diary of his own wars, composed a long poem and a work on the Latin language whilst he was being carried in a litter through France and Spain. The Emperor Charlemagne gave us a grammar of the German language. Pope Pius II published a learned work on geography. King Alfonso of Castile has left behind famous books on astronomy and on the geography of Spain. Even the busy Charles V, with his gigantic empire in hand, found solace in writing Commentaries on the German war, and other works which are still in manuscript.

Maximilian the Emperor once rebuked some courtiers who grumbled because they thought he was showering too many honours on the artist Albrecht Dürer. "God and nature have given him all he has of meritorious, but all the honours you courtiers have are from me. It is surely only fair that I should give him something, too." The reply pleased Barros, not because he hoped to work such miracles of art with his quill as Dürer did with the brush, but because he knew that he had some talent that could add to Portugal's renown. Like every decent Christian, he was trying to render what he owed to both God and Caesar. Whilst he felt confident of meeting such reasonable demands, he was distressed that he could not please his unreasonable friends at home, and that all the applause he got came from Italy and Germany. "Like Saint Paul,"⁹⁸⁴ he concludes, "if it is becoming to compare small things to great, lo! we turn to the gentiles."

The last three years of his life were spent on his farm in the pleasant valley of the River Arunca. A Jesuit Father⁹⁸⁵ who met him during these autumn years describes him as "venerable in appearance, fair, with lively eyes, aquiline nose, a long and white beard, thin, not tall, pleasant to meet though grave in manner, and an interesting talker." In the volumes of his history

neither the word Jesuit nor the word Protestant is to be found, because his tale ended in 1527, before either word had been coined. This period included the first six years of the reign of his friend, King John III.

In the heyday of Barros's activity, the school to which he belonged, the humanistic school of Erasmus, was conscious of a great destiny in the intellectual blossoming of the new order in Europe. At several previous periods Christian Europe had had these new orders, and always with profit. But the Humanists demanded peace in politics and religion as the atmosphere of real success. The turmoil in Germany about imperial and ecclesiastical affairs was regarded by Erasmus as the greatest obstacle to their progress. This can be read in the long and strongly worded protest that he sent to Martin Luther in 1526.⁶⁸⁶ "Your arrogance is shaking the world with a murderous discord. In short, you are advocating the cause of the Gospel in such a way as to turn everything upside down, sacred and profane." And when Erasmus heard of the first Protestants executed for heresy he made his own position quite clear. "I doubt whether I should deplore their deaths or not. Certain it is that they died with great and unprecedented constancy, though not for the principle, but for the paradoxes of Luther; for which I should not wish to die, because I do not understand them. I know that it is glorious to die for Christ. The pious always have to suffer, but among the sufferers the impious are also found. The skill of presenting oneself as an angel of light is widespread, but rare is the gift of a wise mind." The fact that Barros wrote about the years before this storm of politics and ecclesiastic polemics burst in full flood over Europe, gives his pages an atmosphere of comparative peace and community of effort, which Europe was soon to lose once and for all. India and South Africa were to know nothing of these discords for a century more.

In one aspect the history of John de Barros is unique among the renowned histories of the world. It narrated the latest phase of a Christian civilisation more than a thousand years old, which, just when it was about to split asunder in Europe, had the fresh vitality to forge an epic of expansion in new fields of the East. The historian seems unconscious of the ferment at home in Europe, partly because he did not realise its nature, and partly because it did not affect his purpose or his country.

During the long ages of Feudalism, Chivalry and the Discoveries, Europe had maintained its Christian solidarity in spite of many shocks, in such a way that the historian could write of it as a cultural unity with definite principles and aims.

Herodotus and Thucydides, with all their literary, and sometimes human charm, were flounders in a morass of wars and personal ambitions that led nowhere. The historians of the Augustan age of pagan Rome recorded the glorification of one man, who was the guardian of the people's welfare, its political dictator, and the chief divinity of its Pantheon.⁹⁸⁷ Writers of genius, like Tacitus and Livy, could only be silent on this topic, lest they should be accused of blasphemy or treason, so their histories are plays without the protagonist.

But these and the Latin chronicles of the decline and fall of the Roman empire show how the courage and instinctive wisdom of the best men will always save something out of the shipwreck of human hopes. Even Gibbon, in his majestic summary of the data of these writers, does not deny the ruling hand of Providence in the rapid rise of the Christian Church, though he chooses to stress only the earthly channels through which its rise took place. It did not fall within his plan to point out how the Church brought new ideals into the government of men which were to transform Europe when it rose from the ruins of the great empire of Augustus Caesar. Barros had the congenial task of telling how, even after a thousand years, these ideals were capable of renewing their youth. The Cape of Good Hope had the good fortune to be a gateway into one of these avenues of new life.

Why, we naturally ask, did Barros not complete his fourth *Decade*? The third was published in 1563, and he lived seven years longer. No doubt his *Apologia* gives the clue. Not only was he an old man, but he was disheartened by the lack of applause at home and the jaunty attacks of rivals. Worse still, he was disappointed with the reception given to several works in which he had sought to popularise science and ethics. In that first flush of the printed book even wise men like Barros fancied that the worth of a book would be the measure of its circulation.

The result was that he left behind ten *quadernos*,⁹⁸⁸ each containing a more or less unfinished book of the Fourth *Decade*. The handwriting was not always the same, and it evidently represented a first rough draft. Some leaves were missing, there were considerable gaps in the narrative, some important events were lightly sketched, others of little importance were told at length with occasional repetitions. Lavanha's work was therefore considerable. In some places he rearranged the order of events and added whole chapters with copious notes from later writers and three maps. The editor made a point of imitating the style of Barros in the additions, though they were marked with

inverted commas. But he adds very truly that it was almost like composing a new work.

Though Lavanha had not the varied experience of public affairs possessed by Barros, he was the royal cosmographer, a position that gave ample opportunity of meeting all the captains and pilots who had practical knowledge of the East. In 1597 he published the narrative of the wreck of the *Saint Albert* on the Cape coast, composed from the evidence of survivors. His edition of the Fourth *Decade* of Barros did not appear until 1615, more than sixty years after the First *Decade*.

But two years before the first volume of history was published by John de Barros, another historian had entered the field who was to have a greater vogue in Europe for a century at least. This was Ferdinand Lopes de Castanheda. He had reached full manhood when John III ascended the throne. Some years later he went to India with his father, who was appointed to a judgeship there. They travelled in the large fleet of Nuno da Cunha, and must have witnessed the prolonged operations on the east coast of Africa which ended in a complete victory over the Arabs of Mombasa.

During the ten years of his sojourn in India he became familiar with the machinery of colonial administration, and made the personal acquaintance of most of the men who were responsible for it during those years. With his classical education he did not fail to make comparisons between his contemporaries and the days of old, in so far as they are registered in Greek and Latin literature and in the historical books of the Bible. He saw plainly, from what was happening round about him, that many noble deeds of the past had perished from the memory of men because no suitable chronicler was at hand to record them. What might not have been written about the Assyrians, the Persians, the Africans who fought against Rome, the Suevi who stood up against Julius Caesar, the Spanish heroes who achieved freedom by expelling the Moors, and, most of all, about the Portuguese who hurled back to Africa the Muslim hordes when Afonso Henriques, Sancho and the other Afonsos were kings of Portugal? Already he found that the names of the early captains were growing dim in popular memory. Only four of them had remained something more than names.²⁸⁹

Six years after his return to Portugal he received from King John the position of registrar and archivist of the remodelled university of Coimbra. Lisbon had been found an unsuitable seat for the university, on account of the worldly attractions of the wealthy town. The King also felt that a

forward movement was required to keep pace with the enhanced position of power and prestige that Portugal had acquired among the nations. It was no longer in keeping with this position that her sons should be so dependent upon Salamanca, Bologna and Paris for their university training. From the middle of the thirteenth century, when Gil de Coimbra was a brilliant student of Paris, there were always Portuguese in that centre; but John III was paying so many bursaries there for students, that he would gain doubly by transferring them to Coimbra. By 1537 he had given a new life to Coimbra with a staff of famous men and ample chairs of the various known sciences.⁹⁹⁰

From 1545 to 1559 Castanheda enjoyed the opportunities and dignity of a very congenial office. Though not a teacher, he was in his element as an unofficial learner. "My only recreation," he writes in his Preface, "was to employ all my leisure in completing my notes about the Indies." Besides what he saw himself in India, he had read many Hindu and Muslim chronicles, as well as letters and pamphlets written by men of standing there. On his return to Portugal he spent much time and money in travelling, in order to meet people who were in a position to give first-hand details about the important events of colonial and home history. He was convinced, not without reason, that "no braveries of the ancients ever equalled these. Even Alexander the Great, so much praised, is only a dead lion compared to a live one, when confronted with the deeds of arms and exploration done by your captains." So he addressed the King in the Dedication of his first volume, which ranged from Vasco da Gama to the end of the viceroyalty of John de Castro, a period of fifty years.

Ten books were the result of his energy. The last two were never published, and the reason why is not clear. Couto would have us believe that John III vetoed the publication, because the historian had disparaged the conduct of some *fidalgos* at the second siege of Diu. This, however, cannot be the case, as the eighth book was only published in 1561, four years after the death of John III, and there could have been no question of publishing the others before this. Moreover, in a surviving copy of this eighth book there is a decisive note, signed by Castanheda's friend, Damian de Goes: "In deference to Her Majesty's (i.e., the Queen Regent Catherine) wishes, the printing of the other volumes will not be proceeded with." Until these volumes have been discovered, it will be impossible to guess what the Queen's objections may have been. It was no doubt in some form or other the defence of the realm, as we say to-day when such vetoes

are issued by the police under orders from the higher politicians.

In our day, however, thirty-one chapters of the ninth book were discovered⁹⁹¹ amongst the unpublished manuscripts of a contemporary historian, the Italian Jesuit Father John Peter Maffei, who in 1579 had them copied for his own use from the archives of the Society of Jesus in Coimbra and Evora. They have lain all these centuries in the Jesuit archives of Tivoli in Italy. It is therefore possible to hope that some equally good stroke of fortune may bring the rest of these books to our knowledge. The last of these new chapters tells us how the Governor of India, Martin Afonso de Sousa, was obliged to winter at Mozambique in 1541, and pushed on to Goa the following year, arriving there on the fourth of May.

Castanheda belongs to the highest type of historian: scholarly, honest, painstaking, and free from the worship of the idols of the market-place. In spite of his love of King and Church, he never hesitates to condemn the leaders who fail in their duty, nor does he put fine glosses on his country's misdeeds. To turn from many of the historians of the nineteenth century, with their pathetic worship of the now broken dogmas of what was then called Liberalism, to Barros and Castanheda, is like passing from a stuffy room to the open air. In the whole range of historical literature I know of no pages superior in eloquence, broad humanity and genuine Liberalism, to the two chapters in which Castanheda describes the murder of Almeida and his men at the Cape of Good Hope in 1510.

For a century after Castanheda, English and Dutch writers regarded him as the ablest exponent of his country's fortunes. These countries lagged far behind Portugal in the special energy and intelligence required for colonial expansion. The more adventurous minds in England and the United Provinces of the Netherlands began to stir the lethargy of their people by pamphlets and histories. Castanheda was most often chosen as the basis of their exhortations to emulate the great deeds of the Portuguese; because he was concise, careful about important details, and a stickler for the chronological order in his narrative.

As early as 1582, Nicholas Littlefield published in London a translation of Castanheda's first book, six years before Richard Hakluyt printed the first volume of his collection of voyages.⁹⁹² It was dedicated to Sir Francis Drake, and may have been inspired by him. These works, however, led rather to attacks upon Portuguese and Spanish shipping than to English colonisation, which did not begin until a century later.

A few years after the Dutch under Jan van Riebeeck had made their first settlement at the Cape of Good Hope, Francis van Hoogstraeten⁹⁹³ presented to Burgermaster van Zoelen, of Amsterdam, a director of the East India Company, a careful compilation mainly from Castanheda and translated from the French. In eight books the compiler tells the story of the Portuguese empire in India and South Africa, from 1521 to 1610. In the Preface the translator writes that "truth, which is the eye and lustre of history, is seen in this book to be also pleasant and useful. The same virtues, vices and passions of humanity seen in action here, still play their part in the world. Your Worship and the Company will value this story all the more because its scene is in the East Indies, where the might of Holland is now so great. Here is the living picture of the magnificent glory of Portugal in her bloom. Much of that empire has now passed to Holland by the righteous judgment of God." Whatever we may think of the judgment which this patriotic Netherlander ascribes to the Almighty, we can agree with him when he adds that Castanheda deserves all the credence due to an eye-witness; whilst even such great scholars as Jerome Osorio must be regarded as secondary authorities when they tell us the same story in more glowing words. That Portugal's rivals in trade and war should pay such tributes to Castanheda is one measure of his worth.

A rare accuracy distinguishes him even among the generally accurate historians of Portugal. One of many instances occurs in his narrative of the first voyage of Peter Alvares Cabral to Brazil, round the Cape of Good Hope to India. A considerable number of first-hand documents have survived concerning this voyage: official records of its organisation, memoranda of men who travelled in Cabral's fleet, and reports made at the time either to the King or to foreign governments by their observers in Lisbon. All these have been gathered into one volume by Dr. Jaime Cortesao.⁹⁹⁴ On examination we find that Castanheda has preserved more details about the expedition than the other historians who have dealt with it, even though he be a less prolix narrator than John de Barros, Damian de Goes, Jerome Osorio, Gaspar Corrêa and the anonymous compiler of the *Livro das Armadas*. When he differs from any of these, the best informed among them generally support his views.

Yet one of his slight inaccuracies has been made the slender foundation upon which later writers have built, and propagated for centuries, an erroneous account of the discovery of Brazil; as if the elements carried Cabral there, when he was looking^{*}for

the Cape of Good Hope. Though Cabral had received secret instructions to annex this part of the American continent, already known to the Portuguese leaders, King Manuel's secret was so well kept that neither Castanheda nor Barros could find any trace of it. In this point they seem to have taken at face value one of the rumours of the propaganda spread to cover the King's real designs.

Such is the liability of the best historians to err, or, worse still, to be wrongly interpreted by those who know less than they do. It is an ancient peril, frankly acknowledged by the younger Pliny in a letter to his friend Tacitus, enclosing a list of errors found in the historian's manuscript. "No works deserve more careful revision," he writes, "than those of historians who deserve the highest praise."⁹⁹⁵ An even more meticulous sincerity was shown by Castanheda; when he scoured Portugal to find people to check his data obtained in India, South Africa and Portugal.

There is a sense of realities in Castanheda too often lacking in modern historians who angle for the picturesque. These frequently mistake their philosophical or economic ideals for compelling causes in the course of history; or present us with some abstraction, like democracy, as if it were a powerful personality; or assign insufficient causes for grandiose effects. Gibbon, great as he is as a narrator and as a patient judge of positive evidence, often fails in this way. When, for example, he finds that Roman soldiers began to discard their heavy armour and heavy weapons, he asks us to believe "that their pusillanimous indolence may be considered the immediate cause of the downfall of the Roman empire."

Castanheda prefers to deal with the living and clashing facts of colonial expansion. He gives full value to the characters of men, to their ambitions, their actual plans and the influence of the customs of the nations. Every chapter is an act full of incident, demonstrable causes and tangible effects. He ventilates no theories to explain why things were destined to happen just as they did, and he places no abstractions or puppets between us and the real persons of the pageant. The sultans of Mozambique, Kilwa, Sofala and Mombasa are as intelligible beings as the Portuguese captains. His Hindus are quite as human as his Europeans.

The work of the third great historian of this reign did not see the light for three centuries after it was completed. Though Gaspar Corrêa covers much the same period as Barros and Castanheda, and was a contemporary of theirs, his work is a valuable addition to our understanding of the period. He

furnishes a classic refutation of Samuel Johnson's hasty theory, that all true historians must tell the same story, because truth is one. The same facts have many aspects, and no one writer grasps the whole truth. Corrêa himself was fully conscious of the distinct personal element in his work.

In a short Preface to the *Lendas da India* he outlines his special position. "Unlike the official chroniclers, I am under no compulsion to undertake this work. I write as an eye-witness of events in India." Barros was never in India, and Castanheda arrived there thirteen years after Corrêa, and left for home again about twenty years before Corrêa was killed in India in 1563. During this long period of fifty years⁹⁹⁸ Gaspar Corrêa was intimately connected with every one of the governors of India except Almeida.

What first awakened his desire to write was the chance discovery in India of the fragments of the diary of Vasco da Gama's chaplain. He was a secular priest who accompanied Gama in his first journey. Like Leonard Nunes,⁹⁹⁹ this secular priest saw clearly that the greatest deeds will not survive the days of their novelty, unless they find an opportune chronicler. Corrêa was convinced that he, too, had novelties to preserve. He would not concern himself with commerce or geography, because he had seen the manuscript of the book of Duarte Barbosa, and apparently others, which treat sufficiently about such subjects. He proposed to deal with men and their exploits.

In regard to his method of gaining information he is quite frank. Besides the things that he saw and heard himself, he was able to clear up doubtful points by enquiring of others in India with similar experience. When he first reached India, some of those who were with Vasco da Gama in 1598 still lived, and these he cross-questioned. In the possession of some of the Hindus and Muslim, he found useful memoirs, especially at Cananor. As private secretary of Afonso de Albuquerque, Gaspar Corrêa went with him everywhere for three years and had access to all official documents, drafting most of them himself.

In 1547, when John de Castro was Governor of India, he commissioned Gaspar Corrêa to prepare a series of paintings of the Indian viceroys and governors. Corrêa began by making pen-and-ink sketches of them as he remembered them, and employed an artist to reproduce them in colour. These are still to be seen in the old palace of the viceroys at Goa. But the portraits of them in words, which survive in the *Lendas*, are more illuminating and lifelike than is possible to pencil or brush.

Of course, he takes sides in many of the burning controversies of the day, as he is a social reformer of high ideals. Both these facts demand that the modern reader should tone down many of his pictures, but they remain the work of an earnest and capable observer.

He has much of the talent of a dramatist. Yet he uses it as a rule not to give us the creatures of his own imagination, but the vivid sayings and doings of an era full of romance. He is in his element describing the novel phenomena of the new regions. Thus it was near Table Bay that he first saw the hideous and gigantic tadpole of a fish which the Portuguese appropriately named the devil fish. Corrêa was a passenger on the ship of Rui Vaz Pereira, and he tells us that the unpleasant visitor followed the ship two days and two nights, causing more consternation than the largest fleet of Turks could have done.

The choice of the word *Lendas* for the title of Corrêa's history has suggested to some who have not read it, that his purpose was to describe things legendary, or to give us an historical romance. But he evidently uses this word in the sense of records. Wherever he depends on hearsay alone, he warns us to be on guard. Thus: "This I have written on hearsay, because told by people who came from Portugal; but it may be all lies, as all things in this world are except the love of God."¹⁰⁰ Already in his Preface he had urged that even the historian would be all the better, and more responsible, for a lively remembrance of what Christ has done for mankind, and of the rewards and punishments of the future life. That is a sincere note which gives distinction to all these Portuguese histories.

With an abiding sense of the foibles of men, Corrêa knew that his history would give rise to much resentment. A great deal of what he wrote is contemporary history, which is more often called politics, the most fruitful ground of animosities and rash judgments. "I will not show this book to anyone during my lifetime," runs the Preface of the *Lendas*, "since after death both the good and the bad have a chance of equitable judgment." He hoped that the great leveller, Death, having removed the historian and the actors in his drama, would have also removed those obscuring passions of the dead. Posterity would have a clearer vision of what was just.

New passions, however, in the last generation have led men of the school of Theophilo Braga¹⁰⁰¹ to misjudge the reason why the publication of Corrêa's history was delayed for three centuries. We are gravely informed that it was the proud family of Gamas who prevented publication, because the historian was

hostile to Vasco da Gama; and that the murder of Corrêa at Malacca was perpetrated with the connivance of Vasco's son, Stephen, then Governor of Malacca. This is pure calumny. Braga's enthusiasm for ideas which were new when he wrote, but are now antiquated, caused him to misread the document upon which he relies for this monstrous accusation. The first hint came from Braga's impeccable hero, the poet Camoens; who sang plaintively that if he praises the great Vasco, it is not for love of him or of his kindred, but because the fame of Portugal demands it.

The real reason why this long delay in publication took place was that the *Lendas* abounds in slashing attacks on the government of India. During the following centuries Portugal was fighting for the existence of its empire, and in such crises all governments, ancient and modern, suppress what is detrimental to their vital interests. If this be fanaticism, as Braga asserts, then the fanaticism of the sixteenth century was mild and moderate compared to that of the twentieth. We need only recall how the Liberal government of Woodrow Wilson in the name of North American democracy suppressed the works of many masters of European literature, because they attacked the policy of his government, which he thought vital for the triumph of North American interests in the World War.

What is most valuable in the work of Gaspar Corrêa is the atmosphere of the times which he has preserved, the result of recording so many of his personal and direct observations. He had lived in every important town of India and Persia. His sketches of the Mozambique coast are the most lively that we possess from any writer during these fifty years.

When he tells us of the raw Kafirs that Nicholas Coelho met on a creek of one of the rivers above Sofala, he is evidently describing from the life.¹⁰⁰² "Some of the canoes followed Coelho's boat, and others returned to take the news to their villages. They entered the boats without any fear, and sat down to rest as if they were old acquaintances. No one knew how to talk to them. They did not know what to do with the biscuits, cakes and slices of bread with marmalade, until they saw our people eat. Then they ate very hurriedly, refusing to share the food with one another. Later more than a hundred others arrived, but the chief captain (Vasco da Gama) would not allow more than ten or twelve aboard. He ordered biscuits and wine to be given them, but they would not touch the wine until they saw our men drink. He also ordered a looking-glass to be given them. They were much amazed looking at one another,

then again at the mirror, laughed loudly and made jokes, chattering all the time to the others who were in their own canoes. They took away the looking-glass highly delighted, leaving six birds and much fruit."

Too much stress has been laid by some writers on the errors of detail that Corrêa makes in a work of over one million words, dealing with the new peoples of two continents. Thus Justus Strandes, in his *Portugiesenzzeit*, thinks that the list of precious gifts which Corrêa mentions as being sent by the Sheikh of Malindi to the King and Queen of Portugal, is enough to prove the historian's habit of exaggeration.. But the fact noted by Strandes, that the *Roteiro* of Vasco da Gama mentions only elephants' trunks in this connection, does not prove that jewels and cloth were not sent from Malindi. In any case, the historian himself warns us that such details were communicated to him by men in India, who were with Vasco da Gama. What errors there may be are therefore theirs, not Corrêa's, who gives the details for what they are worth.

Nor is Corrêa necessarily wrong, as Strandes imagines, when he states that the Sheikh of Malindi sent hunters to catch pigs for a banquet to his Christian guests. In this case Strandes is the innocent and untravelled historian, who does not realise the elasticity of Islam on the African coast, and the adaptability of the laws of the Koran to the wishes and needs of a Muslim ruler.

Errors of many kinds there are in the *Lendas*, but they are not of the kind that convict the author of giving undue rein to his imagination. Gossip of real importance he often retails, but puts the onus of telling it on his informants, and he leaves the reader free to deal with it. Few modern historians are more alive to the varieties of evidence, and to the scale of credibility in hearsay, documents, monuments, other historians and personal knowledge. If you are deceived by Gaspar Corrêa you have only yourself to blame, because he warns you constantly that historical truth is hard to attain. The reader is not allowed to escape the responsibility of weighing the evidence presented to him.

What Corrêa undoubtedly lacks is a polished style. This is the least imperative of the desirable gifts in a sound historian, though it makes the truth attractive as well as wholesome. Corrêa, however, has a natural eloquence and an instinct for the pageantry of history, which atones for a great deal. But he seems to have taken no trouble to continue the literary studies that he began at the court of King Manuel. Having no inclination for such studies, he would have answered any complaints on that

score with one of his many popular proverbs. "The man who overloads his donkey will come to the ground, donkey and all." But his style, often involved and careless, is the main obstacle to the enjoyment of an historian of rare merit. If he had not written, our historical knowledge of India and South Africa would be the poorer by many dramatic scenes full of the colour of oriental life, character sketches that ring true, wordy contests between Portuguese and the strange races they met, and flashes of insight into the minds of Persians, Hindus, Arabs, Turks and Bantu.

Corrêa displayed in the highest degree a characteristic which is common in some degree to all the Portuguese historians. In regard to the facts narrated they are usually in complete agreement with the chroniclers who wrote in Arabic, Persian and Turkish. The national feelings and religious tenets of Christian Portuguese and the Muslim do not interfere with the facts. Sir E. Denison¹⁰⁰³ shows also how the Muslim writers "bear eloquent testimony to the intelligent grasp which the Portuguese gained of the public affairs and private intrigues of the Musulmans".

This does not mean that the writers in Arabic could be compared to the Portuguese in the art of historical narrative. The Arabs had no sense of the march of humanity in the course of history, such as Livy and the first Church historian, Saint Luke (to mention only a few) had handed down to the Portuguese.¹⁰⁰⁴ In spite of vague statements of human solidarity in the Koran, no practical principle of political or religious unity emerged in Islam, such as could unify the history of our race, or indeed of any nation.

There is no lack of voluminous chronicles in Arabic. But they are comparatively late, as no prose literature existed in that language before the year 750 A.D. After that there is a multitude of writings, which might be called historical in a vague sense. These huge chronicles contain two categories of matter. First, there are traditions and personal anecdotes, which rarely rise to the dignity of biographies; then there are endless chains of witnesses to each series of facts, which dry testimonies would be voted a waste of time by any intelligent European. None of these chronicles shows conspicuous mental ability, or would be read with interest, if translated into any European language.

Alberuni's *India*, which is often spoken of as history, is not history at all, but an account of the religion, philosophy, literature, geography, astronomy, customs and astrology of that country. The one exceptional work which might be called a history of

Africa, that of Ibn Khaldun, is such a jejune narrative of events, that it is rather a date book without human interest.¹⁰⁰⁵ The extravagant praise given by some writers to Khaldun's *Prologomena* as a masterpiece of the philosophy of history, is the best measure of the failure of Arabic history.¹⁰⁰⁶

The conclusions of Ibn Khaldun are what might be expected from a studious African who knew nothing of the realities of Hellas or pagan Rome or Christian Europe. As a protest against the conventional type of oriental history, it is the work of a man of unusual intelligence. But when he searches for the reasons why empires rise and fall, why peoples flourish and decay, his criteria are banal, as he possessed insufficient data for any verdict of importance. It is, however, remarkable that a Muslim of the desert should have discovered for himself some of those methods of sifting the truth in historical traditions which have always guided the best writers in classical times, in the Middle Ages and in modern times, sometimes expressly and more often by implication.

Hence little real help is to be obtained from Arabic histories, either in regard to India or South Africa. The Portuguese were not only explorers by land and sea. They were also pioneers in writing worthily the history of those countries which they discovered for Europe. In this way India began to live in the minds of Europeans as a continent where vast empires competed with one another for the mastery, where Portugal had brought some whole nations under her benevolent suzerainty, and where there was an almost unlimited field of activity for the preachers of the Gospel. In South Africa the empire of Monomotapa dazzled the adventurous and fascinated the poets, as a land of hope, wealth and glory. Only the fringe of it was touched during the reign of John III; because the reading public needed time to assimilate the immense amount of new knowledge amassed by the great historians, whose works were published during this reign.

But the Portuguese historians of this period, whether their theme was South Africa or Asia or Europe, believed that they were providing data for the scientific legislator. For they regarded history as a laboratory of actual experiments, in which every wise ruler or administrator must work, if he is to build the welfare of the people upon the realities of human life.

Every age and every nation provides examples for a knowledge of these realities, wrote the learned Bishop Osorio,^{1006a} who quotes from all the writers of Greek and Latin literature, to furnish models that John III and his nobles might well keep in

mind. But in South Africa and India he saw the road open to new knowledge and new men who would found new lines of nobility. Justice and freedom were the true conditions of well-being in the state, old and immutable conditions. The savage Bantu, Americans and Malays only drove home the old truth that, where discipline and learning are absent, violence and passion govern. Cervantes was right: the only true nobility are those who act nobly. Though an unlettered man may sometimes be wise by a rare gift of nature, it is the study of men, of many nations, of various customs, that forms the wisest rulers and confers the highest benefits on the people they govern. The past experiences of human minds will always interest the finest minds of the living.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE FIRST POET OF SOUTH AFRICA.

NINE YEARS BEFORE Shakespeare was born, one of the world's few great epic poems was finally conceived and drafted on the shores between the Cape of Good Hope and the Red Sea. The poet was Luis de Camoens, author of the *Lusiads*, who in the year 1555 was aboard the flagship of Manuel de Vasconcellos at Sofala and Mombasa. By his genius, Table Mountain was to take its place in the literature of the classical tradition, with Parnassus, Aetna, Atlas and Mount Ida. To the roll of the mountains that had been fateful for the human race, the Portuguese poet now added the home of the pagan giant Adamastor, sighting it in Table Mountain.

At this time Camoens was thirty years of age, having already an eventful life behind him. Like most of the captains who served King John III, he was a man of education. The King himself saw to this in the case of the sons of noblemen at his court. But the poet was the nephew of a learned priest, Bento de Camoens,¹⁰⁰⁷ who was chancellor of the university of Coimbra. Luis was born in the year that Vasco da Gama died, and at the age of thirteen was sent to the college of St. Michael within the university, as youth was precocious in those days.

There he remained five years, acquiring that facility in reading and speaking Latin and Greek which imbued him with the literary traditions of Greece and Rome. Thus it was, too, that he was able to write his long poem on the African coast and in India, with little help from books. The love of these classics only strengthened his resolve, to make his native Portuguese the vehicle of his own deepest thoughts.

But he had the restless and unstable temperament that too often goes with a keen feeling for art. This he registered himself in an illuminating memorandum,¹⁰⁰⁸ which he penned to clear his own mind when he was considering what walk of life he would follow. "I have felt the pulse of every state of life, and have found none in perfect health. That of the priests seems to me to fall back more upon this life than upon that of the salvation of the soul. That of the friars, who should seek nothing in this world, seems to leave certain trifles under their frocks that do not suit men who have left everything for God. Married life is

splendid in the beginning, vile to keep up, and worse still to abandon. The bachelor lives in a glass ship without a rudder, which makes disgraceful navigation. Will someone so tune the flute of life for me, that I may have my meed of rest here below?"

Convinced Christian though he was, he permitted his poetic impulses to overwhelm the maxim of his Catholic training, that life is a constantly renewed struggle against the powers of spiritual darkness; and that rest only comes to him "who has fought according to the rules", as Saint Paul put it.¹⁰⁰⁹ Perfection is indeed rare in any state of life, but every Christian has been shown how to put up a good fight.

Even Horace, that wise pagan whom Camoens knew so well, might have given him a useful hint. He recalls the deterrent example of the poet-philosopher Empedocles, who wished to become one of the immortal gods, and ended his career by jumping down the crater of Vesuvius. "Let the poets enjoy the right of perishing in their own way," is the cool moral of Horace. It was certainly a strange way of seeking peace when Camoens decided to leave Coimbra for Lisbon in 1542. If he did not leap into a volcano, he at least found himself in a vortex of new whirling pursuits.

At Coimbra he nourished fleeting visions of the priesthood, and attended the theological lectures with this idea in mind. But neither nature nor grace had fashioned him for the priesthood. Amongst his fellow-students there was Gonsalo da Silveira, the first priest who died for preaching the Gospel on the Zambesi. Camoens wrote an admiring sonnet to his memory, recalling how in their student days he had given signs that he was of that "noble band that would follow their great Captain (Christ) lovingly to death".¹⁰¹⁰

But the practical indications of the future that Camoens gave at Coimbra were of a very different nature. Not only did he throw himself with zest into the revels of the most daring students; but his chief literary production was a drama adapted from Plautus,¹⁰¹¹ one of his works not representative of the best in Roman morals. What he did learn from Plautus, however, was to value the current turns of popular expression, and to avoid foreign idioms in Portuguese, just as Plautus rejected the lazy Greek phrases fashionable in the Latin of his day.

Lisbon formed the introduction to ten years of colourful life, with varieties of fortune which were to reveal to him the whole gamut of his characteristic measures of song. The city won his heart at once, as he wrote to a friend who boasted of

the rural joys of his home. Lisbon is the mortar and pestle of the world, where all ideas are mixed and pounded into shape.¹⁰¹²

There he became tutor in the family of the returned ambassador from France, Francis de Noronha. In an eclogue dedicated to the head of that great house, he boldly predicted that this was a stage from which he would compel the whole world to listen to the new spirit, which he was about to infuse into song. In the first year of this new life he did not remain in what Dryden has called "the cool shades of wit"; but his impressionable nature was attracted by a plausible gallant and minor poet, best known under his nickname of *O Chiado*. Popular fame, as its way is, has been kinder to the nickname of this hard drinker than to the solid merit of his boon companion, Luis de Camoens. For the most fashionable quarter of Lisbon to-day is the Chiado.

But this companionship could not last long, as it was too unequal. Camoens found himself more at home in the refined and cultured court of John III. The fame of his early lyrics had preceded him, and there was a constant demand for impromptu verses and rondels, especially during the festive weeks of the Easter season. "No man will make up a new suit for Lent," said Dryden in the next century; but it was in Lent, on Good Friday, that a new vein of poetic thought opened when Camoens first saw Dona Catherina de Ataide in church. Under the name of Nathercia (an anagram of Catherina) he began to celebrate the lineaments of one of those noble women whom Dante, Ariosto and Tasso created. But Nathercia entered little into the personal life of Camoens, as she lived barely two years after he first met her, and then she was but a child.

What changed the whole course of his life was a play that he wrote in 1545, for a wedding festival in the home of the controller of the King's household, Estacio da Fonseca. It was entitled *King Seleucus*, a well-worn theme borrowed, like so many of Shakespeare's themes, from ancient writers. The genius of the young dramatist gave it the freshness of a contemporary story. This was the undoing of Camoens. Because there were incidents in the life of this Greek king of Egypt, Seleucus, which sounded perilously like some of the irresponsible gossip of court circles about King John in his early days. Such gossip was maliciously untrue.¹⁰¹³ But the inexperienced youth composed his drama in three hurried days, and found no one in that time to warn him that he seemed to be giving a local habitation and a name to airy rumours, which only a few disgruntled courtiers

believed. King John was a man of great forbearance, but now he could hardly refrain from condign action.

In contemporary England under Henry VIII, such a drama would have brought the poet to the block. But King John had the quality of mercy, so he merely ordered the tactless dramatist to leave the court. For a man of his affectionate loyalty, this was punishment enough, and in several of his lyrics he admits that he deserved it. But for more than a year he wandered about Lisbon, not idle but restless, in the hope that his exile might be abated. When this hope was too long deferred, he took the noblest course open to a youth who was a genuine enthusiast for the imperial expansion of Portugal, and who had already begun to celebrate it in verse.

Ugly rumours of military disaster were filtering in from Morocco. Not only had King John given orders to evacuate the fortresses of Azamor and Safin as useless, but "the Turks and some bad Christians"¹⁰¹⁴ were enlisting to support the Moors. The Sherif of Morocco had been driven back, but not finally defeated. It was a grave moment for Portugal, and Camoens must have asked himself the question which he afterwards put into the mouth of the Old Man of Belem: "Standest thou idle whilst the foeman at thy gate waxes and prospers?" He answered his own question by enlisting for active service in Ceuta.

In this campaign he lost an eye, either in one of the skirmishes with the Moors or, as Faria e Sousa holds, in a naval engagement with pirates in the Straits of Gibraltar. During the two years of his military service, the Governor of Ceuta was Afonso de Noronha, a member of the influential family that had befriended him in Lisbon. Afonso seems to have been instructed to carry out a policy of appeasement in regard to the Moors, if we can judge by the daringly peaceful mission entrusted to the Jesuit Father John Nunes Barreto,¹⁰¹⁵ who with the Rector of Coimbra College, Father Luis Gonsalves de Camara, was sent by the King to minister to the Portuguese prisoners in the hands of the Moors. They brought medicines with them, and utilised the services of doctors who were prisoners, to erect hospitals where friends and enemies were treated. King John had decided years before, that a war to the finish with the Moors would be a foolish waste of men and money.

In January of 1549 the Sherif of Morocco defeated the last of his Muslim enemies, the Sultan of Fez; and thus became a kind of Muslim emperor. John III determined to make a friendly peace with him. In December he ordered the evacuation of the fortresses of Arzila and Alcacer Seguer. A new governor^{*} was

appointed with a lower status, and he was instructed to limit himself to the defensive. Ceuta was strengthened as the key¹⁰¹⁶ to Portugal's defensive policy.

Noronha was recalled and made Viceroy of India, both as a reward for carrying out John's policy of peace, and to stress the fact that India and South Africa were more important fields of action than North Africa. The imperialist Camoens was dejected, not fully understanding that there are greater victories than those of the battlefield. He joined the Viceroy on his flagship the *Saint Peter*, enlisting for adventures in India that would atone for the retreat in Morocco. His name was entered on the official list of notable persons who were with Noronha, but this time he did not sail.¹⁰¹⁷

Why did he change his mind? Early commentators of the *Lusiads* thought that the reason is to be found in cryptic allusions contained in Sonnet 190. There he apostrophises a Pine Tree, which in Portuguese is Pinheiro, in whose shade the poet hopes to be crowned with laurels. It seems likely enough that, during the months of waiting for his ship to sail, he discovered grounds for fresh hope in the patronage of Dr. Anthony Pinheiro, the recently appointed tutor to the heir of the throne, Prince John. Pinheiro had come with a great reputation from Paris,¹⁰¹⁸ and afterwards became Bishop of Miranda; now he was showing a decided inclination to favour men of culture, and to attract them to the court. The young Prince, too, had a mind of his own,avouring some poets and writers who had given offence to his elders.

If these were really the hopes of Camoens, he wasted two years in vain expectation. In his deepening disappointment he appears to have allowed himself to become the creature of the moment. Because his eclogues and lyrics did not evoke the expected appreciation of the nobler minds to whom he appealed, he reverted too often to the company of scatterbrained comrades, who helped him to forget his griefs in a riotous hour. The climax of this riotous course of life came on the feast of Corpus Christi in the June of 1552. On that day, sacred to himself and his countrymen, he was involved in a street brawl with two armed courtiers, and wounded one of them severely. A merited sentence of eight months' imprisonment was the result.

In one of his sonnets he laments the unworthy escapade, regretting "those wasted days".¹⁰¹⁹ Friends intervened, and among them was the courtier whom he had wounded, Gonsalo Borges. Thus a part of the sentence was remitted, on condition that he undertook a period of military service in India. So he

sailed from Lisbon on the flagship *Saint Benedict* on Palm Sunday, the twenty-fourth of March, 1553.

But the months of enforced leisure in the municipal prison had not been wasted. At that moment all Lisbon was talking of the first volume of the *History of the Discovery of India*, which had been published in January of the year 1552. It was the work of Ferdinand Lopes de Castanheda. An even greater sensation was made in the following June by the appearance of the first decade of the *Da Asia* by John de Barros.¹⁰²⁰ These famous books with their noble idealism fired his patriotism, and spurred him still further to emulate them in the realm of poetry.

Books were his chief solace in prison, but not his only solace. The Christian feeling of the day made it a duty of religion to visit imprisoned persons. Even the King went the rounds of the jails in person, to find out whether prisoners had any legitimate grievances, and whether the rules for their protection were being observed. We may hazard the guess that Camoens' fellow-student of Coimbra and fellow-poet, George de Montemor, was amongst his visitors. Montemor had come to Lisbon in November on the staff of the Spanish Princess Johanna, who was to marry Prince John of Portugal. We know that Montemor himself was dallying with the idea of a poem in Spanish on the Portuguese empire and its glories.¹⁰²¹ That empire on which the sun never set was the wonder of the world then, and the envy of foreign nations. "The incomparable generation of its lordly princes" would be the frequent theme of conversation of these Portuguese poets, chatting with the assurance of a Kipling, but the restraint of the classical and Christian tradition.

The galleon *Saint Benedict*, in which Camoens sailed, was the best-equipped and largest ship in the Indian fleet. Four other ships made up the annual fleet for that year 1553, but only the *Saint Benedict* reached India within the year, the rest being either lost or detained at Mozambique for the winter. This prompt arrival of the flagship was not entirely due to good fortune, but largely to the experience and resourcefulness of the captain, Ferdinand de Alvares, who was ready for every emergency.

At the Cape of Good Hope they met mountainous seas, and Table Mountain was discovered in its blackest humour of south-east clouds. The captain manoeuvred his ship safely to the east of Madagascar, and they reached Goa in September. But the terrors of the Cape of Good Hope had made an indelible impression on the imagination of Camoens. It was not the physical

terror that he felt most. His intense and glowing mind had realised the danger to Portuguese culture of the barbarian millions behind this black screen of Africa. To him the frowning Table Mountain that he saw loomed up constantly as the symbol of these powers of darkness. Thus the giant Adamastor was born in his startled fancy.

At Goa he grasped for the first time that an epic poem of the Portuguese empire must be an epic of the sea. Portugal had outdistanced all previous empires by establishing a dominion which straddled the two great oceans, the Atlantic and the Indian. He saw, too, how the main condition for the maintenance of that empire was perpetual vigilance on the seas. Nearly a hundred years later Milton painted a majestically unreal picture of the ocean "beyond the Cape of Good Hope and past Mozambic", where the sailors find wafted out to sea "Sabaean odours from the spicy shore of Araby the blest".¹⁰²² Camoens was now to learn that Arabia harboured nests of pirates, who were the ceaseless enemies of Portuguese dominion and trade.

With the sword in one hand and a quill in the other, as he wrote, he threw himself into the glorious task of maintaining and extending what the previous generations had won. He took part in hand-to-hand fighting on the Malabar coast, among the Malay islands and in China. He versified unsparing satires¹⁰²³ upon the mistakes of the governors or the behaviour of his countrymen, where he thought they were wrong. With a poet's vehemence he fired a sonnet at Goa, calling it a labyrinth where nobility, valour and knowledge knock in vain at the door of business and avarice. The enemies of one's country were not the only sinners in the world, as modern war-propaganda would have us believe. "Divine justice," thundered Camoens,¹⁰²⁴ "is the power from whom all kings and lesser rulers derive their right to command; hence their duty to guard all men from insolent tyrannies."

But justice also required that the motley crew of pirates in the Red Sea should be severely dealt with. Portugal regulated the commerce of the Indian Ocean by a system of permits or *cartazas*. The *cartaz* was issued in the King's name, but it could be granted and signed by any captain of the royal fortress in the Indian empire. Commerce was now the vital link of the empire, and the fleets were the first line of defence of the all-important trade in spices. The second line lay in the land fortresses of Ormuz, the Maldive islands, Mozambique, Sumatra, Malacca, the Moluccas, Meliapur and Nagapatam.¹⁰²⁵ No embargo was placed upon the Muslim traffic in arrack, cloths,

cocoanut and similar articles. This was mainly trade in their own boats on the coasts of Gujarat, Concan and Coromandel. Ships carrying contraband goods were regarded as pirates and dealt with accordingly, if they had no *cartaz*.

In 1555 Sultan Ali of Achem, in northern Sumatra, achieved notoriety by his successful, if sporadic, efforts in running the Portuguese blockade of the Red Sea. Francis Barreto, who was then in command of India, meant to put an end to these raids. Camoens was now commissioned to join the fleet of Manuel de Vasconcellos of Madeira, which had the task of preventing the spices of Malacca from reaching Alexandria. They left Goa in February, three first-class ships and five foists. One of the ships,¹⁰²⁶ captained by Ferdinand Farto, was taking to Abyssinia the Jesuit Father Gonsalo Rodrigues with his commission of enquiry into the state of religion there.

The other ships made straight for a bay just inside the Straits of Babelmandeb, near Mount Felix. A more unsuitable name could hardly have been chosen for this "parched, forbidding and barren" mountain of Arabia, "where no bird sings or river runs", in sight of which Camoens was to spend six weary months.¹⁰²⁷ The Arabs called it Ras Af-Fil because it resembled the head of an elephant. Whilst many were eating their hearts out in this solitude, Camoens was never less alone than when alone with his busy imagination. "I had my thoughts by means of which one battles victoriously with all the ills of nature."

A visit to the Mozambique coast at this time brought to the point of consistence all those floating thoughts of patriotic pride which had been in his mind so long. The main fact has been preserved for us by Manuel de Faria e Sousa in his sketch of the life of Camoens. When the poet awoke one morning, either in Sofala or Mombasa, he saw before him the whole plan of his poem unfolded,¹⁰²⁸ just as if some spirit from above had inspired his mind. While it was still fresh before his eyes, he sat down to put it all in writing.

It is likely enough that the final form of his epic poem rose thus before him when he had completed his pilgrimage to all the scenes of Portuguese heroism in the East. From Sofala, stretching across to Angola, there came the vista of a great African empire, capping the world-embracing glories of Portugal. The whole panorama was now before him, and he was able to crystallise the ruminations of his solitary days at Mount Felix.

In this way we understand how the African coast, from the Cape of Good Hope to Malindi, occupies the greater part of the long *Lusiads*. The poet was surveying the world from this coign

of vantage in the very centre of the Portuguese empire. Of the ten cantos that make up the poem, about seven are either acted or spoken on this eastern stretch of the African coast.

Camoens regarded himself as the most fortunate of poets by reason of the noble subject for an epic, which the Muse of History had given him without any deserts of his own. Homer was a literary giant. But the murderous wrath of Achilles and its terrible effects, which are the sole burden of the Iliad, were not comparable to the beneficent activities of Vasco da Gama. Gama could be wroth on occasion; but joyousness was the keynote of the Portuguese, and their aim the fulness of life for themselves and other nations.

The theme of the Portuguese epic must necessarily be mirrored in a wider frame of human life than the themes of Homer or Virgil; because the Portuguese heroes had sailed all the seas of the world, provinces of Neptune's kingdom that Greece or Rome never dreamed of. The voyage of Vasco da Gama would furnish the introduction to a picture that would draw out "all the glorious memories of our kings who went extending the Faith and our empire".

The first glimpse of Gama's fleet is given after it has passed the Cape of Good Hope, and is seen in full sail rounding Mocambo Point and making for Mozambique. At this point where the exploration of the ancients ended, the epic of Camoens begins.

The modern reader, unversed as he generally is in the symbolic wisdom of the classical mythologies, finds it irksome to follow the action of a great part of the *Lusiads*, where it is interwoven with the somewhat mechanical influence of the pagan gods. But the effort to comprehend this machinery, inherited from Homer, is worth making. The Christian poets of the Middle Ages used the names of the gods of pagan Greece, as a kind of pageantry for the substance of Christian thought.

In the preface, before Vasco da Gama leaves Lisbon, Camoens depicts a council of the gods on Olympus. The president Jupiter decrees with the support of Mars, opposed by Bacchus, that the Portuguese fleet shall be well received on the African coast. At the end of the poem the poet states clearly that Jupiter is a poetic symbol of the Divine Providence. The lesser gods stand for the ministration of the angels, and sometimes for the embodied passions and virtues of men. Two centuries before this, Dante apostrophised "highest Jove who wast crucified for us"; and a century after Camoens even Milton,

who borrowed so much from Italy, sang of the "perfect witness of all-judging Jove".

These are cumbrous images to unravel for the average reader of to-day, but then they were the commonplaces of literary diction. What the Portuguese poet emphasises with this dramatic imagery is stated in two plain verses: "That which Heaven decrees and Portuguese energy has merited shall never be filched by envious foemen." It is the credo of the imperialist patriot in every age, if he retains any spark of faith in God. "Heaven, and not we, hath safely fought to-day," exclaimed Prince John of Lancaster, when the army of Henry IV had routed the rebels of York. In the same spirit does Camoens account for the more peaceful miracle of the safe voyage of Vasco da Gama's ships, as they sailed into Mozambique from the south, whence no sail had ever ventured into these seas before.

The tale of the treachery that the Arabs of Mombasa and Kilwa endeavoured to practise on Vasco da Gama is narrated, as if these intrigues were carried on by Bacchus in the burnous of the sheikhs of these places. The disreputable Bacchus would naturally take the part of the Arabs. But Venus stands by the Portuguese, and they evade the traps set for them, encountering favourable winds. Venus, queen of love and beauty, here represents not merely the protecting and interceding angel of the Portuguese nation, but also the spirit of conscious superiority in the finer things of life, which is part of the secret of success in the history of every conquering nation.¹⁰²⁹

They enter Mombasa full of hope, believing it to be a safe retreat, especially as they were told that Christians controlled it. But the deceptive welcome that the Arab ruler extends to them veils the most dangerous plot that they had yet encountered. This time Venus, with the aid of her sea nymphs (the winds and the currents) hinders the fleet from being decoyed to the anchorage, where the Arabs were prepared to destroy it. This gives Camoens the opportunity of painting one of those sea pictures in which he is a master.

Even the harsh facts of a soldier's life on the African coast and in India had not obliterated his trust in a kindly Providence, guiding the fortunes and counteracting the misfortunes of every man and every people in their appointed task. He uses another graphic convention of the Classics to give utterance to this patriotic creed. Mercury, the messenger of the old gods, is presented as the herald of greater glory for Vasco da Gama than Ulysses, or Antenor or Aeneas ever acquired. The omnipotent Jove of the Christian dispensation sends this angelic

traveller with his winged sandals, magic wand and broad-brimmed helmet, to prepare a friendly welcome for the Portuguese fleet at Malindi. Gama is also inspired to steer his barque in that direction.

His greeting to the Sultan of Malindi was in the nature of an inspiration, and it contained a promise which was amply fulfilled:

Wherever I may live in fame and glory,
Thy praises, too, shall live in coupled story.

(II, 105)

Malindi became a household word in Europe during the sixteenth century, because of its friendship with Portugal, and largely because of what Camoens had sung. One-third of the *Lusiads* is in the form of a tale told by Vasco da Gama at Malindi. In response to the request of the Sultan of Malindi, he recounts the whole history of Portugal in two cantos, and a third canto describes the romance of his own voyage from Lisbon to Malindi. Some of the finest passages of the poem are found here. We listen to the pitiful fate of Ignez de Castro, the vision of the old man of Belem, the dream of the Indian rivers that King Manuel saw, and the Adamastor of Table Mountain.

Some controversy has arisen in regard to the locality of the allegorical Isle of Venus, described in the last two cantos of the *Lusiads*. It is introduced after the departure of Gama's fleet from India, and after the two cantos in which the Indian exploits are celebrated. If a local habitation is really needed for this flight of fancy, no place has a better claim than Zanzibar.

Among the Portuguese writers of the day it had the reputation of being an Isle of the Blessed. "This is an island most prolific in rivers, fountains, cattle and fruit; so that in the woods orange trees bloom,¹⁰³⁰ and trees of many kinds give excellent fruit." So writes Damian de Goes; and Bishop Osorio suggests that Camoens had it in mind when he penned the delights of this Eden. Here Thetys and her nymphs entertained Vasco da Gama and his jaded, but victorious, crews on their journey home. Yet the poet himself warns us that the delights of this painted isle are not the mere sporting with Amaryllis in the shade. The figures of the nymphs serve chiefly to declare that Thetys, the sea nymph, had invited them to acclaim:

The glorious triumph of the laurel crown,
The ever-blossoming palms of fair renown,
By time unwithered and untaught to cloy.
These are the transports of the Isle of Joy

But the discovery of Adamastor on the Cape Peninsula was an event as epochal in the literary sphere as the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope itself by Bartholomew Dias in the prosaic world. The old poets imagined that every place had a protecting spirit or genius, whose influence was exerted for the good of those who lived there, and for the undoing of their enemies. In Virgil's great epic, how often the traveller Aeneas, coming to a new port, offers sacrifice to the genius of the place, so that he may pass in safety. In this the Latin Christians looked upon Virgil as a noble and precocious child, who caught a confused glimpse of the later adult teaching of the Church about angels and demons.

They felt able to use his language in a Christian sense. Even Milton, hostile as he was to the pious and human practice of the invocation of the saints, liked to believe that his drowned friend, Lycidas, had become the genius of the contiguous shore, where he would "be good to all that wandered in that perilous flood".

The first impressions of Camoens at the Cape were that he was in the presence of a hostile spirit. The black south-easter howled, and the lowering clouds over Table Mountain seemed ready to overwhelm any ship rash enough to attempt to make the shore. This vision of stark terror, which he had experienced in 1553, he now utters as the words of Vasco da Gama, who is supposed to encounter it five days after he left St. Helena Bay.

When lo! one night, standing in thought severe,
Watching upon the sharp prow as she flew,
A frowning cloud which darkens all the air
Appears above our head and hovers there.

From out of the threatening cloud there came the more threatening figure of a grizzly giant, "second only to the most wonderful colossus of Rhodes", whose voice made the heart faint and the flesh creep. In tones that seemed to boom from the ocean, he threatened the daring race of Portuguese seamen with devouring vengeance, every time they ventured into the seas of the Cape of Good Hope. Then follow in detail the ills he can and will inflict. Among them are some of the misfortunes that had actually overtaken Portuguese sailors between the first voyage of Vasco da Gama and the days of Camoens. But the classical tradition since Homer required that the spectre should be challenged, and that he should reply:

I am that mighty Cape, occult and grand,
Who by you all the Stormy named has been.
No learned ancients ever found my land,
Nor any others that have passed this main.

A spirit without a name was as unusual in the epic tradition, as a poet without a rich protector in the eighteenth century. Not only was a name needful, but it had to be chosen from the sacred fount of classical mythology. The sense of evil was most fitly expressed by the more grotesque gods of Greece or Rome, and it is one of these who now answers the question of Vasco da Gama:

'Midst earth's most daring sons I was, of those
 Whom giants, as Enceladus, we know;
 My name was Adamastor, and I rose
 'Gainst him who doth the bolts of Vulcan throw.

Enceladus and Adamastor¹⁰⁸¹ were two out of the hundred monstrous giants who, according to the Greek myth, stormed Olympus, and were only defeated by the gods with the aid of Hercules and Vulcan, the munition-maker. They were buried under Mount Etna in Sicily and other volcanoes. This vagueness of Greek mythology allows Camoens to fill a gap in the story with his poetic imagination. He finds a grave for the obscure giant, Adamastor, under the volcanic mass of Table Mountain.

Adamastor is prompted to tell the tale of his own hard retribution:

Into hard earth my flesh converted lies,
 My bones are turned to rocks all rough and strange,
 Those members and this form ye see likewise
 Extended through these spreading waters range;
 In fine, my stature of enormous size
 Into this Cape remote the gods did change;
 While for redoubled anguish of my woes
 Thetys around me in these waters flows.

This was the elusive sea-nymph, at whose wedding the much-dramatised episode of the Golden Apple took place. It gave rise to the judgment of Paris, which has formed the central theme of so many masterpieces of pictorial art; and it led indirectly to the memorable siege of Troy. By inventing this new episode of the fatal and unsuccessful pursuit of Thetys by Adamastor, Camoens brings these southern seas into the full cycle of the Mediterranean myths.

But it must not be imagined that these old Christian seamen thought themselves altogether in the grip of the powers of darkness. Far from it. They regarded the spirits to whom they gave the less honourable pagan names as devils; but they also knew that they themselves were safe under the protecting hand of God and their guardian angels. They knew themselves to be no match alone against the powers of evil in the world, but they also knew in whom they trusted, and that they did not stand alone. Vasco da Gama chants the refrain of faith:

I joining hands unto the sacred choir
 Of angels who so far our course have led,
 Prayed unto God in mercy to withhold
 The horrors Adamastor had foretold.

Camoens did not shrink from facing the problem of what a dominant race must do, to avoid the horrors of punishment for misrule. Horace had faced it, and warned the Romans that their empire could not last, unless they recognised in deeds the higher empire of the spirit.¹⁰³² John III, like Caesar Augustus, had brought under his sway large tracts of the world, and organised them. Upon this foundation Portugal could only build worthily, if she continued to possess the moral authority suited to the task.

Under the Christian dispensation there was no chosen race; and those only deserved to be heard in prayer, who were prepared to sacrifice all lower things to their loyalty to Christ. It was useless to sharpen their swords if they soiled their consciences. The patriotic chroniclers of Portugal never ceased to reiterate this salutary principle. Moors, Turks, Arabs, Hottentots and other infidels might well be the scourges of God upon the backs of a faithless Christian people, wrote John de Barros. Camoens now adds his voice to the chorus of admonition:¹⁰³³

Better no honours should your merit bless
 Than without merit, honours to possess.
 In peace make equal laws ye will not break,
 Which give not to the great the small man's gains.

This ideal of the Pax Lusitanica was so high that no nation has ever realised it perfectly. But every nation that has tried to attain it by genuine sacrifices of profit and wealth, as Portugal did in this reign, has made a worthy contribution to the spiritual treasures of our race. It is well, however, to remember that the fight still goes on, since Adamastor remains, the prompter of every inhumanity, the enemy of all goodness and of the right.

The latest reminder comes from a South African poet, who has written many noble lines that give him a place in the legitimate succession of Camoens. As Roy Campbell rounds the Cape of Good Hope in his flying barque, he describes how Adamastor "threatens the sons of Lusus as of old":¹⁰³⁴

Farewell, terrific shade! though I go free,
 Still of the powers of darkness art thou Lord:
 I watch the phantom sinking in the sea
 Of all that I have hated or adored.

The prow glides smoothly on through seas quiescent:
 But where the last point sinks into the deep,
 The land lies dark beneath the rising crescent,
 And Night, the Negro, murmurs in his sleep.

CHAPTER XXV.

ZIMBABWE IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

EUROPEAN THOUGHT WAS VERY ACTIVE in this century in regard to the mystery of the Zimbabwe ruins, though Europe seems to have forgotten their very existence in the eighteenth century and most of the nineteenth. What stimulated thought on this subject during the reign of John III was the progress of trade up the Zambesi River. In 1531 a fair was opened at Sena, and somewhat later another at Tete, which outpost on the great river is 260 miles from the sea, as the crow flies.

These fairs were the distributing centres for Indian goods, chiefly cloth and beads, among the tribes that lived between the Zambesi and Sabi Rivers. This was the area that became famous beyond its deserts in Europe as the empire of Monomotapa. Some have interpreted this name of the Paramount Chief to mean "master of the mountain".¹⁰³⁵ If that be the original meaning, the mountain indicated must certainly be that which the Portuguese of the day called Mount Afura.

The Dominican priest, John dos Santos, who came to the Zambesi in 1586, describes this mountain as he saw it a few years later:¹⁰³⁶ "Close to the town of Masapa there is a high and grand mountain called Fura, from which there is a view over a large part of the kingdom of Monomotapa. That is why the king will not allow the Portuguese to ascend this mountain, lest they should covet these great and beautiful lands, where so many and such large mines of gold are hidden. On the top of this mountain there are still standing some fragments of ancient walls, and some old ruins of stone and mortar, which show clearly that here at one time there were buildings and strong chambers, things unknown in all Kafirland, where even the dwellings of the kings are of wood, lined with clay and covered with thatch."

To the Portuguese traders this mountain was important, because it was the centre of the most attractive mining district. Elsewhere the natives paid for goods in ivory, copper or ebony; here they paid in gold nuggets or gold ore or gold dust. The traders returned down the Zambesi River to Quelimane, or down the Sabi River to Sofala which was on a delta of this river. The gold traffic became a settled thing during the reign of John

III, and Father dos Santos shows what its development had become thirty years later.

"We remained seven days in the port of Quelimane, sailing away in one of the four *pangaios* belonging to the Captain of Mozambique. On board there was a strong safe containing one hundred thousand *cruzados* in gold: dust, ore and ingots. This was the output of the contract between the Captain of Mozambique, George de Meneses, and the Governor of India, Manuel de Sousa Coutinho. The custom is to divide the gold profit every six months between the shareholders and the Captain."¹⁰³⁷

But in this first period of development the Paramount Chief guarded jealously his monopoly of the mines. If a Kafir discovered traces of gold in some furrow after heavy rains, or in some old working, he was forbidden to touch it under pain of death. It was his duty to shout for the nearest passer-by; and after covering the spot with a large branch of some tree, they were commanded to report the discovery to the chief. In this way the Portuguese were prevented from knowing where the mines were, and the individual Kafir was deterred from private trading by the threatened penalty of death. All bartering was evidently done at places like Sena and Tete, as between the Paramount Chief through his messengers and the Portuguese traders.

These stringent regulations go to show how difficult it was, on the Zambesi side at least, for the Portuguese to inspect the Zimbabwe ruins for themselves. In those enterprising days there must have been some daring souls, whose curiosity was only stimulated by the danger of attempting to climb Mount Afura. No record, however, of any such attempt has survived.

But Father dos Santos was a type of the thinker who could not rest until he had probed the mystery of these ruins, gathering together the available data of the problem, and giving his verdict for what it was worth. In his day the market town of Tete had thrown out feelers into the interior, in the shape of three trading stations, to which carriers brought the goods for easier barter among the tribes. The most important of these was Masapa, in the beautiful Mazoe valley, about 150 miles from Tete.¹⁰³⁸

When, therefore, we read that Mount Afura was near Masapa, we can surely identify it with Mount Darwin, which is about the same distance from the Zambesi. From the high plateau of which Mount Darwin is the rampart, the Mazoe River and its tributaries flow down the thickly wooded watershed of the Zambesi, sloping north-east. Immediately it seemed to fulfil

the ideal of that Ophir for which the Portuguese had been looking ever since the days of Bartholomew Dias. Dias's friend Pacheco had written that King Solomon's Ophir would be found somewhere near Sofala.¹⁰³⁹ A few years later Vasco da Gama had found the gold, but not the mines. At last some Portuguese thought that they had come upon both the mines and the original name, because in any Semitic tongue there would be little difference in the writing of Ophir and Afura.

Accustomed as these men were to opening up new paths in unknown regions of the world, they had no difficulty in conceiving that a man with King Solomon's reputation for wisdom discovered the existence of these goldfields. Did not the Bible say that men came from all the lands of the East to listen to his worldly wisdom wrapped in proverbs, and to his knowledge of nature? To reach these mines, the sailors of John III had come ten times as far as King Solomon's men would have had to go. If ever there was a leader of men possessed with the *auri sacra fames*, it was this luxurious liver, who conceived the grandiose plans of the Temple of Jerusalem and of his own palace, built with timbers from the forests of Lebanon. Both plans needed gold in such quantities as the greatest mines could yield. Every visitor to the kingdom of Israel and Juda would surely be interrogated about the gold output of the lands he knew.

The facts narrated in the *Books of Kings* were common-places to the Portuguese of the sixteenth century, who knew their Bible well. These facts made it likely enough that Solomon's many ornaments of beaten gold came from this incomparable area of Mashonaland. If not, where on earth could they come from?

Yet having been trained in the scientific methods of the Scholastics, Father dos Santos realised that probability was not enough to establish a fact. *A posse ad esse non valet illatio*, was a trite maxim of the medieval schools; and it meant that an hypothesis, no matter how alluring, was not a scientific truth. The plausible guess of a scientist only amounts to a truth, when he has established it upon a basis of proof by repeated experiment.

Hence the conscience of the scientific historian asserts itself in the cautious verdict of John dos Santos.¹⁰⁴⁰ "Without pretending to decide this question, I should say that the mountain of Fura or Afura may be the region of Ophir, whence gold was brought to Jerusalem; and at that time Solomon may have had control of the trade and commerce of these (Zambesi) rivers

which we Portuguese hold to-day. I do not know of any mines nearer, whence gold could be brought to Jerusalem." By this time the Portuguese traders had acquired a wide knowledge of the mining areas of the Indian Ocean.

But the enquiries of Father dos Santos on the spot had raised some doubt in his mind as to the exact method by which the Zimbabwe gold reached Palestine. Some aged Arab traders, who lived near Mount Darwin, told him that a long tradition in these parts maintained that these ruins were all that was left of the warehouses of the Queen of Saba,¹⁰⁴¹ or Sheba. The Muslim knew her name from the strange medley of faint echoes of the Bible: jinns, speaking ants and birds, which are to be found in two surahs of the Koran.¹⁰⁴²

The Arabs gathered from Mohammed's tale that this Queen was rich, that Solomon sent a magic bird called the hoopoe to invite her to Jerusalem, and that there she was converted from the worship of the sun to that of Allah. Later Muslim traditions¹⁰⁴³ say that her name was Balkis, that she became one of Solomon's numerous concubines, and that her kingdom was in that tapering point of south Arabia called the Yemen. But the Arab writers, never very strong in historical detail, forgot to tell us how she became rich or how she brought the gold from Africa.

Father dos Santos naturally began his researches with the more sober narrative of the Old Testament, a narrative which was more than a thousand years nearer to the events narrated than the Koran was. To elucidate the Scripture account, he sought the help of interpreters of whom the latest died two centuries before Mohammed. They were the travelled and hard-thinking St. Jerome (311-420 A.D.), the African scholar Origen (185-255 A.D.), and the Jewish historian Flavius Josephus (37-99 A.D.).

What Santos deduced from the Scripture account about the Queen of Saba was this. Two anonymous writers of the Old Testament gave the same account of her, almost in the same words.¹⁰⁴⁴ She came to Jerusalem to test the wisdom of Solomon, which had become famous throughout the East; and her long caravan was rich with gold, spices and jewels. If this was gold from the Mazoe valley, as the Arabs have said, how did this Queen's servants get it? Where was Saba? An incidental phrase used by Christ Himself voices the ancient tradition that it was somewhere south of Jerusalem.¹⁰⁴⁵

A Jewish contemporary of the Gospel writers, Flavius Josephus, states that this Queen's native name was Nicaulis, and

that she reigned over that part of Ethiopia which is contiguous to Egypt, namely, Abyssinia.¹⁰⁴⁶ An Abyssinian tradition claims that her son (and Solomon's), Menelik, was the founder of their ancient dynasty.

The Latin geographer Pliny, the Greek Strabo, Origen and Saint Jerome describe this metropolis of the Ethiopians, calling it Meroe. They also called it an island, because they thought that it was surrounded entirely by arms of the Nile. Perhaps the Arabic word for an island deceived them, as it may mean a peninsula as well; and Meroe may well be called a peninsula, being in a fork of the Nile between the main stream and the Atbara. These ancient scholars also told how the Persian Cambyses, 470 years after the visit of the Queen of Saba to Solomon, added Egypt to his empire, thus making it the greatest empire hitherto known.¹⁰⁴⁷ He changed the name of this outlying province of Saba into Meroe, the name of a beloved sister.

"Up to the present day," writes Father dos Santos, "this most noble city is counted among the most famous sights of that region, both for its fertility and its large population made up of many nations. Whence we may gather that there may be some foundation for the statement about the Queen's warehouses in Africa." He goes on to explain how, in his opinion, this trade might have been conducted. The Queen commanded the waters of the Red Sea with her fleets. When her servants gathered their hoard of gold in the storehouses of Africa, they sailed down the river to the open sea, then up the Red Sea to the shores of Egypt, where caravans could carry it to her court in Saba.

At first sight all this intelligent guesswork might seem to be obliterated by the new light shed upon Saba through the inscriptions of South Arabia, first deciphered by orientalists in 1893.¹⁰⁴⁸ They have established the fact that Saba is the name of a race or empire, not merely of a city; and the headquarters of this racial or political unit were on the opposite side of the Red Sea, in the wide area that the Greeks and Romans used to call Arabia Felix. It comprised the present Arab republic of Yemen, the British protectorate of Aden, and the province of Hadramaut. They called these lands collectively Happy Arabia, because they thought it produced the gold, incense, myrrh, spices and precious stones which were shipped by these Sabaeans to the West; whereas most of this wealth really came from India and South Africa through Arabia.

These modern discoveries have rather enhanced the probability of the sixteenth-century view by filling its background

with details that make the picture more satisfying. Hundreds of inscriptions unearthed during the last fifty years have shown that the Sabaean were an ancient people with a wide commerce and a productive soil, and that they spread over both sides of the Red Sea. There was a Saba in Abyssinia as well as a Saba on the edge of the South Arabian desert, and these seem to have been the eastern and western boundaries of the Sabaean kingdom. Saba in Arabia, whose ruins still exist, was the centre of government; whilst Saba in Abyssinia was the richest of the colonial towns, perhaps equal to the metropolis.

Solomon's admirer from Saba did not inaugurate this gold traffic. It seems to have been immemorial. The Semites who founded Abyssinia appear to have migrated from the Yemen some two thousand years before the Christian era, and the languages of Abyssinia remain as an undying memorial of the kinship of race, though in this colony the Sabaean blood was fused with the aboriginal Hamitic stock.

Where we find wealth and colonial expansion, whether in ancient or modern times, we naturally look for commerce as the fountain of these phenomena. The military expeditions, of which so much is made in chronicles of stone and paper, are usually merely the symptoms of aggressive trade activity. Yemen had a situation favourable to plans of trade expansion, standing between the two great areas of human activity, the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean, at a point where the trade winds made it the pivot of the carrying interests in the traffic of East and West.

But we have proof positive that these ideas took practical shape in the commercial minds of the Sabaean race, and resulted in a network of commerce, famous among contemporary nations. Eight centuries before Christ the Jewish prophet Isaiah looks forward to the golden age, when Jerusalem will share in this prosperity: when gold and frankincense will come by ship and by dromedary from the gentile Saba.¹⁰⁵⁰ About the same period the anonymous author of the *Book of Job* relates how a band of armed traders from Saba plundered the estate of a rich land-owner at Uz, on the northern border of Palestine. Two Assyrian inscriptions¹⁰⁵¹ record how Sargon (721-704 B.C.) and Sennacherib (704-681 B.C.) beat the rich kings of Saba on their own northern border, and were able to wring a tribute from them. More than a century later a Jewish prisoner in Babylon, the prophet Ezekiel (592-570 B.C.) tells how the merchants of Saba shared in the trade of Tyre, and he makes special mention of those from Aden.

The first signs of decline in Saba's trade have been revealed by much later Greek writers. Eratosthenes (275-194 B.C.) mentions three allied races in Arabia who were becoming successful rivals of the Sabaeans. But Artemodorus (c. 100 B.C.), a Greek of Ephesus, still speaks of them as a great and rich people.¹⁰⁵² The geographer Strabo, who wrote in Greek, enables us to see another stage in the decline.

He was travelling on the borders of Abyssinia in the very year that Christ began to preach in Galilee; and Strabo thus had the opportunity of accompanying the Roman general, Aelius Gallus, when he was ordered by Tiberius Caesar to sound the riches of Saba. Tiberius needed money at this period of his worst debaucheries, and he hoped to find in the Sabaeon country either rich allies, or enemies whom he could plunder. The expedition was a failure; but for this Strabo blames the treachery of an Arab king of the north, and thinks that the wealth was still there.

Among the known causes of the impoverishment of the Sabaeon empire was the steady encroachment of the desert steppes from the centre of Arabia; and finally, in 115 A.D., the Himyarites conquered the land, holding it until it was overwhelmed by the Abyssinians in 525 A.D.¹⁰⁵³ The Negus of Abyssinia seems to have come in the first instance to vindicate a Christian minority of South Arabia against the persecution of the pagan majority. The miserable condition into which the country had fallen in the sixteenth century was well known to the Portuguese, but it did not blind them to the glories of the past.

They had reminders of it, not only on the Zambesi, but in Zanzibar,¹⁰⁵⁴ which seems to have been the site of a Sabaeon market, and on the island of Mozambique. Close acquaintance with the stretch of coast between Mogadishu and Cape Guardafui taught them that these ancient traders of Saba had probably found roads into the present Sidamo province of Abyssinia from the sea.¹⁰⁵⁵ A Jesuit contemporary of the Dominican Father dos Santos tells how he tried to get to Abyssinia by using this old route, but he was effectively barred by the Muslim, who occupied the intervening province of Bali. Yet this Jesuit Father Anthony Fernandes intended to try again along the old trail by starting a little further down the coast, say at Brava. A learned Italian geographer named Alexander Zorzi had been assured by Abyssinians, who came to Venice, that the Arabs of India went up the rivers of the coast into Shoa province of Abyssinia for trade at the beginning of the sixteenth century. In this way the

serious writers of that century regarded all this region of Arabia and Africa as an ancient and settled unit of trade operations.

They did not therefore have any unhistorical prejudice against the possibility of a triple alliance of trade which seems to have been brought about in King Solomon's reign. The economic situation would make natural an alliance of Jews, Phoenicians and Sabaean against the Philistines as the agents of Babylonian domination in trade. Solomon, Hiram and the enterprising Queen who travelled so far were obviously persons capable of such a far-reaching scheme.

The hypothesis fits in admirably with the data of the historical books of the Old Testament, even better than the scholars of the sixteenth century could have imagined, or any later scholars have suggested. Father John dos Santos weighs carefully the rival theories of his day, that Solomon or the Queen of Saba controlled the traffic of the Sabi¹⁰⁵⁶ and Zambezi Rivers. He describes how each of them could have brought the gold home. Then he adds: "All I can say is that the gold is here and could be so carried." He does not contemplate the idea of a joint venture, nor that consequently both Solomon and the Queen may have ordered the construction of these warehouses of Mount Darwin and elsewhere, with the active co-operation of Hiram's sailors.

This, however, becomes more than possible when we examine what the Scriptures tell us of the relations of Babylon with the West at this time. Whilst the main purpose of the Bible is to indicate the ways of Providence in the guidance of nations, and the demands of God upon the allegiance of men; the inspired writers, being men of rare intelligence, have dealt with the trade and political groupings of ancient days in sufficient measure to make intelligible the morals of the story.

Babylon is one of the pivots of the situation in the East. Placed in the fertile valley of the Euphrates and the Tigris, and bordered by poorer regions in the surrounding highlands of Armenia and Asia Minor, Babylon became the symbol of wealth and the cradle of civilisation from the remote days when its capital was Ur of the Chaldees. But about 740 B.C. it became a province of the second Assyrian empire under the warlike Tiglath Pileser. Much of this wealth, built on trade, went into the hands of the merchants of Crete¹⁰⁵⁷ and the Aegean Sea near Greece by way of the Philistines of Palestine, who were of the same race as these Mediterranean merchants.

But when King David conquered the stronghold of the Jebusites, and founded the city of Jerusalem, he deranged the

balance of power in trade. It was a rare opportunity for the Phoenicians, whose emporium and "strong city" the Jews had known since the days of Joshua.¹⁰⁵⁸ The alert Hiram of Tyre at once built a house for David in his new city of Jerusalem, as soon as he was ready to leave Hebron, the pastoral city of Abraham. They became allies against the Philistines.

This was a challenge to the most ancient and frequented highway of world traffic.¹⁰⁵⁹ Since the days of the Sumerians ships had scoured the Indian Ocean, and caravans had carried their wares of the East to the West, from what the Jews called the valley of Shinar, where Babylon rose.

When Solomon succeeded to the throne, he soon became aware that only eternal vigilance would enable him to stand against the might of Assyria with Babylon as a vassal. So he fortified Balaath near the Philistine plain, Gezer on the northern border, Megiddo to guard the plain of Esdraelon, Hazor on the side of Syria, Tadmor on the oasis near Damascus, and the fortress near the ford of the Euphrates which the Greeks later called Thapsacus.¹⁰⁶⁰ He subjected ruthlessly all the tribes within his sphere of influence, placing Jewish governors over all of them; and he exterminated all the non-Jews in Jerusalem, as a measure of security. With the assistance of Hiram of Tyre, he also occupied the Red Sea port of Ezion Geber, building a fleet there.

An alliance with Saba was a natural sequel to these methodical preparations for making Jerusalem the pivot of a new system of world trade. When the Queen of Saba went there with camels laden with gold, spices and precious stones, it was no doubt to impress Solomon with the value of this southern ally. The questions she asked must have been designed to test his political wisdom, as well as his knowledge of botany and zoology.

Father dos Santos, if asked, would have answered that she had an easy task in commending the prospects of the trade of her Ophir, as he shows how all that the Bible ascribes to it is found in Mashonaland. "Fine pearls and seed pearls are fished up from the shallows of Sofala, and among the Bocicas Islands, of which I have already spoken. There is a plentiful and valuable timber in the forests of Tembe, which are between Sofala and the Zambesi River, where I once lived, and where boats are made of a single tree hollowed out, its length being about 120 feet more or less. On this coast also there grows much of a fine black wood which goes both to India and Portugal. As to peacocks, although I have never seen them in the coast lands, they must be in the interior, as I have seen Kafirs with head

plumes of peacocks' feathers. In all this coast of Ethiopia there are monkeys galore of a great variety of species. Of gold I need hardly speak, as it abounds in the whole Afura territory. Moreover, there is fine silver in Chicova."

Our generation has seen the discovery of some imposing ruins in Saba of Arabia, which the local Beduin call the palace of Balkis.¹⁰⁶¹ But as their tradition is later than even Islam's appearance in the world, it does not add to the historical data that the sixteenth century possessed. For the same reason, we cannot rely on the Arab tale that her father was born in North Africa, that he built Tunis, and that she succeeded him there. Outside the Scripture narratives and some vaguely dated inscriptions, the earliest historical fact contained in the chronicles of the kings of Yemen is the massacre of the small body of the Christians of Negran in 524 A.D., to avenge which the Christian Abyssinians marched in, conquering the country within a year. This was a century before the rise of Islam. Whatever memorials the Queen of Saba may have left in Arabia, they have been obliterated by the encroaching sands of the desert.

It is in another direction that modern research has enlarged our knowledge of Zimbabwe most, by showing that the Red Sea ships were not the only ones which might have brought ancient miners to work in that area. There has been discovered the bill of lading of a ship whose cargo was landed at Ur of the Chaldees in about 2048 B.C. "In its cargo were gold, copper ore, ivory, precious woods and fine stone for the making of statues and vases. These raw materials were worked up by the skilled craftsmen of Sumer, and re-exported by the land routes to the west and north."¹⁰⁶² Traces of Sumerian influence have been found in the philology of the Bantu and Bushman languages.

As trade routes irradiated in every direction upon the ocean from the land of Sumer, and ships sailed to procure raw materials for its skilled craftsmen and markets for its manufactures; the presence of gold and copper in these cargoes and their use in much Assyro-Babylonian handicraft makes it likely that there was an early contact between our native tribes of the Zambesi coast and the cradle of human civilisation in Mesopotamia. If Babylon and Nineveh could sell their manufactures in Crete, they could draw the gold, copper and perhaps ivory from the region of Mashonaland. The last Chaldean king of Babylon, Narbonidus,¹⁰⁶³ who surrendered to Cyrus in 538 B.C., sent dhows to India and China; and later there were also settlements of Hindus in East Africa, who penetrated as far as the Great Lakes and Abyssinia.

The name of Cyrus opens up the memorable centuries of the Persian empire, when it contested the supremacy of the East with Greece and Rome. Considering the intimate relations between Portugal and Persia during the sixteenth century, and the familiarity of Portuguese writers with Latin and Greek literature which is full of the epic of these struggles, we are not surprised to find many references to the ancient intercourse in trade between Persia and the East African coast. Nobody in the sixteenth century connects the Zimbabwe ruins with this traffic, not even the methodical John dos Santos. At Ormuz, however, the Portuguese became adepts in the Persian language, publishing many manuscripts of Persian history; and with these in hand, Barros was able to test the claim of Kilwa to be a Persian settlement. Elsewhere I have shown that this best-known of the Persian settlements took place in the ninth century of the Christian era, after the Persians had embraced Islam and become its cultural leaders.¹⁰⁶⁴

The fourteen centuries between this settlement of Kilwa and the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus the Great must have seen much activity of the Persian traders and sailors in this region of the Indian Ocean. A sign of the accelerated pace of the world's commerce was seen in the invention of coinage by the Lydians,¹⁰⁶⁵ a hundred years before Cyrus. This also created a new use and demand for gold. Where the Phoenicians, Jews, Sabaeans and perhaps Babylonians had fared so well, the pushing merchants of Persia can hardly have neglected, or forgotten, the gold mines in that part of the African continent which now bears the names of Rhodesia and the Transvaal.

It has recently been suggested¹⁰⁶⁶ that the Zimbabwe buildings were the work of colonies of such Persians. In that case the buildings are claimed to be *dakhmas*, or towers of exposure, where, in accordance with the Zoroastrian ritual, the bodies of the dead are left to be consumed by vultures. The archaeologists certainly claim more than their science can prove, when they suppose that in any one site there should always be a clear-cut division between the ages of stone, bronze and iron. In their excavations also they are prone to place too heavy a burden of proof upon the rubbish deposited by natives in the course of centuries, during which they have inhabited these ruins. Remains of the Zimbabwe type are to be found in the *dakhmas* of Persia, Turkestan and Southern Arabia;¹⁰⁶⁷ and modern structures of the same type are in actual use in India. Dr. Nazaroff finds the larger or urban type of *dakhma* in the elliptical temple, the

acropolis, the ruins of Khami and Dhlo Dhlo; whilst the smaller or rural *dakhmas* would be identified in the so-called stone huts.

What date do these suggestions imply? Masudi states that in the tenth century of our era, no Persian colonies survived in the interior of Africa, which means that their gold traffic had ceased long enough to enable the remaining Zoroastrians to be absorbed into the tribes. Their colonisation had been so extensive at its highest point, that we must seek the cause in some mass movement in addition to the standing motive of the human lure of gold. The persecution of the Zoroastrians at home would seem to furnish this urge into exile.

Persian legends accuse Alexander the Great of having begun this persecution in 331 B.C. The Parthian dynasty, which arose in 249 B.C., did not favour the tenets of the Mazdaist sect of Zoroastrians, whose characteristic was the use of the *dakhma*; and they were safe only in 246 A.D., when Ardeshir founded the Sasanian line of kings.¹⁰⁶⁸ Between these dates the waves of immigration might be placed, if this theory is otherwise considered likely. The tropical rains of Africa, the moist heat and the exuberant vegetation might easily have destroyed all other traces of the Perso-Asiatic civilisation.

But in the Bantu kraals Dr. Nazaroff thinks that he sees another relic of the fire-worshipping Mazdaists. "There is a sacred fire among the tribes of South-West Africa, the Herrero and the Ovambo, both Bantu, and among other South Bantu tribes." It is certainly remarkable that, even when the Persian colonisation ceased, the stream of Bantu slaves to Persia continued to flow freely. It led to the great Bantu rising in Persia in 869 A.D., which I have described in a former volume.¹⁰⁶⁹

It may seem fatal to this theory that the Portuguese of the sixteenth century, so closely in touch with the Persians, make no mention of any Persian origin of the Zimbabwe ruins. But, on the other hand, the Portuguese found Persia under the domination of a rising new sect of Islam, the Shiahs; and no other religion or sect, not even the main Muslim branch of the Sunnis, was tolerated. The Muslim in general, including their historical writers, regarded all history before Islam as well buried in oblivion; and they raised this strange mental process to the dignity of a maxim, self-evident to themselves alone. "Islam cancels all that was before it."¹⁰⁷⁰ Nothing human was regarded as negligible by the Portuguese, who realised that there were natural truths and interests that appealed to the conscience and heart of all men. Hence the omnivorous desire to know, of the Portuguese writers, who have rescued much Persian and Arabic

history from oblivion; but they were unable to elicit in any part of the East evidence of Persian activities in the Zimbabwe area.

In summing up the data available in the sixteenth century, Father dos Santos could not make up his mind whether it was King Solomon or the Queen of Saba who owned these storehouses of Zimbabwe. But he has little doubt that Mount Darwin is the focus of the land of Ophir. There were, of course, other independent thinkers in the sixteenth century who took minority views.

There was, for example, the Frenchman Vatable, who thought that Ophir was the island of Hispaniola which Columbus had discovered. Columbus himself seems to have harboured that belief. It was a long way from Azion Geber indeed; but three years was a long time, long enough to make the enterprise feasible. There was plenty of gold in Hispaniola; and there were always men in the world of the type whom "bell, book and candle would not drive back, when gold and silver beck (them) to come on." But Father dos Santos held that the most ruthless will in the world could not open up this road to fortune.

If he disdained to mention the views of Columbus, it was for two reasons well known to the Portuguese. First, no old workings were found in the islands called Hispaniola. The second argument is best given in the words of Santos himself. "The sea journey from Arabia to the South Seas could only be made down the African ocean by way of the Cape of Good Hope. Then they must needs cross the great abyss of water and pass through the Straits of Magellan. But this route had not yet been discovered, and was only opened in September, 1520, by Ferdinand de Magalhaes. Therefore, Vatable's opinion has little to support it."

Some respectable writers of antiquity appeared to think, he goes on, that Ophir was really the island of Sumatra, which the learned Hebrew, Flavius Josephus, calls the land of gold in the days of the Emperor Nero. But Josephus was the mouthpiece of a much older Jewish tradition, based on the letter of Genesis, where we are told that Heber, the Jewish patriarch, had a grandson named Ophir.²⁰⁷¹ He founded a city in the land "from Mesha as thou goest towards Sephar, a mountain of the west." St. Jerome explained that this was somewhere in India between the Ganges and Malacca. Nicholas of Lyra and Rabanus Maurus, both learned commentators, added that the island of Sumatra off the coast of Malacca might well fill the bill.

Having threaded this string of slender possibilities, Father dos Santos leaves it at that. Perhaps his arch verdict is to be

found in the casual statement that Heber's son Ophir was born just when the tower of Babel had wrought confusion in the valley of Shinar. No writer of the Bible connects this Ophir with the Ophir of King Solomon's mines. The Malays themselves have no traditions old enough, not even legends, to throw any light on the subject.

But other learned writers of the sixteenth century did not regard the Sumatra hypothesis as incompatible with that of Zimbabwe. Their argument was subtle. The Greek version of the Old Testament, called the Septuagint, had Sophir or Sofira instead of Ophir. "Some think therefore that Sofala was thus indicated a region of Africa through which ships coming from the Red Sea pass on to Sumatra, and the rest of the East Indies."¹⁰⁷² That conclusion is reasonable enough when you remember that King Solomon was not so absorbed in procuring gold for the Temple as to neglect the trade in spices, precious stones and perfumes. And when, in the closing years of the reign of John III, Englishmen woke up to the great exploits of the Portuguese, they too began to search the Scriptures for indications of trade; and Sir Humphrey Gilbert (1539-1583 A.D.) was one of those who realised that "a character so great as Solomon for virtue and knowledge"¹⁰⁷³ could not have wasted these golden opportunities.

From this sketch by Santos of the opinions of the sixteenth century, we see that then no Portuguese writer or traveller with experience in the East ever thought seriously of placing Ophir anywhere but in the Mashonaland area, or possibly in Abyssinia. In a former chapter I have given the view of the viceroy and scientist, John de Castro, which coincides with that of Santos, though the latter makes no mention of it. He contents himself with quoting in his support two weighty Italian writers of the day who held "that Ophir was a region of Ethiopia bordering on the sea of Sofala". These writers were Raphael Volaterrano and Ludovico Veneto.

In interpreting the Bible, the great Scholastic theologians of that century accepted the geographical data of the majority of the travellers and scientific writers, or else they just gave the conflicting views, leaving the student his choice of interpretations. What they were unanimous in inculcating was the eternal object-lesson of the spiritual dangers of the worship of the golden calf, and how Solomon fell a victim to its worship, splitting his ancient kingdom when he fell. Some of the theologians of the sixteenth century even discerned in the Bantu legends, retailed by returned travellers, the religious echoes of a higher culture

which had vanished. This groping towards higher things on the part of men immersed in barbarian crudities, they attributed partly to the light of natural reason, which root of freedom from the grossness of matter God has planted in every human mind; and partly to the diffusion of the Old Testament lore through contacts such as those of Ophir. They would have endorsed in a nobler and more definite sense the dictum of Dr. Frobenius, the latest worker in this field of research. "The higher culture leaves behind not only such ruins as buildings and trenches, but also (relics) of men's ways of thinking."

Towards the end of the sixteenth century, when the promise of the Rhodesian goldfields seemed less rosy than the Portuguese had first imagined, Jan Huyghen Linschoten revived the idea of an Ophir in Sumatra (*Itinerario*, ch. 19); but the only reference he gives is a vague authority of "some historians". The contemporary Camoens had already dismissed this as one of many fancies of a period when people imagined that Sumatra and Malacca were one island. Then "alguns que fosse Ophir imaginaram" (*Lusiadas*, X, 124).

But the historian and soldier, Diogo de Couto, may be taken to represent the most mature wisdom of the sixteenth century. He knew the Zambesi coast well, spent about thirty years on the shores of the Indian Ocean, and died in the same year as Cervantes and Shakespeare. From personal observation, Couto notes that the Kafirs had no reliable information about the origin of their race, and only the vaguest traditions regarding the succession of their kings.

"But by inferences from what they say we can gather that when the Queen of Saba resolved to pay a visit to Solomon, she went to these mines to get gold. There were kings here already, presumably vassals of hers. Even to-day in the regions of the Masapa (Maçapar) fair and in Nabertura there are large buildings of stone that she ordered to be erected, and which the Kafirs call Zimbaoe. They are strong bulwarks. Hence the Kafirs are accustomed to relate how the Monomotapa dominated the whole of Kaffraria from Cape Corrientes, up to the great river that divides the land of Makalanga (Mocanga), as they call the whole of Monomotapa, from Mosimba." (*Da Asia*, dec. 9, ch. 25.)

A negative conclusion of some importance was clear to the Portuguese at the end of the sixteenth century: these ruins were not the work of Kafirs. Santos sums up the result of the experience of his nation after a whole century of intimate contact with all the tribes. These stone buildings show "houses and strong rooms, things not to be found in all Kafirland; because even the

houses of their kings are of wood covered with clay and thatched with straw." They saw no tribe that made any attempt to build with anything but the flimsiest material. The life of the Kafir was lived in the open; and if he had a hut, it was hardly a dwelling-house or even a shop, but rather a refuge at night or in cold weather. People who stored nothing needed no store-houses. Warfare was the only business they understood, and no one knew when the chief might order a general migration. Their huts were built with poles, grasses, rushes and palm leaves. Even a sun-dried brick was beyond the reach of their architectural plans. The complicated corridors and thick walls of some of the buildings postulate other minds and usages. The builders may have employed the Bantu as slaves. But if they did, these tribes were as impervious to such lessons as they were for centuries to the models of similar work which they saw done by the Portuguese.

A German of Dantzig named Gothard Arthus, who published a *History of India* in Latin after the end of this century, shows that practically all learned Europe endorsed the verdict of the Portuguese. "No other buildings of this type," he writes, "are to be found among the peoples inhabiting the surrounding territories" of Africa.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE METHODS OF KING JOHN'S GOVERNMENT.

THE FRIAR AND SCHOLAR who has written the most authoritative, if fragmentary, *Life* of John III warns us against the sophistry of identifying any worldly cause with the cause of God,¹⁰⁷⁴ because "only blind ignorance will attempt to sound the depths of God's judgments with merely human standards of measurement." Righteousness undoubtedly exalts a nation in any judgment worth having, but it does not necessarily assure its prosperity or its temporal power. What does? There is a babel of answers to that question, and the consequent confusion that prevents us from hearing any convincing reply. Sometimes wise governments can create the conditions of success, but there are times when no wisdom in the rulers can save the State from disaster. The duty of the historian is to find out what actually happened, and how far governments are responsible for success or disaster.

John III, however, has always been the butt of those political philosophers who believe that, where the material welfare of nations is concerned, religion and morals are intrusions. He believed that the teaching of Christ was the most wholesome leaven of life for individuals and nations. A king might dazzle the world with the pageantry of wealth, or a nation with the pomp of power, mechanical industry and wide possessions; but without the inner source of spiritual strength each rich nation or empire was like "a goodly apple rotten at the core".

John acted in public and private life as if he really believed these things, but his belief did not entail casting these pearls of the Gospel before those whom they would infuriate. Hindus, Kafirs, Redskins and Muslim ought to have the chance of hearing the Gospel, but that leaven could only sweeten the mass if it were voluntarily accepted. Nature had bestowed upon him a temperament which easily made these principles a second nature. A contemporary Englishman wrote of him, not for publication, this unusual tribute: "This King John of Portugal was of nature very gentle and courteous, clement and winning, and won all men's minds to him through his integrity and godliness."¹⁰⁷⁵

A stern and impartial sense of justice, however, was an outstanding feature of John's policy, and of the Portuguese

literature of the day. As a nation, they were conscious of the fact that God was no respecter of nations, but that they would reap as they sowed. Thus, recounting a military disaster at Goa in 1535, Luiz de Sousa ascribes it¹⁰⁷⁶ to an injustice that the Portuguese had perpetrated against an Indian boy-king, who was innocent of the accusations made against him. He does not mince matters to suit the ears of the patriots. "It is God's commandment that we should be just to great and small, to the Muslim and the Jew. And as He is most just, He ordains that when we fail in justice, we are either not allowed to enjoy our loot, or we lose much more in unexpected ways."

Even in waging just wars, it remained a duty to wage them justly. Any captain who was convicted of violating these principles could not expect to enjoy the favour of the King, because he honestly regarded acts of oppression as a curse to him who wrought them, and to him who benefited momentarily by them. Unjust conquest would lead to defeat sooner or later.

Though a considerable portion of Germany was seething with revolution against the Church during the second half of the reign of John III, only distant echoes of the resulting convulsions were heard in India, South Africa, Brazil and the Far East. Portugal was outside the European area of the revolt. The name Protestant had not yet been popularised as a common designation of all the new and discordant interpreters of the Bible. It was coined in Germany to designate originally a political party, which protested in 1529 against a resolution of the imperial parliament of Spires.¹⁰⁷⁷ In Portuguese literature those who abandoned the old Church at this time are spoken of as Lutherans, even when they belonged to some other sect.

King John himself was one of the Catholic Reformers. Intellectually his attitude was that of Erasmus in his letter to Bucer of the year 1532.¹⁰⁷⁸ Erasmus complains that the sects are as many as the towns, irreconcilable with one another and trying to destroy not only superstition, but many things that are right. "I cannot therefore trust my poor soul in your hands," Erasmus ends, "because I see that you yourselves are in need of wise and sound advice." The Portuguese King, having the responsibility of governing a Christian people, would not endorse all the criticisms of the Church made by a somewhat reckless freelance like Erasmus.

But he did approve the words of the eloquent Spanish preacher, Father Dominic Soto,¹⁰⁷⁹ who in 1545 at one of the first meetings of the Council of Trent addressed the Pope in the words of Christ: "Simon, dost thou sleep?" Pope Paul III, who

then governed the Church, was a vigilant pastor; but the King blamed some of his predecessors for a lack of discipline in shepherding Christ's flock. As a Catholic king, he sent his bishops willingly to aid in the Catholic Reformation being carried out at Trent.¹⁰⁸⁰

When John died, the sittings of the Council which had begun in 1536 were suspended, and were to remain so for eight years. Some of the bishops still hoped that the various schools of Lutherans would send a delegation to the Council, and in this hope the Council issued an invitation to them, and a safe conduct. This hope failed. But the fact that it was still nourished by responsible authorities in the Church, when the reign of John III closed, helps us to understand the religious atmosphere of Europe at this time. These were questions that the King was glad to leave to the Pope, the bishops and the theologians. He had no inclination to dictate policy to the Council, as the Emperor and the French King were prone to do, because in their dominions religious issues had become the tools of politicians. The Council addressed to King John a warm letter of thanks for his zeal in helping to propagate the Gospel of Christ in the overseas lands.¹⁰⁸¹

The Protestant Reformation only became practical politics for King John, in so far as he was faced with what the Portuguese and Spanish sailors called the Lutheran pirates. This was the name they gave the French pirates of La Rochelle. These sea-robbers were nibbling at Lutheranism more as a means of annoying their own king than out of any conviction, as religion was not one of their serious pursuits. Later this seaport was to become a stronghold of Calvinism. But the real interest of men like Jean Ango and Jacques Sores was the plunder of the new trade that had been opened up by the Portuguese and Spaniards.¹⁰⁸²

They dared not as a rule attack the strong convoys of the Portuguese, who were masters of the sea; but, like jackals around a prosperous farm, they cut off the stragglers, and plundered the disabled ships. In Dieppe the seasoned old robber, now Viscount Ango and seventy years of age, was still casting longing eyes at the spices of India. He invited to Dieppe John Fernandes Lagarto, a Portuguese of Seville, which was the Spanish metropolis of American trade, in order to interview him about the prospects of new adventures.¹⁰⁸³ Lagarto found him to be "proud, avaricious and an enemy of the Portuguese". But this time the French King seemed inclined to favour his projects, and to build a fortress in Madagascar.

Lagarto claims to have dissuaded Francis I from confederating with the Turks in this matter, by telling him that it was a waste of money; as the Turks had no spices from Madagascar to give. But the chief pilot of France did not give up hopes of an establishment for trade in Madagascar, as we find him paying special attention to it in the letterpress of his *Cosmographie Universelle*, published in 1545.¹⁰⁸⁴ The King of France was by profession a Catholic, in foreign policy a confederate of Islam, and in trade a half-secret abetter of the Lutheran pirates. He constituted a thorny problem for John III during most of his reign.

It has been made a charge against King John III, that "he laid the foundation of that ecclesiastical supremacy in Portuguese India which sapped the financial resources and undermined the civil administration of India".¹⁰⁸⁵ The indictment covers South Africa as part of the State of India. Some colour is lent to this charge by the letter of an incorruptible contemporary witness, which has been much misinterpreted. That witness was Simon Botelho, Treasurer-General of India at the end of this reign, and one of the most efficient officials imaginable.

In 1552 he strongly opposed giving any more powers to the captains of Mozambique and Sofala, because he believed that they were not contributing a fair share of their revenue out of ivory.¹⁰⁸⁶ In the same year he complained in a letter to the King that the clergy of India were too generous in spending and asking for royal grants of almsgiving: "I believe they act from the best of motives, and that Our Lord and Your Highness are faithfully served; but there would seem to be a middle course which might be best, as there are some who want to force the people to be Christians, and who worry the Hindus, so that people flee from the land."

To understand these recommendations, it is needful to remember that this critic, Simon Botelho, ended his life by becoming a Dominican friar, and even then was constantly consulted by the government. He evidently considered the clergy the salt of India; otherwise he would not have renounced his high office in the State, in order to join the ranks of the clergy. In 1552 he was retrenching all round, because he saw that the scale of expenditure was too high. Every class was spending more of the State revenue than it could bear. The clergy, too, had its prodigal and ill-advised offenders, though he bears witness that they spent the money honestly.

To look down the following centuries and ascribe the decay of Portugal to the prodigality of some of the clergy of this

reign is an anachronism, which can only be fully exposed in the course of the history of those centuries. Here it will suffice to note that the clergy were asking only a small return of the immense contributions in money, in work and in the sacrifice of their own lives, which they made to promote the discoveries and to finance the King's service. In virtue of the *Padroado*, the kings collected very large sums from the clergy, both out of ecclesiastical benefices and taxation, with the express proviso that they were to be used in spreading the Gospel and in works of mercy.

Moreover, the personal service of the Portuguese clergy was one of the strongest pillars of the State in the later days of falling revenue and political disaster. John's practical interest in religion awakened in the clergy a loyalty to him and his successors which was invaluable. At times when the authority of the State was tottering because there was no layman to exercise it competently, some lonely priest or friar would take things in hand and carry on. In so doing, the clergy held that they were doing a service to God.

In later days quite other causes were at the root of the temporary collapse of Portuguese power overseas, not its final collapse as so many foreign writers of Portuguese history choose to call it. The world is far too young yet to talk of any final collapse of Portuguese power, which is rising again. Financial abuses are more often the effect of weak administration than its cause. When State control slackens, as a wise Spanish king once said, "few officials act honestly with cash in their hands." The history of the Dutch and English East India Companies is enough to show how officials and shareholders grow rich whilst the people suffer, when the central government is weak or indifferent. During the centuries when these companies exploited the peoples of the East, they were certainly not guilty of any extravagance in almsgiving, or in the support of the Christianity which they professed.

If in these matters King John was prodigal with money, it was a fault consistent with the noble traditions of Portuguese culture. In the long run it has given Portugal a place in the affections of the people of her colonies, and of the races once under her sway, which might well awaken her legitimate pride. Neither King John nor Simon Botelho would have consented to be entirely dominated by those alleged laws of economics which have failed the world in every great crisis of modern times. Portuguese culture is still too young to talk of its failure. When Brazil, Angola, Mozambique and the smaller Portuguese

colonies have had their full development, it will be seen more clearly how King John's ecclesiastical policy was one of the most enduring pillars of its first foundation.

Alexander Herculano, burning with the proselytising zeal of nineteenth-century Liberalism, has labelled John III as an intolerant fanatic.¹⁰⁸⁸ An early incident of John's career will throw some light on this subject, to cap the evidence of his many liberal policies. This incident was narrated after the King's death by the man who knew him most intimately, Anthony D'Ataide.

When King John had married the Emperor's sister, and the Emperor had married John's sister, these ties prompted Charles V to make a request, compliance with which seemed a matter of course to him. He asked that the Portuguese King should extradite certain leading rebels of the Communeros rising, who had taken refuge in Portugal. As was his wont, John III called together his privy council for consultation. A majority of these professional diplomats advised that it would be good policy to consent. At this time the King was only twenty-six years old; but he declared that he could never consent to such a course. The reason he gave was a revelation of character. "What would happen to any of my own subjects, if in a moment of human weakness they rebelled against me, and had no place where they could take refuge?"¹⁰⁸⁹ That reply is enough to put to shame our era of internment camps in the Liberal democracies of North America, France and Great Britain. King John is not in the dock to-day, but the cherished Liberalism of Herculano certainly is. Like many other harassed rulers, King John did not always live up to his ideals; but no Liberal has the right to call him a fanatic.

In the frequent battles between Portuguese and infidels, the lack of personal bitterness and of any desire to humiliate the enemy are striking characteristics of the records of this reign. Take the singular fight near Dabul, in India, in 1525 of which the hero was Christopher de Brito, the captain who erected the cross and cairn over Almeida's remains in Table Bay.¹⁰⁹⁰

With one hundred men in seven boats, Brito was attacked by a Turkish captain with three hundred men in nine boats. "It was many a day since such an obstinate naval battle was fought out," writes the chronicler; "we lost seventeen men, but all the survivors were wounded. It was a novel kind of triumph. The victorious Portuguese captain was killed and carried ashore on the shoulders of his own men; before them marched the prisoners all bleeding, and amongst them the Turkish captain bathed in

his own blood. When ashore, this Turk asked to be baptised, as he felt he was dying; and so he gained heaven. Great indeed is the force of predestination! The two captains, the conqueror and the stricken foe, were buried side by side in the Church of St. Francis." This dramatic and contemporary account gives us the genuine spirit of the day. These men gave their lives willingly for a great cause, but there was no implacable hatred between them and their national enemies, such as modern propaganda has made typical of modern warfare.

Among the valuable factors in the cohesion of the Portuguese empire at this time must be placed the character of John III, which evoked a loyalty rare in the history of nations. He never needed the axe or the stake to bend the people to his will, as the contemporary Tudor kings of England did.¹⁰⁹¹ No subjects ever had a more loyal king, as he never attempted to force his personal whims upon them. John de Barros notes that otherwise the empire might have been disrupted by the bitter factions of India during the governorship of Lopo Vaz de Sampaio. "If Portuguese hearts had been less loyal, it would have developed into a civil war, and that empire would have been lost."¹⁰⁹² But as long as John lived, it was enough to mention the service of our lord the King to close the ranks of the factions. It was a service willingly given, because they carried this king in their hearts.

The attitude of King John towards England helps us to realise how the discovery of South Africa was changing the political atmosphere of Europe. It must be remembered that the first voyage of Vasco da Gama placed England in a central position in regard to trade, such as she had never enjoyed. She was no longer on the outskirts of Europe, as in the days when Venice ruled the markets of Europe.

Even at the beginning of the sixteenth century the English were a poor people, dependent upon what they themselves could produce; whilst the Portuguese had become the centre of a wealthy empire which held the rich markets of the East in fee, having in their pockets the golden key of the Cape of Good Hope. Their absolute naval superiority made it impossible for any rival nation to wrest that key from them. England recognised this frankly in 1503; so that in the charter of the Merchant Adventurers of London a clause was inserted, forbidding them to sail for "heathen and infidel countries under the obedience of our friend and confederate, the King of Portugal".¹⁰⁹³

Towards the middle of the reign of John III there were distinct signs of a change of feeling between the two nations,

which had lived in amity since the treaty of Windsor in 1386. The intermarriages of Portuguese and Spanish kings and princes was the beginning of a closer alliance, which Henry VIII strengthened by marrying Katharine of Aragon. But his divorce, and still more his reason for desiring it, had been regarded as a personal insult by John III, and as a national insult by the Portuguese people. Henry appealed to the Jewish Scriptures¹⁰⁹⁵ to prove that his marriage with Katherine was against God's law. Such an argument would have made a strumpet of the Queen of Portugal, because John III had married sisters successively as Katherine had married brothers. The Portuguese appealed to the law of Christ, which had swept away the Levitical code, whatever its debatable laws may have meant; and had given the power of legislation in such matters to the Church. This irritation of the Portuguese was increased when mysterious Lutheran posters were affixed to walls in Lisbon, and were popularly ascribed to the English fifth column. Rumour added that the New Christians, expelled by the law courts, were being harboured in England as a means of damaging Portugal.

This feeling disappeared with the accession of Mary Tudor. But even then a permanent possibility of friction remained in the flourishing settlements of trade in North Africa which centred in Oran, those in West Africa which centred in Elmina, and those in South-East Africa which centred in Mozambique. Henry VIII made a feeble bid to enter these markets in 1541, when John III proposed to buy corn in England during a season of spoiled harvest. Henry suggested that some of his subjects should get licences to import spices from the Malabar coast; but as little came of this suggestion, he tried to open the Russian market. For this, however, the time was not ripe. No serious inroad was made on the Portuguese system of imperial preference, but these straws showed at least that a new wind was blowing from across the Channel.

King John's attitude towards his dependent rulers overseas may be illustrated from his treatment of the Persian governor of Ormuz, Reis Sharaf, who had instigated a massacre of the Portuguese despite solemn treaties of friendship in 1526.¹⁰⁹⁶ When the rebellion was quelled, Sharaf was interned in the Castle of Lisbon. After a few years he appealed to the Supreme Court for mitigation of sentence. The King himself usually presided in the sessions of this court. He was so impressed with the bearing and speech of Sharaf, that he released him on parole, sending him to live with his Master of the Horse at New

Montemor, "where he could be free to hunt and to go for trips into the country."

Though the Portuguese King often offered Sharaf money, he refused to accept it, nor would he ever speak Portuguese, though he knew it well,¹⁰⁸⁶ because he used to say that "no honest man should change his religion or his language." That principle of unreason found no echo of approval in Portugal; where they believed that an honest man should respond to the vision of truth in religion, even if he had inherited error. Moreover, they were accustomed to study the languages of the peoples of their colonies, and to speak them. But the rugged and rigid honesty of this man, despite its lack of reason, earned the respect of those who knew him in Lisbon.

This respect was evidently reciprocal. For when Reis Sharaf received a free pardon and returned home in 1545, being reappointed governor of Ormuz, he had completely changed his views of the Portuguese. He insisted that his son, Reis Nordin, should at once accept the invitation of King John to visit Lisbon. The youth sailed with Lawrence Pires de Távora in 1546, and set up a rich establishment of Persian taste in Lisbon. Acts like this explain how Portugal retained Muslim Ormuz for a hundred years with a small garrison, and was only ousted when her British rivals in trade instigated revolt, and aided it.

Though King John detested war, he was realist enough to know that the vital welfare of the State sometimes demands the use of this last argument of kings. His views are on record in the words of one of his viceroys, Nuno da Cunha.¹⁰⁸⁷ When Cunha defeated Sultan Bahadur of Cambaia after a long series of treacherous acts against the Portuguese, he called together the leading Hindus and Muslim of the country and addressed them thus:

"I represent in India the most Christian and virtuous king in Christendom. In his instructions to me there is nothing that he has stressed more than sincerity, fidelity to the plighted word, and loyalty in my dealings with all classes of men from the smallest trader in India to the highest prince. I desire to be justified by my deeds in conformity with these principles. We Portuguese make war on our declared enemies, but our actions show that we are not double dealers. I came to India in 1529, and I have always dealt with Sultan Bahadur in the spirit of my King. But Bahadur has been a traitor all along."

Then he produced the proofs of Bahadur's treachery in the original Persian and Arabic letters which he wrote to the Turks, inviting them to invade India whilst he was posing as a friend

of the Portuguese. The Viceroy assured the Muslim leaders in Diu that no genuine trader would find his trade hampered under Portuguese rule. In order to revive trade at once, he permitted even those who had no *cartaz* to resume business. But in future all must apply for the usual permit, as a guarantee that they were genuine traders and not mere spies of the Turks.

Bahadur was one of those self-made men whom good fortune intoxicates. Beginning life as poor as a church mouse, morose and with the physical agility of an ape, success had made him so conceited about his power and his muscles, that he would fall into a rage if anyone praised Alexander the Great in his presence. Such a character, unless he succeeded in dominating India, was destined to perish by the sword. Nuno da Cunha had the unpleasant, but imperative, task of dealing him the final blow. But knowing his sovereign's views, Cunha made it clear to the leaders and people of India that neither he nor his King enjoyed the task.

Incomparable soldiers and sailors as the *fidalgos* and captains were, they agreed with their King that fighting alone could not establish the security of Portugal in India and South Africa.¹⁰⁹⁸ This could only rest upon the confidence of the African and Indian races. But the veteran captain, Leonard Nunes, who spent many years in India at this period, makes the shrewd remark that the long peace and prosperity of the Malabar coast had sown the seeds of war in the minds of some Indian rajahs. Safe under the protection of the Portuguese lion, some of them began to imagine that he was asleep. "The wonderful development of trade began to seem commonplace, and familiarity bred scheming, of which avarice was the penetrating root."¹⁰⁹⁹

Nothing but a series of miracles could prevent misunderstanding among races so different in tradition and education. A rich youth named Bernardin de Sousa, who went to India only to serve the King, once indicated the nature of these difficulties quite artlessly. He went out riding on a beautiful horse of his own in company with a wealthy Indian. This man asked him in the course of his ride what he would take for his horse. "Queer country this India!" Sousa remarked afterwards. "Do you think that anyone riding with me in Portugal would ask such a question?" It was a midget specimen of the multiple differences that arose without anybody being to blame. Those who had been trained in the King's court in Portugal knew that he expected them to extend the broadest toleration to the strange customs of other lands, just as the King himself did when Africans, Indians, Americans and Malays visited him at home.

An interesting contribution to political thought is offered by the form of imperial government that evolved in Portugal during the reign of King John III. Systems of government, stripped of their often delusive trimmings, must always be reduced to the three fundamental forms detailed in Cicero's *De Republica*. All have their dangers to freedom, that old Roman notes; and he was a working politician. The public welfare may suffer from the infirmities of a single ruler, from the class selfishness of an aristocracy, and from the incalculable rashness of a mob. Some modern governments suffer from all three. But Cicero advocated a mixed form of government, in the hope of combining the virtues by excluding the vices of dictatorship, oligarchy and democracy.

We have no record in history of a pure democracy in any great nation, and consequently no specimen of the kind that we can examine. Of Great Britain, a much advertised Englishman wrote: "We are not a democracy, but a plutocracy roughly disguised as an aristocracy."¹¹⁰⁰ In the North American Republic the voice of the people was only heard in a supreme crisis of peace-making, when it was too late to undo the effects of the slyly acquired dictatorship of Woodrow Wilson. Whatever the form of a nation's government, the supreme problem for the people is to secure freedom and prosperity, in so far as they can be fashioned out of the circumstances of the day. Here the government of John III has no need to shirk comparison with the most successful experiments that other nations and other centuries have made.

The personal powers of the King were exerted with moderation and a patent desire to promote the common welfare; the *fidalgos* had a high sense of personal honour and public duty; the people were frank in criticism, and loyal because conscious that the laws were equal and just. As in our own day, human ignorance and human passions remained. But all classes recognised this basic factor, and there was no deification of their own system or their temporary masters, such as the Press of many modern nations indulges in so shamelessly. What justifies the limited monarchy of John III is the welfare attained.¹¹⁰¹ Part of it is recorded in this book, sufficient for us to say that his government has deserved well of Portugal and South Africa. Even George Buchanan, the first Protestant historian of Scotland, who knew this generation of Portugal well, described John's reign as a triumphal march of prosperity.¹¹⁰²

Its financial policy is the most difficult to examine in detail regarding South Africa and India, because so few details have

survived the vicissitudes of the wars and weather during four centuries. The general results, however, are clear enough. John III discerned the fact that monetary policy is one of the most powerful means that the State possesses to promote the welfare of its citizens, "my subjects", as King John preferred to phrase it. Hence he determined to control Portugal's fiscal policy. He sensed the atmosphere of the new era, in which Antwerp and Amsterdam were beginning to assert the absolute right of money to the most profitable market. He felt that this unlimited right was not compatible with the right of his Portuguese workers to a living wage. Though he could not see how the merchant class was waxing so strong, that in the greater part of Europe it would soon control all other powers, temporal and ecclesiastical; he realised keenly that Portugal, for whose welfare he was responsible, must be on the defensive.

He was therefore as watchful over the fluctuations of the *cruzado* in terms of foreign currencies as the rival empires of North America, Great Britain and France were over the changing fate of the dollar, the pound and the franc in 1933.

This is what the King wrote to his Chancellor, Castanheira,¹¹⁰³ in 1535: "You will remember that some days ago I ordered you to test the value of the foreign ducats which find their way into our kingdom, so that we may know how much more our *cruzado* is worth, and amend it accordingly. Otherwise, our *cruzados* will leave the country, as you know has happened before. Since I wish to act as soon as possible, I beg you to see the Treasurer immediately, as well as the officials of the Mint, so that we may fix the value of our coinage in terms of the ducats of Castille, Aragon and the Italian cities, as well as of the crowns of France. Prepare a full statement of these relative values, send it to me at once, and give me your opinion about the appropriate measures that I should take." More stringent penalties were enacted for the punishment of those who exported coin of the realm to Flanders.

A year later he urges Castanheira to mediate in the quarrel between the governing body of the Mint, called the *Casa do Sobreiro*, and the coinage expert, so that there may be no delay in the issue of new coinage. Again, in 1537, he submits to Castanheira fresh information, which he had received from members of parliament (the *Cortes*) at the session in Torres Vedras. He asks for the most detailed information about minting, weighing and former standards, so that he may form his own conclusions.

He ends with a significant question: Do the people suffer by all this? And four years later, in forbidding the circulation of doubloons¹¹⁰⁴ from Morocco, he justifies this measure because it is "for my service and for the good of my people". Two considerations, therefore, guided him and his advisers in their legislation on this subject: the necessary expenses of administration and the welfare of the people. He left Antwerp because he refused to allow his people's interests to be controlled by the moneylenders there, or by the New Christians with their real masters in the East.

Every year King John prepared the budget of the Indian empire in council with his Ministers. The preparation of the annual fleet and the appointment of officers were the main heads of administration. The equipment was always on a grandiose scale, in order to impress the East; but many of the rich officials provided their own outfits "for the service of the King". Barros, writing in 1552 (II, 194), and comparing the salaries and naval expenditure with those of the year 1505, hints that expenditure had not greatly increased. Time had wrought many changes, he says, but increased costs in some lines were compensated by reductions in other ways. Ludovico Guicciardini¹¹⁰⁵ was telling the world how the home and overseas produce of Portugal had made the fortune of Antwerp; and John III did all that any man could do to prevent the money of Antwerp from ruining Portugal.

Economic wisdom consists in adapting the State policy to conditions that men cannot change, just as the experienced pilot trims his sails to catch or circumvent the winds. John III accomplished what all the financial experts of North America, Great Britain and France were unable to accomplish in 1933.¹¹⁰⁶ He made a peaceful settlement by taking account of the money problems and difficulties of other nations, he balanced his own budget, he made his people prosperous above all the nations of Europe, he spent large sums in education and social welfare, including religion; and his credit even in Antwerp was greater than that of any other king.

Of course, there were critics of the King in those days of free speech in Portugal, and no doubt he deserved to be blamed for stinginess in some ways and extravagance in others. But on the whole he bore in mind the advice once tendered him by his testy friend, the old Duke of Braganza: "Any man who tries to do more than he is able to do must end by lying or committing suicide."¹¹⁰⁷ He could not give every claimant the reward he desired, but he never failed to meet his personal obligations, and

he left the country solvent. To evade his debts, he never went bankrupt by the pleasant device of going off the gold standard, and thus ruining the plain citizen. Whatever debts he pledged himself to pay in gold were duly discharged in golden *cruzados*.

In the sixteenth century men were too busy using their muscles in the work of life to indulge in the style of sport characteristic of our sedentary era. But King John encouraged those forms of physical exercise that were adjuncts to military and colonial service: hunting, rowing, sailing, riding and the game of *cannas*.

After the great victory of Mombasa the captains and noblemen played a match of *cannas* in the large open space near the sea. Towards the end of John's reign the game became fashionable in England, having been introduced by Philip II when he married Mary Tudor. A citizen of London who kept a diary describes these gorgeous tournaments of *cannas*, which took place there in 1554. "It is a good game," he writes, "to teach men to sprint",¹¹⁰⁸ and the pageantry of it appealed to the mob. A game which flourished in Lisbon, Madrid, America, London, Goa and Mombasa had some claim to be called world-wide.

John had what is sometimes described as the Greek ideal of life, the cultivation of all sides of our human nature, both mind and muscles. But he felt that the old Greeks had only a child's view of what man's nature demands, whereas the Christian faith taught the adult view. Man was more than a political and social animal, which was all that the Greek philosophers could make of him. They believed in giving every god his due. What they worshipped confusedly in many gods, this practical Christian saw incarnated in the only co-equal Son of God, Christ. John's voluminous correspondence cannot be understood unless we realise that this is what he means in his frequent use of the phrase, "for God's service".

The career of this Portuguese King is sufficient reply to a singular theory, which became almost an accepted truth in certain schools of history in our twentieth century. "We have ceased to look on history as a storehouse of examples and warnings for the politician," wrote Professor J. B. Bury¹¹⁰⁹ from his cloistered nook at Cambridge in England. At that very moment, indeed, Adolf Hitler in his school in Austria was finding "world history an inexhaustible source for the understanding of contemporary events". If he failed, it was because he misread some of these lessons. But even in this reign of John III, a writer whose manuscript has never been published advised the King's brother, Prince Luis, to ponder upon the lessons of past days.

"I shall take for guides," wrote this mentor of the Prince, "the best of the old writers, merely furbishing up their gold." Bold leaders, he added, who had reasoned convictions and who were ready to sacrifice all personal interest to their convictions, were the kind of men that the world needed at all times, but especially in times of crisis: men whose minds were nourished on the medieval world-view and the Scholastics idea of human freedom and the law of nature. He boasts that there was abundant light in the sixteenth century for men to see their way through the most intricate problems of national and international life; but the most difficult thing always is to find the men of disciplined will, prepared to act upon the known principles of justice, the only foundation of stable prosperity.¹¹¹⁰

Such a leader was John III. He had the courage to renounce some of his conquests in the interest of a stable peace, rejecting the Jingo principle that every great empire must "go on or go under". Greatly daring, he also asked his Council to debate the question, how far it was proper or even profitable to prosecute wars in India for trade purposes.¹¹¹¹ The result was to abandon Kilwa and Mombasa as hotbeds of unprofitable quarrels with the Arabs.

As we have seen, South Africa was much more than a corridor of the empire. It was also a corridor, however, one so vital that the empire would have collapsed at that time if the Cape of Good Hope fell into the hands of any aggressive rival nation. The sound policy of John III and the daring of his soldiers and sailors kept the Cape route open for Portugal, and for all those who were prepared to live peacefully in accordance with the existing international law.

On their way to the East the Portuguese scattered precious seeds of culture, much of the fruits of which were destroyed by their later European rivals. If, however, the Portuguese had done nothing else but prevent South Africa from being entirely overgrown by a lower oriental culture, their work has been memorable and permanent. During the last ten years of John's reign were prepared the plans and materials of the grand fortress of Mozambique, which was completed the year after his death. Along with the ruins of the Mombasa fortress, it still stands after centuries of battering, during which it repulsed every attempt to capture it, and remains as the weatherbeaten symbol of the imperishable ideals which King John regarded as the only sound foundations of a great empire.

Even Karl Marx refused to condemn such imperial adventures as conducted to the welfare of the vassal peoples, the imperial

people and the world at large.¹¹¹² The empire of King John III can pass these tests with credit, and without fear of comparison with the achievements of any other known empire.

But the value of this King's work is most clearly featured upon a contemporary foil. Germany at this time displayed the antithesis of the solid unity of the Portuguese nation. The political and economic horizon of the German princes was lamentably low. Their dynastic selfishness did not permit these German "lairdies" to seek anything but the interests of their petty States. A new element of disunion appeared in the Reformation. It enabled these princes to hide their short-sighted ambitions behind a mostly pretended zeal for one or other of the new religious factions. Thus Germany lost more and more the consciousness of any unity in national life. Portuguese patriotism was founded on the solid basis of a real community of ideas and policy, wisely fostered by this prudent ruler.

If the secret of popular government be the ability to secure a firm seat without a heavy hand, John III had thus evoked the willing loyalty of his people. He was no mere figurehead of a far-flung empire, but a living personality revered in every province of his dominions, and in all the towns, hamlets, fortresses and kraals of South Africa where the Portuguese tongue penetrated.

A little-known instance of this occurred in one of the remotest corners of East Africa, the now forgotten town of Cambo, which in the sixteenth century was a busy trade-centre. It is probably the spot now called Gedi, ten miles from Malindi, where interesting ruins of an important Persian settlement are still to be seen. It was governed by a queen friendly to the Portuguese, though a Muslim in religion.

Some Turkish galleons arrived there unexpectedly one day during King John's reign. Hearing that there were Portuguese about, the Commodore demanded that they should be surrendered as prisoners. Not only did the Queen refuse, but she enabled her friends and allies to escape into the interior. In revenge, the Turks ravaged the whole countryside, and carried the Queen away as a captive. As this Turkish fleet was returning home through the Red Sea, she dived off the poop of a galley and swam ashore. She was again reigning in Cambo when Francis Barreto called there in 1570, just before his daring expedition up the Zambesi. "Because she had endured all this for us, our late King John now with God ordered that the whole realm of India should take care of her and her affairs, and he bestowed many privileges upon her. In the name of His Majesty, Barreto went

to call upon her and gave her special licences for trade on this coast." So writes Father de Montclaros,¹¹¹³ who was chaplain of Barreto's flagship when this visit was made. It illustrates the responsive loyalty that the acts of King John often evoked, when his policy was carried out and the native rulers were willing to establish relations on a human footing.

Even with the Turks he opened negotiations in 1541, in the hope of making a mutually beneficial treaty of peaceful trade, to last ten years at least, and preferably twenty years. His intermediary was a Genoese named Edward Cattaneo. This man had gone to India when Nuno da Cunha was Govenor-General (1529-1538) with the news that a large Turkish fleet was coming to attack them. Fearing that he might be a foreign spy, Nuno da Cunha had him arrested. When the Turks really did come, and had been defeated at Diu in 1539, the new Viceroy, Garcia de Noronha, recognised Cattaneo for the friend that he was. Then they believed his tale: that he was a Christian merchant of Chios who had been robbed in a caravan on the way to Damascus, where he learned of the projected attack upon the Portuguese in India. At the risk of his life, he had made for Ormuz to warn the Portuguese governor, who sent him to Goa for what he might be worth.

After the victory, however, King John gave him a hearty welcome in Lisbon, commissioning him to return to Constantinople, Cairo and Suez; so as to report what was left of the Turkish fleet after Diu, and any other useful information. He returned with the grateful news that naval events at Diu had deeply impressed Solyman the Magnificent with the power of the Portuguese, and that he was in the humour for a fair peace. Cattaneo offered to go again to Constantinople in order to negotiate it.¹¹¹⁴

By this time the King discovered that Cattaneo was a member of one of the great families of Genoese bankers. In 1562 one of them, Paul Cattaneo, became Chancellor of the Genoese chartered company that governed Chios, whilst it paid an annual tribute to the Grand Signor at Constantinople to restrain the attacks of his pirates. This rendezvous of Christians and Turks was an ideal spot for such conversations. Moreover, economic conditions in this part of the Mediterranean had never been worse since the South African route to India began to exert its stranglehold upon Christians and Turks in the Levant who sought trade in the Asiatic lands.

"No statesman loses prestige who makes a fair peace with a defeated foe," said King John to Cattaneo. He was also well aware, that peace with the Turk would enable the Portuguese

to manage the Indian, Arab and Bantu kings more easily without the tantalising threat of Turkish interference. Thus the King ordered his treasurer, Castanheira, to grant Cattaneo four thousand *cruzados* for the expenses of his journey to Constantinople and of his stay there.

His instructions were these: A basis of fair trade could be found if the Sultan would agree to deliver annually in each of the Portuguese settlements of India and in Mozambique one thousand measures of corn, in exchange for which King John was prepared to deliver at Basra three thousand quintals of pepper, free of all charges for transport. It was essential that the Sultan should acknowledge the right of Portugal to help all Christian kings and rulers from the Cape of Good Hope to China. As a guarantee of this, the Turkish navy of the Red Sea must not sail beyond Suez for the duration of the treaty. If the Sultan objected that this enforced inactivity of his ships would mean a loss in cash for him, John III was ready to indemnify him; if necessary, even to buy all these ships.

The only recorded answers of Constantinople to these proposals were two objections. In the first place, the Sultan preferred that the spices should be transported to Basra in ships of Calicut, and to this John seems to have been prepared to consent. But the second difficulty was fatal, because the Turks said that both their religion and their traditions forbade them to have such dealings with Christians. The negotiations seem just to have fizzled out. But the fact that they were initiated by King John shows how peace was really the watchword of his reign. Their breakdown was a final proof that these rival empires could not co-exist in the same seas. Peace with the Turks was impossible, because they were not men of goodwill.

John III had anticipated the verdict of history in declaring that the victory of the Crescent in Constantinople and the Balkans was a supreme, though not irreparable, disaster for the Christian culture of the incomparable tradition of Europe. During his reign he had done a royal work in preventing a similar disaster in the East, by holding against the Turks the gates of the Indian Ocean at the Cape of Good Hope and Cape Guardafui.

At midnight on the eleventh of June, 1557, he died suddenly, but not without a warning of some hours, as he had time to receive the Last Sacraments of the Church. His departure at this time was a tragedy for Portugal, because the grandson who succeeded him was a child under four years of age. John was fifty-five years old, and had reigned thirty-six years. His vista of far-reaching plans was abruptly cut by the shears of death. The

conviction of his contemporaries was expressed in the sorrowful words of Andrada: "Our King whom God has seen fit to call away had reached a stage of life when age had not weakened his powers; and his clear and mature judgment, based on a long experience, would have continued to increase his usefulness to our people."

What he achieved has not received due recognition from other nations. If the Islamic code of Solyman the Magnificent did not permit him to co-operate with John III, the Christian principles offered no such obstacle to peaceful intercourse with those Muslim who did not limit their action by what the Sunnah prescribed.

Whilst I am writing these words, the lack of such humane principles is making a tragic comedy of the first meeting of Unesco, an institution representing forty-three nations convened at Paris in 1947 by the three most fiercely armed politicians of the world: ostensibly to educate the world in a peace of which they themselves were unable to show any trace in their mutual dealings. The chairman of Unesco opened the farce by proposing as their foundation principle "the basic criterion of evolutionary development", the mythical jargon of a school of physical scientists.¹¹⁵ At least half the delegates first giggled and then sighed. John III worked on a principle which, though Christian in origin, was welcomed wherever there were men of goodwill.

He set out to collaborate with all nations, both within his empire and without, on a basis of honesty and mutual concessions, excluding all idea of a declaration of war, as neither useful nor necessary. Indians, Malays, Americans, and even many of the Muslim, worked with him and his officials. He did not shrink from appeasing those who were refractory. Generosity, he believed, gave more lasting results than mere justice.

This King showed by his acts, even more than by his words, that he was prepared to make onerous concessions in order to safeguard the human rights, the national independence and the religious freedom of other peoples, both strong and weak. He never claimed that the views of Portugal and her allies constituted the opinion of the world, but he held that the opinion of the world must conform to the laws of natural reason and humanity.

Although his navy was strong enough to control the seas of half the world, he never used it to enforce injustice or humiliation upon weak or disarmed peoples. But he waged a peaceful war of neutrality and defence. He refused even to join in the war of his friend and kinsman, Charles V, against the French King, who was the worst aggressor on Portuguese ships

in the East, and he lived to mediate between them. His diplomacy strove to promote the golden mean in the inevitable differences among rulers. If he earned the abuse of some Portuguese imperialists, who covered their greed with the fine phrases of nineteenth century Liberalism, he has deserved well of his country, and left to posterity a notable example of respect for all men and all nations. By his sane policy, he showed that an imperial nation may refuse to expand indefinitely, and yet prosper.

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TUDOR Docs.: *Tudor Economic Documents*, ed. by R. H. Tawney and Eileen Power, vol. 2, London, 1924.

ZINADIM: *Historia dos Portugueses no Malabar*, by Zinadim, translation from the Arabic into Portuguese by David Lopes, Lisbon, 1898.

NOTES

Preface: *Sir Thomas Browne's Religio Medici and Other Essays*, p. 206, ed. by J. A. Symonds. London, Scott Library.

1

The best account of this event with new documents from the archives of Seville is *El Descubrimiento del Estrecho de Magallanes*, by Pablo Pastells, published in Madrid, 1920.

2

Il Primo Viaggio Intorno al Mondo di Antonio Pigafetta, pp. 269-270, by Camillo Manfroni, 1928.

3

Calendar of State Papers, Venetian III, ed. by Rawdon Brown, No. 556. This dispatch is dated the 24th Sept. Andrada (I, 51-3), who wrote in 1613, has given an excellent account of the first impression made in the two courts of Portugal and Spain.

4

Alguns Doc., pp. 485-492; *Albuquerque, Cartas*, IV, 73-173: for a full account of the famous Junta of Badajoz, when experts and lawyers of both sides discussed the whole problem without solving it.

5

The whole text is in *Alguns Doc.*, pp. 495-512. A Pimenta, *D. João III*, p. 151 (Oporto, 1936), publishes for the first time many new documents about the loans from the Lisbon Archives.

6

Barros III, 321, thought that Albuquerque had reason to complain in Pereira's case "dos artifícios de sua vida e de sua lingua".

7

De Rebus Emmanuelis, III, 364-373 (Lisbon, 1571). He gives a living picture of the court and the domestic troubles that ensued. In a detailed chapter Andrada (I, 15-7) shows how the mutual respect of the King and his son prevented the parties from ever becoming factions.

8

Historia Geral de Portugal (Lisbon, 1820), by D. A. de Lemos e Castro, vol. 12, pp. 3-4; *Camoens, His Life And His Lusiads* (London, 1881), I, 305, by R. F. Burton.

9

Raynaldus, XII, 502, says that the Moluccas question gave occasion for such talk; "de qua (i.e., Tordisilhas) quidem variarum gentium reges gravissimi sunt conquesti".

10

Andrada, I, 40-42; *Barros*, VI, 183; *Corpo Diplomatico*, II, 193.

11

Barros, VI, 270, writes: "as fortalizas que El Rey seu pae novamente mandou fazer naquellas partes que se nõo fizessem, e se alguma era feita, que se sustentasse tẽ lhe mandar recado, e elle prover como lhe parecesse bem."

12

Barros, III, 161.

13

Letter to the King published in 1858 in that year's volume of the *Boletim da Sociedade de Geografia* of Lisbon.

14

Osorio, De Rebus Emmanuelis, bk. 7, section 14.

15

Barros, VI, 269-273; 184-189.

16

In those days Netherlanders who were not nobles had no surnames, but added their fathers' Christian names to their own.

17

Annaes, pp. 32-33. "Elle (i.e., the Pope) a (i.e., the relic) bejou a recebeu com muyta devocão e mostras de muyto contentamento," writes Andrada, I, 45.

18

Cronica do Muito Alto D. João III (Lisbon, 1796), 1, 11. The Queen had been educated in Holland, and followed the Flemish fashions with her ladies; but John always dressed elegantly, though in the old Portuguese fashions.

19

Lord Acton wishes us to believe (*Lectures on the French Revolution*, p. 97, London, 1910) that in England its essence is liberty founded on inequality, in France liberty founded on equality! Even the cocksure philosopher J. M. Joad (*Guide to the Philosophy of Morals and Politics*, London, 1936, p. 770) can find no theory behind it. Plato puts a less rosy view into the mouth of Socrates, addressing his judges: "No man will ever be safe who stands up boldly against you or against any other democracy and forbids the many sins and crimes that are committed in the State." (*Apology of Socrates*.) Even A. D. Lindsay in *The Modern Democratic State* (Oxford University Press, 1943) refrains from defining the word, but gives a fine review of the samples of State covered by his title which merit his approval, though he gives no valid reason why they should be called democratic.

20

Chapters 35-46 of the second book. This is a condensed summary of the speech that the historian puts into the mouth of Pericles.

21

Thucydides, History of the Peloponnesian War, II, 37.

22

Acts of the Apostles, XIX, 32.

	23
<i>Annaes</i> , p. 11.	24
<i>Letters of the Court</i> , p. 83.	25
<i>Annaes</i> , pp. 5-8, 11-15; <i>Andruda</i> , I, 12-17.	26
	27
<i>Letters of the Court</i> , pp. 105-7. This letter is dated 24th April, 1531.	28
<i>Lives of the Lord Chancellors</i> (London, 1856), II, 59.	29
<i>Annaes</i> , p. 26.	30
<i>Letters of the Court</i> , p. 28. "Cada u pede o que deseja e sua alteza dara a cada u o que mais conve, servatis servandis."	31
<i>Colonizacão</i> , vol. 3, Introduction p. 34.	32
<i>The Cambridge History of India</i> , vol. 5 (Cambridge, 1929). pp. 67 and 96.	33
<i>Lendas da India</i> (Lisbon, 1858-66), II, 752.	34
<i>Couto</i> (II, 46-69) has preserved what looks like a verbatim report of the trial of the Governor-General of India, Lopo Vaz de Sampaio, by a court of judges in Lisbon, presided over by the King. What strikes one is the frankness with which Sampaio stands up to the King, and the patience with which the King listens to his replies.	35
<i>Inquisition</i> , III, 354. In spite of Herculano's transparent bias, this work is invaluable for the documents it contains.	36
<i>Camoens, His Life and His Lusiads</i> , I, p. 337; Burton thinks that the year 1548 was the zenith, but he gives no good reasons for such a belief.	37
<i>Letters of the Court</i> , pp. 31-2.	38
<i>Royal Letters</i> , p. 322. Letter dated Evora the 6th March, 1537.	39
<i>De Regimine Principum</i> , a treatise published among the <i>Opera Phtiosophica S. Thomae Aquinatis</i> (Citta di Castello, 1886) II, 39-40,	

161; *Mediaeval Socialism* (London, 1912), by B. Jarrett, pp. 68-90; *History of the Economic Institutions of Modern Europe* (New York, 1933), by F. L. Nussbaum, pp. 61-70. *Andrade*, I, 28.

40

De Legibus, III, p. 11.

41

J. A. Spender, *The Government of Mankind*, London, 1938.

42

Poetry of the Celtic Races and Other Studies (London, 1896), pp. 102-3.

43

The popular stories told about kings are often a good indication of what was generally thought of them. It is told of John that once when being interviewed by a poor woman with a grievance, she used abusive words. The Queen, who was present, asked John why he put up with such language. "If I don't put up with her," answered the King, "who will?" (A. Pimenta, *D. João III*, p. 326, Oporto 1936).

44

Vida de Frei Bartholomeu dos Martyres (Braga, 1890), by Fr. Luiz de Cacegas, I, pp. 346-7.

45

Of course, St. Peter formed a Christian church in Rome before St. Paul established the first community of Christians in the Iberian Peninsula (*Europe's Discovery of South Africa*, by S. R. Welch, pp. 46 and 278, note 94, Cape Town, 1935). But the people and government of Rome remained pagan. The Pope no doubt refers to the statement of Tertullian (c. 160-220 A.D.) that in his day the whole of Spain and Portugal was Christian (*Adversos Judaeos*, ch. 7).

46

Cambridge History of India, V, 27 (Cambridge, 1929).

47

Calendar of State Papers, Venetian, vol. 3, No. 607 (London, 1869, ed. by R. Brown). Three years later Andrea Navigero reports to the Signoria that S. Cabot is about to start from Seville to the Indies in the hope of reaching the land of the spices by a shorter route than the *Victory* had done (No. 1115).

48

Letters Royal, p. 8. The letter is dated 17th May, 1531, and addressed to his ambassador in Paris. The claim for damages is moderate, as the King shows: "não comtando dano particular muy grande de minha propria fazemda, e Roubos e prosoões, e outros cruiées tratamentos de muytos meus creados e capitáies."

49

This treaty of Madrid was one of those which only bring peace when they are broken. It tried to make France a second-rate power, and a vassal of the Emperor.

50

The whole text is given in *D. João e Os Francezes*, pp. 177-188, by M. E. Gomes de Carvalho (Lisbon, 1909).

51

Letter of the Cardinal of Toledo to Charles V in a manuscript of the Simancas Archives (*Colonização*, III, 64).

52

This was far the most commonly accepted definition of the word at that time, though there were at least 25 minor definitions. (*Institutiones Juris Publici Ecclesiastici*, p. 1, by F. Cavagnis, Rome, 1888). In the thirteenth century it had been thus formulated by Aquinas (*Summa Theologica, Prima Secundae*, art. 90): "Lex est quaedam rationis ordinatio ad bonum commune, ab eo qui curam habet communitatis promulgata."

53

Carvalho (*D. João III e Os Franceses*, p. 22) is hardly accurate in saying that King Manuel "claimed to exclude foreigners from trade with his colonies, but he never declared this to France". He proclaimed it to all Christendom, France included, with the support of papal bulls. But Andrada I, 44, writes truly: "custume he da cubiga querer fazer as leis e os direytos ao som do seu interesse."

54

Brazil wood was the raw material of a much coveted dye, which was highly priced in the cloth markets of Europe.

55

Cronica do Senhor Rey Dom Afonso V, by Rui de Pina, I, p. 461, Oporto, 1790.

56

D. De Goes, *Cronica de El Rei D. Manuel*, bk. 2, ch. 42.

57

E. Guenin, *Ango et Ses Pilots* (Paris, 1901), p. 209, reproduces a part of this document.

58

Barros, VII, p. 583.

59

Barros, VII, pp. 261-2.

60

Alguns Doc., p. 486; Vic. de Santarem, *Quadro Elementar*, III, p. 69 of Preface and 233 sqq.

61

Monteiro's whole letter is given in *Colonização*, III, 88.

62

Imperio, p. 319. "Nusquam illorum (i.e., the French and Spanish) reges de ea prohibitione et spolio querellam instituere."

63

With the exception of six ounces of gold, which he expected soon to recover also. The full text is in *Colonização*, III, 64. Monteiro's agent was the Portuguese Rector of the university of Paris, Diogo de Gouvêa.

64

Santarem, *Quadro Elementar*, III, 206-9; *Colonização*, I, 69.

65

E. Guenin, *Ango et Ses Pilots*, p. 1. In the letters of marque he is called "viconte et grenadier de notre ville de Dieppe" (p. 249).

66

The French case is stated in the letters of marque, which Guenin publishes in full (p. 249); the Portuguese case in John's long instruction to Atalde (*Royal Letters*, pp. 9-14).

67

Count de Mas Latrie has discussed the subject fully in the *Bibliotheque de l'Ecole des Chartres*, vol. 27, p. 529; and vol. 29, pp. 299 and 612.

68

Lexicon Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis, by W. H. Maigne d'Arnis, Paris, 1890. In Great Britain the marches lie on the frontier between England and Wales.

69

"Confirmam a possessão do que os ditos reis meus antecessors temos achado." This important statement in the King's letter contained in a manuscript of the National Archives of Lisbon printed by Carvalho (*D. João e Os Francezes*, pp. 177-188).

70

Fernando Palha, *A Carta de Marca de João Ango*.

71

Both letters are printed in *Colonização*, III, 74-76.

72

"Os reis, asy como estam e lugar de Deus, e teem todas as coussas por muy pequenas e Reispeito do que deve a Deus e a suas honrras, nom se cegam nellas." (*Letters Royal*, p. 26.)

73

The wife of Francis was stepmother of John III, and had been Queen of Portugal; John's sister was the reigning Duchess of Savoy.

74

Letters Royal, pp. 7-16.

75

The sum mentioned was 220 thousand cruzados, when a cruzado was worth 1.66 francs (F. Palha, *A Carta de Marca de João Ango*).

76

Letters Royal, 31-2.

77

Even at this period the Duke of Braganza justified the use of palm oil by saying that ten or twelve thousand cruzados down would save 200 thousand in damage to Portuguese ships. (*D. João e Os Francezes*, p. 191.)

78

Chabot was later convicted of dishonest practices by the French courts (*Lavisse, Histoire de France*, V, bk. 7, ch. 5.)

79

These are drawn from the Lisbon Archives by *Colonização*, III, 91-2.

80

The phrase is vague enough to cover both the Portuguese and the French view: "terras descobertas pelo dito senhor Rey de Portugal das quaes elle ha notoriamente posuidor" (p. 91).

81

Letters Royal, p. 47. There is some confusion in these letters between francs and cruzados. Moreover, *Annaes* (p. 376) seems to make the cruzado equivalent to 2.4 francs.

82

This feeling lasted all through John's reign. Thus in November of 1555 the Venetian ambassador writes that Portuguese couriers "are detained in France, their bags ruthlessly searched, the packets opened, and the letters if necessary seized." (*Cal. of State Papers, Venetian*, 1555-6, p. 284, ed. by R. Brown, London, 1879). In Paris Belchior Raposo experienced this enmity (*D. João e Os Franceses*, p. 50).

83

His full title was Philippe de Chabot de Brion, Conte de Charni e Busançois.

84

M. Oppenheimer, *Administration of the Royal Navy*, I, p. 95.

85

A. F. Pollard, *Political History of England*, VI, 38 (London, 1910). Seymour was beheaded in 1549.

86

A Expedição de M. A. de Sousa, by Jordan de Freitas in *Colonização* III, pp. 97-164.

87

This careful compilation was sent to Francis I for his information (*Letters Royal*, p. 79).

88

J. A. Williamson, *Sir John Hawkins* (Oxford, 1927), pp. 1-51.

89

The phraseology is that of the Venetian ambassador in London in a letter of the 16th Dec., 1555 (*Cal. of S.P., Venice*, 1555-6, p. 284, ed. by R. Brown, London, 1877).

90

Letters Royal, pp. 73-4: "quam incerto pode ser toparem cō elles llonge das ditas Ilhas".

91

Pedro Anes de Canto in a MS. of the Lisbon Archives (*Colonização*, III, 208).

92

Men of tried ability, generally young and of good family, were given grants of land often as large as provinces of Europe with semi-royal jurisdiction. This excellent system was begun in Madeira. (*A Madera sob os Donatários*, by D. Peres, Funchal, 1914). It was built

upon the fine fidalgo tradition (*Gama Barros*, I, 358-375); John's letter (undated) to the Congo is in a MS. of Terre do Tombo, *Cartas dos Vice Reis da India e Ontros Pessoas*, No. 31.

93

Letters Royal, pp. 71-2. Dated 21st Jan., 1533.

94

Faltada was descended from Italian ancestors of Cremona, named Affaitati (*Peragallo*, p. 27); *Goris*, p. 200.

95

Letters Royal, pp. 79-80. But the connection between Afonso and Mendes is seen in documents from the Antwerp Archives published by *Goris*, pp. 185-6.

96

"Se estaa a terra tam abastada que lhe nō faca mingoa o que se tirar, nem fique mais encarentada." (*Royal Letters*, p. 78).

97

"Por me ser dito que se poderya fazer e sem muita opresam dos devidores." (*Letters Royal*, p. 137.)

98

Subsidios, pp. I, 331, 364; II, 7, 8, 11, 14.

99

"Aos Reys o que sempre deve de ser principall despois de Deus he o que toqua a seu povo." (*Letters Royal*, p. 9)

100

The crime then called monopoly in continental Europe was called engrossing or regrating in contemporary English law. In somewhat recent times it was regarded as an obsolete error in economics to condemn such operations. We have learned by bitter experience that the Middle Ages were right in checking monopoly, since we have pursued money values at the expense of human values. (*Letters Royal*, p. 96).

101

Letters Royal, pp. 75, 88-9, 118, 141, 170, 175-6, 193-4.

102

In the case of the Jewish heiress Gracia Nossi, a niece of Mendes, the King failed; and with her wealth she later became a centre of anti-European intrigue in Turkey. (*Letters Royal*, p. 344; Graetz, *Volkstümliche Geschichte der Juden*, III, 271).

103

"Teres grande lembranca que nō entre nenhoo proemio, nem palavra, que soy maneira de liga ne confederacam ne aliancia." (*Letters Royal*, p. 51).

104

Letters Royal, p. 40-1, 81-4, 90-3.

105

He went to India with Marshal Coutinho in 1509, and returned in 1529. (*Annaes*, p. 332).

106

This is inferred from a letter of the King, dated the 6th of July, which Annaes (p. 378) has preserved. It is not in the collection of *Letters Royal*.

107

Colonizaçāo, III, 149; Lisbon Archives, *Corpo Chronologico*, pt. 2, 184, 4. Letter of the King, dated 28th July, 1533.

108

Calendar of S.P., Letters Foreign and Domestic, 1533, p. 118, ed. by Jas. Gairdner, London. Letter of Augustine de'Augustinis to Thomas Cromwell, dated 22nd March, 1532, relating a conversation with the Portuguese ambassador.

109

Gama Barros, II, 280-7. In 1893, when *The Partition of Africa* was published, its author, J. Scott Keltie, like most English writers then, was smitten with the theory of the decisive influence of "this large infusion of Teutonic blood". But the preponderant Portuguese blood is quite sufficient to account for these great achievements, as Englishmen will not be inclined to deny to-day.

110

Annaes, p. 396; *Royal Letters*, p. 200. The cost in both cases was 80 thousand cruzados.

111

"El-Rei Francisco nao e morto, pois este està mais vivo nas desordens e onde nao ha consciencia nem virtude." (Letter of the Duke of Braganza to the King, 15th Feb., 1552, at p. 188 of *D. João e Os Franceses*.)

112

F. de Andrade, *Cronica de D. João III*, pt. 4, ch. 91 (Coimbra, 1796).

113

Calendar of S.P., Foreign, Mary, p. 198, ed. by B. Turnbull, London, 1861.

114

Annaes, p. 447; *Letters Royal*, pp. 271-2.

115

Letters Royal, pp. 76, 89-90.

116

"Riscado do livro d'El Rei."

117

To this extent we must dissent from the view of the great Portuguese historian, A. Braamcamp Freire, "que a feitoria de Flandres foi a primeira e a melhor escola da diplomacia portuguesa no seculo XVI." *Archivo Historico*, VI, 403.

118

These were first agreed to during the Anglo quarrel (*Letters Royal*, pp. 36-9; Annaes, p. 374). But they were never a complete success, partly because the executive power of the French King over his own subjects was too weak to control the desires of his seamen and traders, even if he wished to control them.

119

S. de Faria, *Noticias de Portugal*, disc. 2, section 15; Pedro de Azevedo, articles in *Archivo Historico*, II, 241-3, VI, 161-8.

120

Defesa da Navigação de Portugal contra Os Francezes, by Pedro de Azevedo in *Archivo Historico*, VI, 163.

121

Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, 1535, vol. 9, No. 912, ed. by Jas. Gairdner, London, 1886.

122

Letters Foreign and Domestic, 1535, p. 118, No. 261, ed. by Jas. Gairdner, London.

123

R. H. Tawney, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*, p. 67, London, 1926.

124

Annaes, pp. 456-459.

125

Elementos para a Historia de Município de Lisboa, I, 534.

126

Corpo Diplomatico, IV, 367. "Nec enim fuit tantum incommodum ut te talem regem et tot gentium victorem commoveri oportet." Also II, 344.

127

Barros, VI, 213-227; British Museum, *Additional MSS.*, *Memorias Antigas*. "Parecer de Francisco Pereyra a El Rey Dom João 3º sobre os Lugares e passagem de Africa."

128

Annaes, p. 41; A. C. de Sousa, *Provas da Historia Genealogica da Casa Real Portugueza*, II, 176, Lisbon, 1739.

129

In Ataide's letter these three methods are called: *tomar dinheiro a cambio*, *vender juros* and *vender jurdições*.

130

Summa Theologica, Secunda Secundae, q. 78. "Si quis concederet pecuniam signatam ad ostentationem, vel ad ponendum loco pignoris, talem usum pecuniae licite homo vendere potest." This principle contains the justification of really moderate and humane interest; but nothing in all the tomes of the economists can justify the criminal usury and profiteering which have ruined our world, because this branch of science has usually ruled out any arguments of humanity or morality.

130a

"Contractum mutui per accidentis onerosum factum esse atque lucrativum, quamvis natura essentiaque sua gratuitus esse permanerat." (E. van Roey, *De Justo Auctuario ex Contractu Crediti*, Louvain, 1903.)

131

These assertions are made with tiresome iteration by writers on economics, who often know much about economics but nothing at all about the history of Christian dogmas.

132

Thomas Wilson, *A Discourse of Usurye*, first published in 1572, p. 314, ed. by R. H. Tawney, London, 1925.

133

Annaes, p. 456. Andrada, I, 58-60, gives in full the petition of the Chambers of Commerce, asking John III to marry Leonor. Amongst the ingenious reasons given is that her wealth would lighten the burden of taxation on the working man.

134

This can easily be done by means of two works. *The Letters of King Henry VIII* were published by M. St. Clare Byrne in 1936, London; and there are the *Letters Royal*.

135

F. de Almeida, *Historia de Portugal*, III, 379 (Coimbra, 1925), where the whole document is given.

136

Alguns Doc., pp. 242-6. Letters to the King dated first of April, 1512.

137

Letters Royal, pp. 341, 225.

138

Peragallo, p. 82; *Letters Royal*, pp. 201, 256, 317, 327, 362; *Goris*, p. 202.

139

"Pelos grandes caybos que se laa pagam." (*Letters Royal*, p. 324.)

140

He pressed Castanheirs (Ataide) "teer melhor espeditente pera se pagarem as dvidas e seer fora de caybos".

141

P. Geyl, *The Revolt of the Netherlands*, pp. 41-4, 58-9, London, 1932.

142

Letters of Henry VIII, p. 123.

143

The Emperor Charles V, by Karl Brandt, p. 347, London, 1939.

144

His long memorandum is given fully in *Letters Royal*, pp. 351-6. His despondency is pithily portrayed in the sentence: "podera ele (i.e., Charles V) nisto aproveitar segundo lhe parecer, o que eu por bem com o Papa não posso fazer" (p. 354).

145

Luiz de Sousa saw this document, and gives extracts in *Annaes*, pp. 404-6.

146

Goris, p. 371; *Annaes*, p. 402.

147

Its rise has been described by *Goris*, pp. 373-384; and by R. Ehrenberg, *Capital and Finance in the Age of the Renaissance*, pp. 239-280, London, 1928.

148

Goris, pp. 375-6; the legal bond always stated whether the King's agent acted *nomine instutericio* or *nomine proprio*, p. 228.

149

Ehrenberg, pp. 276-7. In 1547 the English crown had lost 20 per cent. of its value in Antwerp (*Cal. of S.P., Foreign* 1547-53, p. 327, ed. by W. B. Turnbull, 1861). When Phillip II became King of England, Gresham writes that Philip gave him permission to send 100 thousand crowns to England secretly, as they were scarce in Flanders (*Foreign*, 1553-8, ed. by W. B. Turnbull, London, 1861).

150

Annaes, pp. 417-9; *Letters Royal*, p. 368.

151

Annaes, pp. 413-5, 420. The governor was M. A. de Sousa. For the value of the *pardao* cfr. *Dalgado*, II, 175-6.

152

Letters Royal, p. 369. It is dated from Enxobregas.

153

Annaes, pp. 423-4; *Goris*, p. 49, the factory (counting house) was handed over to the Portuguese consuls by the Burgomaster.

154

Letters Royal, pp. 385-6. Since the letter contains no statement as to the amount of the royal loan in Antwerp, no estimate of the prospective gains can be made. Cfr. also letter of 22nd May, p. 348.

155

Cal. of S.P., Foreign, 1533-8, pp. 115-9. This letter was written from Brussels, 8th Sept., 1554. Mason hopes for some good man (he appears to doubt about Gresham) to balance the accounts of the realm for Queen Mary: "to bring her charges back to the days of her grandfather (Henry VII) and the beginnings of her father's reign" (p. 157).

156

Mason (p. 162) does not blame the Emperor personally, but his advisers. He preserves the Emperor's wise saying, that he preferred a mean peace to the most successful war.

157

Cal. of S.P., Foreign, 1547-53, pp. 255-6, 264; *Foreign*, 1553-8, p. 42.

158

J. W. Burdon, *Life and Times of Sir Thomas Gresham*, London, 1839; I, 472-5, 483-6.

159

Annaes, 431-4, 437.

160

Cal. of S.P., Foreign, 1553-8, p. 173. Letter to the Queen's Council dated the first of June, 1555, from Brussels.

161

Annaes, p. 448. John sent a special envoy to plead for the relaxation of this order.

162

E. Armstrong, *The Emperor Charles V*, II, 309-310, London, 1902; *The Revolt of the Netherlands*, by P. Geyl, pp. 35-40. *The Rise of the Dutch Republic*, by J. L. Motley, is a polemical tract with no relation to the facts of Dutch history. It has been completely superseded by P. J. Blok's *Geschiedenis van het Nederlandsche Volk*, Groningen, 1892-5.

163

Cal. of S.P., Venetian and Others, 1556-7, ed. by R. Brown, p. 1227, London, 1881. The letter is written from Compiègne.

164

For this criminal court of Antwerp, see *Goris*, p. 564.

165

Alguns Doc., p. 238, where in a letter of the first of April, 1512, Albuquerque mentions that there were 250 men in the ships of Diogo Mendes. Cfr. also *Goris*, p. 104.

166

Goris, pp. 558-560, 564. The New Christians or *marranos* were Jews who had conformed outwardly to the Christian faith for political reasons.

167

Luther, by H. Grisar (6 vols., London, 1913-17), VI, 81. This statement occurs in his pamphlet, *Von Kauffhandlung und Wucher*, published in 1524.

168

The envoys were the great historian Damian de Goes, and the son of another great historian, John de Barros, whose name was George.

169

To this extent and from the economic point of view, the Inquisition was not the *obra nefasta* which J. A. Correa alleges in his *Historia Economica de Portugal* (Lisbon, 1929), p. 169 of vol. I.

170

A useful summary of these laws is given in *Subsidios*, I, 306-412, II, 1-25.

171

"They gave new valuations to coin for their private gain, calling it permission money," writes the contemporary T. Wilson in *A Discourse Upon Usury*, p. 311, spelling modernised, ed. of London, 1925.

172

Letters Royal, pp. 208-9, 284, 305, 358-9, 331.

173

Letters Royal, pp. 8-10, where King John recalls this fine principle of medieval democracy to the memory of the French King.

174

The phrase is J. A. Froude's in *Short Studies on Great Subjects*, III, 108.

175

A Discourse Upon Usury, pp. 180, 309-310.

176

Barros, VIII, 728-750.

177

Dictionnaire Philosophique, IX, 51 (Paris, 1816). "Beaucoup de métiers sont exercés d'une manière toujours uniforme et toujours bonne, mais pour le gouvernement des hommes, peut-il jamais en être un bon, quand tous sont fondés sur des passions qui se combattent?"

178

It was an effort unparalleled in history, if we accept the most common estimate of Portugal's population then, namely, less than two millions. Cfr. *Almeida Portugal* (III, 243-7).

179

Between 1534 and 1536 twelve *donatarios* were appointed with the title of hereditary captain or governor of immense territories (*Colonização*, III, 174-184). They went in a different spirit from the English refugees, Catholics and Puritans, who founded North America; as the English historian, A. J. Pollard, tells us, "Their (the English) motive was not to expand, but to escape the England of James I, and these pioneers had no wish to reproduce the conditions they left behind." (*Factors in Modern History*, p. 247, London, 1907.)

180

A useful selection of these letters is made in *Colonização*, III, pp. 345-383.

181

H. Lopez de Mendonca, *Estudos Sobre Navios de Portugueses nos Séculos XV e XVI*, Lisbon, 1892.

182

Barco a punhete is what he writes. He seems to refer to the boats with large red sails, otherwise shaped like gondolas, which are still used at Vila Franca de Xira.

183

R. H. Tawney, *A Discourse Upon Usury*, p. 80.

184

An historical description of these ideals is contained in A. Fanfani's *Le Origini del Spirito Capitalistico in Italia* (Milan, 1932).

185

I Primi Tre Libri della Famiglia, ed. by F. C. Pellegrini, Florence, 1911. Pellegrini (1407-1472) may be called an economic pioneer of the Renaissance.

186
Erasmus, VI, 484.

187
Corpo Diplomatico, II, 210-212. Breve dated 9th April, 1542.

188
Erasmus, IX, 20. "Quare posthac nil mihi valebit illud genus Judaicum." These views were not new on the part of Erasmus. In 1518 he wrote to Capito (III, 253): "Italia multos habet Judaeos, Hispania vix habet Christianos. Vereor ne hac occasione (i.e., the renewal of Hebrew studies) pestis jam olim oppressa caput eriget." Hispania, of course, includes Portugal.

189
The unsolicited advice was not the only offence given. Erasmus had made a slip in the genealogy of the King as well. "De genere regis eram perperam instructus."

190
This was the Preface to his edition of the *Letter to the Galatians*.

191
Corpo Diplomatico, II, 211. Dated 9th April, 1524.

192
W. Cunningham, *Growth of English Industry and Commerce During the Early and Middle Ages*, p. 489 (4th ed. Cambridge, 1905). *Holinshed's Chronicle*, III, 963-985, London, 1808; Adam Adamson, *Origin of Commerce*, II, 126, London, 1801.

193
Acenheiro, p. 347.

194
Annaes, p. 103; *Barros*, dec. 3, bk. 8, cc. 1-4.

195
Empresas, p. 183; *Annaes*, p. pp.; *Barros*, VI, 345.

196
The Venetian ambassador, Chà de Masser, is our authority for this (*Gama's Roteiro*, p. 227).

197
J. J. F. Martins, *Os Vice-Reys da India*, p. 9, Lisbon, 1935; *Barros*, VI, p. 344. Andrada (I, 219) says that Gama was living at Vidigueira, and was chosen "pello grande respeito e reverencia que lhe tinhão os mouros".

198
"Os nossos que depois vieram saibam como se conservou por bom conselho." *Da Asia*, VI, 341-8.

199
Esta religião is the phrase that Barros uses.

200
"dos nescios leaes se encham os hospitaes."

201

"Louvado Deos, vivemos em terra em que não ha bandos para se haverem mister armas."

202

Gaspar Correa has given us the most detailed account of this voyage in the *Lendas*, II, 815-846. This part has been translated into English by H. E. J. Stanley under the title *Three Voyages of Vasco da Gama* (London, 1869), pp. 380-428. Other sources are: *Castanheda*, bk. 6, cc. 71-77; F. de Andrade, *Cronica de D. João III*, vol. I, 218-228; *Annaes*, pp. 123-128.

203

For three generations Portugal had already been arming ships with artillery; and King Manuel was the inventor of a new type of cannon. F. de Sousa Viterbo, *Artes e Artistas em Portugal*, second edition, pp. 164-5, Lisbon.

204

Barros, VI, 403-4. Andrada (I, 221) explains the mutiny against Mosem, "por elle ser aspero de condicão, e se dar mal com a gente".

205

In 1518 he published at Paris *Astrologiae Defensio Adversus Prognosticorum Vulgus*. He was born at Kempen and died at Utrecht. Barros calls him Alberto Pighio Campense. Andrada (I, 222) relates that Gama himself was upset at first, but the idea of an earthquake was suggested by a doctor at his side, who "knew astrology", i.e., was a scientist.

206

Da Asia, VI, 351. Castanheda puts the earthquake on the 6th Sept.

207

This was evidently a dig at some of the sons of New Christians, who had attained rank by the influence of their family wealth, as Vasco da Gama seems to have thought.

208

Lendas da India, II, 828; *Castanheda*, VI, cc. 71-77.

209

Barros, VI, 363-9, prints a document which shows that Vasco da Gama did not exceed the letter of his instructions. Andrada, too (I, 242) states that Gama sent Meneses a copy of the King's orders, as soon as Meneses arrived.

210

This rumour is recorded by Corrêa, Castanheda and San Roman.

211

The word 'tenth' in the Lisbon edition of Corrêa has been erased, but it is quite a likely date.

212

Barros (VI, 369) notes this: how his illness was aggravated by "trabalho de espirito que teve sobre algumas cousas de governo e entrega que lhe D. Duarte fez". Also *Annaes*, p. 124.

213

Modern views of these events are in *Vasco da Gama e a Vidigueira*, pp. 13 sqq., by T. de Aregão (Lisbon, 1886); *Vasco da Gama*, by L. Coelho, II, 321 sqq. and 349 sqq.; *Vasco da Gama and His Successors*, pp. 123-129, by K. G. Jayne (London, 1910).

214

The Honourable H. E. J. Stanley (*The Three Voyages of Vasco da Gama*, pp. 428-430) has narrated how in 1806 the vandals of the English East India Company destroyed this fine cathedral, and all the fine Portuguese culture of this coast of Cochin, not in the heat of battle, but in the cool calculation of business interest.

215

Corrêa, II, 815-846. Andrada, I, 248-9, gives additional details of Gama's will.

216

W. S. Whiteway, *The Rise of Portuguese Sea Power*, pp. 93-4 (Westminster, 1899). The word *term* in this edition seems a misprint.

217

David Lopes, *História de Arzila*, pp. 274-7, Coimbra, 1925; *Annaes*, pp. 116-8.

217a

G. Lowes Dickinson (*Documents and Statements Relating to Peace Proposals*, p. 23 of Introduction, London, 1919), where he declares that by the secret treaty between the Allies to refuse any peace move of the Pope, "this repudiation beforehand of any intervention by the Holy See gives ironic testimony to the completeness with which Europe has become dechristianised, so far as international relations are concerned".

218

Annaes, p. 123. So keen was he on having efficient administration that he left Government House, and installed his own successor, a few days before he died. (Andrade, I, 248.)

219

Oppenheim (*International Law*, I, 304-5, London, 1905) tries in vain to find a fundamental difference in waging the freedom of the seas between Portugal and England, when the latter became powerful in later generations. Whether in peace or war the nation that commands the sea lays down the law. In wartime the law practically ceases, as England showed clearly in 1914 by violating her own Declaration of London, when she went to war.

220

"Com tão boa vontade." *Letters Royal*, p. 341.

221

Enrico Bensa in *Francesco di Marco da Prato* (Milan, 1928) has written a stout volume on the operations of one firm of Tuscany in the fourteenth century.

222

C. H. Haring, *Trade and Navigation Between Spain and the Indies* (Harvard University Press, 1918), pp. 24-5.

223

Albuquerque Cartas, I, 273-4, 365.

224

Schurhammer, Nos. 244, 895, 1056, 1403a, 1867, 3748, 1549, 255 and 1879.

225

Rise of the Portuguese Power in India, pp. 324-5.

226

Self-confessed bribery and sexual incontinence are prominent features of the *Diary* of this strange being; but he was an efficient secretary of the navy, and a writer of no little skill. Clive's phenomenal success as a soldier and dictator was achieved despite a complete lack of scruple in public and private life.

227

This quotation is from Dryden's translation of the *Life of Xavier*, written in French by Père Bonhours in 1688. (*The Works of John Dryden*, vol. 16, pp. 267-8, London, 1892, ed. by G. Saintsbury).

227a

Couto, XVI, 370.

228

Garcia de Resende, *Cronica de El-Rei D. João II*, ch. 140, ed. of A. Herculano, Lisbon, 1840; *Couto*, III, 190.

229

Barros, VII, 270; *Couto*, III, 281-2, V, 8.

230

Barros, VII, 1-3; Stanley's *Three Voyages*, pp. 428-430.

231

This seems the meaning of: "não tinha muitos escudeiros nem fato". *Couto*, II, 46-89.

232

F. M. Bordalo, *Ensaio Sobre a Estatistica de Mozambique*, pp. 105-6, Lisbon, 1859.

233

I give a short paraphrase of the original in *Letters Royal*, 108-10.

234

Ensaio, 105-6; *Schurhammer*, No. 4225.

235

Bordalo omits George Teles de Meneses, who though appointed to the expectancy in 1538 (*Schurhammer*, No. 285), did not actually appear until 1545. This brave captain had greatly distinguished himself at the siege of Calicut in 1527, where he was knighted (*Annaes*, 166-170).

236

Castro's letter to the King from Mozambique, Aug., 1545 (*Schurhammer*, No. 1519).

237

Bordalo gives the date 1548, but see Távora's own letter in *Schurhammer*, No. 3484.

238

Schurhammer, No. 4225.

239

Couto, II, 274-283; IV, 232-238.

240

Barros, VI, 404; VI, 212.

241

Barros, VI, 180; *Schurhammer*, Nos. 895 and 3219; *Andrade*, I, 144-6.

242

J. J. T. Botelho, *Historia Militar e Politica dos Portugueses em Mozambique* (Lisbon, 1934), I, 150.

243

It seems to derive from a term of medieval Latin, *estanchia*, which means a dyke (*Lexicon Medice et Infimae Latinitatis*, by W. H. Maigne, Paris, 1890). The monopoly was certainly a dyke against the flood of general competition.

244

Navios de resgate and *naus da carreira* are the Portuguese terms.

245

Torre do Tombo, Lisbon, *Coleccão de S. Lourenço*, 5123: see *Schurhammer*, No. 447.

246

Torre do Tombo, *Gavetas* 20-10-26, cfr. *Schurhammer* No. 127.

247

Lendas da India, translated by G. M. Theal in *Records of S.E. Africa* II, 52-3; Torre do Tombo, *Corpo Chronologico* 72-87, cfr. *Schurhammer* No. 984.

248

Schurhammer, 3268 and 3279.

249

Annaes, p. 420: decree of the 16th March, 1548; *Schurhammer*, Nos. 3274 and 3484; Botelho, *Hist. dos Portugueses em Mozambique*, p. 134.

250

From the 11th Aug., 1549, to Nov., 1550, cfr. *Os Vice-Reis da India*, pp. 66-69; *Schurhammer*, letter of 27th Jan., 1552.

251

Schurhammer, letter to the King from Cochin, No. 4592. Thus was the trade up the Zambesi mentioned by Simon Botelho in 1554 (*Subsidios para a Historia da India Portugueza*, pp. 7-13, by J. Felner, Lisbon, 1868).

252

. G. M. Theal, *Records of South-Eastern Africa*, II, 53, Cape Town.

253

J. L. de Azevedo, *Epochas de Portugal Economico*, Lisbon; *Couto*, XVIII, 228-230, who adds that at the end of the century Pegado's name still stood for the tradition of sound business.

254

Imperatoris Justiniani Institutionum Libri Quatuor, p. 3, Rome, 1847.

255

Instructions to Ferdinand Moniz Freire in 1562, who was appointed governor of Mozambique, but did not assume the office (*Hist. Mil. e Pol. dos Port. em Mozambique*, pp. 129-130).

256

Albuquerque Cartas, I, 273-4, 365; *Annaes*, p. 93.

257

Barros, VI, 454; *Annaes*, pp. 114 and 133; *Gama Barros*, pp. 359-360: this last about the agricultural trade of Abrantes.

258

Annaes, pp. 94-5; *Barros*, VI, 180, VII, 15-6.

259

G. M. Theal, *Records of South-Eastern Africa*, V, 241-8, Cape Town, 1901.

260

Barros, V, 260; *Itinerario*, by Antonio Tenreiro, Coimbra, 1560.

261

Couto, II, 247-258.

262

Nunes Cronica, pp. 8 and 29; *Couto*, IV, 455-6.

263

C. M. Parkinson, *Trade in the Eastern Seas*, p. 318, Cambridge, 1937.

264

Couto, VI, 441.

265

Justus Strandes gives a German version of the account, which has survived only in Portuguese: *Die Portugiesenzzeit von Deutsch- und Englisch Ostafrika*, pp. 73-4, Berlin, 1899.

266

Ferishta's History of the Dekkan, I, 244, ed. by Jonathan Scott, London, 1794.

267

"O qual fogo abrazou a maior parte daquella Cidade de abominacão, ficando nella huma faísca de escandalo." (*Da Asia*, II, 251.) Azania was the name that Ptolemy gave to East Africa.

268

Annaes, pp. 226-229.

269

The King took the unusual course of giving only verbal instructions to Cunha. But to protect Cunha, the King's secretary was authorised to show him the original *regimento*, signed by the King and the secretary, Anthony Carneiro (*Annaes*, 229-230).

270

Sir C. Oman gives a good sketch of this position in *The Sixteenth Century*, pp. 83-5 and 170. Andrada (II, 97-102, 150-4) shows how even in the hotly contested island of Maluco Portuguese and Spaniards respected one another sufficiently to avoid serious fighting.

271

Barros, VII, 252: note of the editor, J. B. Lavanha.

272

Annaes, p. 227; *Barros*, VII, 252-6; *Couto*, I, 325-7.

273

Barros (VII, 258-264) states that the shipwrecked man died soon afterwards at Mombasa; but here *Couto* (I, 338) would be better informed, as he lived a long time in India. He tells us about his life in Goa.

274

Relacão das Guerras de Persia e Transmigracão dos Armenios, by Anthony de Gouvea, bishop of Cyrene, bk. 3, last chapter. *Cfr. Machado*, I, 294 sqq.

275

Barros, VII, 264-271; Andrada, II, 227-232.

276

Couto (II, 2-3) has preserved this episode. The lads were brothers, Diogo and Tristram de Mello, sons of John de Mello, who, though a layman, was commendatory abbot of the Benedictine Order in Pombeiro, administering its considerable revenues there.

277

Barros, VII, 270, who says that his father was a courtier, John Gago.

278

Francis de Andrada, *Cronica de Muito Alto D. João III*, II, 232-3.

279

Castanheda, bk. 7, ch. 86; *Couto*, II, 6; *Barros*, VII, 271-6.

280

Couto, II, 7-14; *Barros*, VII, 276-286.

281

These were the ships of Ferdinand de Monroy and Francis de Sousa Mancias.

282

Couto (II, 8) says that it was Pero Vaz da Cunha; but *Barros* writes that Lima did not start until next morning, VII, 285.

283

F. de Andrada states that he came with Jordan de Freitas; but Castanheda and Couto agree that he swam from the city.

284

Barros and Couto give the same total numbers, but distribute them differently.

285

St. James the Apostle was the patron of Portuguese soldiers, as St. George was of the English and Greeks.

286

Barros, VII, 286 and 297.

287

"Que conta daria a Deus, e a El Rey, pondo-se elle em salvo", *Barros*, VII, 300.

288

"Vale cada mritical de ouro trezentos e sessenta reaes." *Barros*, VII, 296.

289

F. de Andrada, pt. 2, ch. 48; *Barros*, VII, 301-3.

290

Barros, VII, 306. But *Castanheda* (bk. 7, ch. 101) and *Couto* (II, 15) write that he joined at Mombasa. Andrada, II, 336-340.

291

As the King wrote a full account of the news that Botelho brought him about Diu in a letter to the Pope dated 20th July, 1536 (*Corpo Diplomatico*, III, 329), the 1537 of *Couto* (III, 12) is an error. Writing in 1576, an intimate friend of Botelho's commits the lapse of memory of saying that it was 1539. (M. de Mesquita Perestrelo, *Roteiro*, p. 38, ed. of 1939, Lisbon.)

292

Castanheda, bk. 8, ch. 108; *Barros*, VIII, 75-84; *Corrêa*.

293

This date is given by Andrada (III, 58) and Couto (III, 9); but *Barros* (VIII, 76) says that he went ten years later with Martin Afonso de Sousa.

294

This is clearly seen in the detailed and joyous letter that John wrote to the Pope (*Corpo Diplomatico*, III, 322-329).

295

According to Couto he was a Jew; and this is confirmed by Garcia de Orta, who knew him later in India. Cfr. *Colloquios dos Simples e Drogas e Cousas Medicinales da India*, p. 164, Lisbon, 1873.

296

Andrada (III, 60-61) says that they left in November, and that Botelho obtained copies of the map of the fort and the treaty from the Governor by a stratagem.

297

Thus *Couto*, III, 12; but Barros says that they missed it because it was covered with fog. The fuller details in my text are given by Manuel de Mesquita Perestrelo (*Roteiro*, written in 1576, published Lisbon, 1939, pp. 38-9), who was a personal friend of Botelho's.

298

The Book of Duarte Barbosa, ed. and translated by M. L. Dames, p. 128, London, 1918, Hakluyt Society.

299

Omaum Patxia, or Humayun Pasha, is the form of *Barros*, II, 165.

300

The history of these negotiations is told from the Muslim side by *Zinadim*, pp. 61-4, and at great length by *Barros*, VIII, 1-75, whose accuracy shows his intimate acquaintance with Arabic and Persian sources.

301

Couto translates the whole sermon in his *History*, III, 15-24.

302

According to *Couto* (III, 13), it was beached at Sacavem, and remained there until it went to pieces. "The greater part of Europe went to see it," he adds with evident hyperbole.

303

Barros, VIII, 734. This permanent trait of public men is what prompted G. Clemenceau to entitle his memoirs of the First World War *Grandeur and Misery of Victory* (London, 1930).

304

V, 64; *Corrêa*, II, 465 sqq.; *Castanheda*, V, ch. 28.

305

Barros, VIII, 750-1; *Couto*, III, 452-3.

306

This famous Portuguese game was first described by King John I, the father of Prince Henry the Navigator, in his *Livro da Montaria*, ch. 8 (ed. by F. M. Esteves Pereira, Coimbra, 1918); and it forms a scene in J. de Andrade Corvo's novel, *Um Anno na Corte*, VI, 19-31. It is a sham fight with staves, sometimes on horseback and sometimes on foot.

307

Barros, VIII, 747.

308

What embalming then meant on sea is vividly expressed in the chaplain's words: "perguntou-lhe se havia por bem que levando-o Nossa Senhor, o trouxessem salgado em huma pipa, para ca no Reyno lhe darem sua sepultura." *Barros*, VIII, 748.

309

There is no justification for Whiteway's statement, that "he was licentious in private life". (*Rise of Portuguese Power in India*, p. 260.)

310

Couto (dec. 4, bk. 9, chs. 2, 5, 7, 10) gives a full account of this well-timed intervention in Gujarat, which gave the Portuguese their first foothold in that important province in 1534.

311

III, 99-108. Couto adds that the people believed that "Bahadur was immortal, that he still lived in the shape of a fish, and that in good time he would return to reign, just as King Arthur of England is believed to be still living in the form of a raven."

312

A curious parallel with Sarajevo in 1914.

313

Couto (III, 186) calls him Nacoda Amat, but see *Il Yemen*, by C. Ansaldi, p. 151, Rome, 1933.

314

This date is given by an Arabic writer, who, however, gives the wrong year. Cfr. *Zinadim*, p. 63, translated by E. Denison Ross in three volumes (London, 1910-28) under the title *An Arabic History of Gujarat*, Introduction of second volume.

315

Rendiconti del Istituto Lombardo, Milan, 1905, pp. 893-910, art. by G. Capasso; also *Storia della Marina Pontificia*, Rome, IV, 31-62.

316

"Reyno donde hum Rey so de sua recamara tirara aquelles thesouros pera mandar a Meca, havia de ser riquissimo daquellas cousas." *Couto*, p. 187.

317

The historian goes on to say that he had all this information from a Venetian boatswain whose diary he had read (*Couto*, III, 189). This diary was already printed among the "varias viagens que recopilou Misser Baptista Ramusio". (*Couto*, III, 445.) Another edition was printed at Venice by Aldus in 1540 entitled *Viaggi Fatti da Venezia alla Tana, etc.* It is more complete than Ramusio's.

318

"O Traquinias de Santarem" (*Couto*, III, 190).

319

Castro's Roteiro, p. 305; Corrêa writes that the *Griffin* leaked and returned home, IV, pt. 1, ch. 1.

320

Documentos Historicos da Cidade de Evora, by G. Pereira; *Evora Gloriosa*, by F. de Fonseca.

321

Couto, III, 270; B. Teles tells how the King listened to the legitimate claims of Coimbra (*Chronica da Companhia de Jesus em Portugal*, II, 337).

322

Gama Barros, III, 649-697, gives a full account of this characteristic institution of Portuguese law. The first recorded example of it is found in a document of 1271 A.D. It states that the heir of the *morgado* can be conscripted by the King, "unless the King is guilty of crime, or oppression or unjustly disinherits the heir" (p. 665).

323

Almeida, Portugal, III, 574. As a foil we may note what was happening elsewhere. An Elizabethan Englishman, Sir Walter Raleigh, expresses his shame that Henry VIII should have lowered England in the estimation of gentlemen everywhere: "If all the pictures and patterns of a merciless prince were lost in the world, they might all again be painted to the life out of the story of this king." (*History of the World*, by Sir W. Raleigh, Preface.)

324

"Diziam os praguentos que a Rainha Dona Catherina e o Conde da Castanheira foram a causa principal de sua ficada (i.e., the Prince's) . . . com outros que nós sendo moço ouvimos na Guardaroupa do Infante, aonde creámos de idade de dez annos até elle falecer." *Couto*, III, 271-2.

325

O Alfénim was his nickname in Portuguese. The family "tinha mais de hum conto de renda". *Couto*, III, 279-280.

326

His name was Nuno Manuel, *Archivo Historico*, I, 80 sqq.

327

Castro's Roteiro, pp. 305-311.

328

C. de Nazareth, *Mitras Lusitanas no Oriente*, pp. 149-152, in the *Bulletim da Sociedade de Geogr.*, pp. 149-52. In 1550 Goa became a suffragan see of Lisbon, and in 1557 it was made the metropolitan see of India. *Bullarium*, I, 191 sqq.

329

Letter of Pedro de Sousa de Távora to the King, dated 12th April, 1537, in the *Corpo Diplomatico*, III, 368 sqq.; *Couto*, III, 276.

330

Torquemada wrote to the King, early in his reign, saying that he had found Mozambique a troubous place from the religious point of view. *Almeida Igreja*, III, pt. 1, pp. 75-6. Also Andrada, III, 269.

331

Couto, III, 282-3.

332

Barros, dec. 4, bk. 10, chs. 7-15; *Couto*, III, 289-453; Corrêa, III, 867-897; *Castanheda*, bk. 8, chs. 184-198; L. de Sousa Coutinho, *Historia do Cerco de Diu*, Lisbon, 1890. Coutinho, whose account first appeared in 1556, took a leading part in this siege. We learn from *Couto* (III, 224) that he had Coutinho's work before him. Cfr. also *Zinadim*, p. 64.

333

Khwaja Safar is the usual English form of the name. *Couto*, 218-26. *Voyages and Travels*, I, 93, ed. by Thos. Astley, London, 1745, where the narrative of the anonymous Venetian is given.

334

W. Heyd, *Histoire du Commerce du Levant*, II, 546, Leipzig, 1923.

335

Albuquerque Cartas, I, 95; *Couto*, III, 246-255.

336

Couto, 245 and 260-2; Gaspar Corrêa, *Lendas da India*, III, 680-90, 770-800.

337

"Que os Portuguezes daquella seita lhe haviam de defender seu Reyno." *Couto*, III, 264 and 266.

338

A Turkish galley of medium size. *Dalgado*, II, 35.

339

"Em quanto o vissem vivo, pelejariam todos, com as tripas em huma mao e com a espada na outra." (III, 342.)

340

R. S. Whiteway, in *The Rise of the Portuguese Power in India*, p. 263, notes here: "Manners have altered, and the language then thought heroic would now render the user liable to a fine in a police court." In spite of Whiteway's advance on previous English historians, this priggish remark is typical of his hostility to Portuguese ideals, visible throughout his work. But the language of Mr. Lloyd George about the Kaiser during the first World War did not bring him into any English police court. If manners have changed, it is certainly not for the better.

341

Couto, III, 319 and 334; Andrada, III, 268-311.

342

Couto, III, 302-3. She was the daughter of a judge in Goa. A daughter of hers married a captain of Sofala, Manuel de Mesquita; a second daughter married the son of another captain of Sofala, John Rodrigues de Sa of Oporto. Cfr. also *Couto*, III, 306-9, 348-51, 370-2, 388, 390-1, 393.

343

"Estava a Lua em conjunção de quarteirão da crescente." *Couto*, III, 410, 433.

344

Zinadim, p. 64. Of course, he calls the Portuguese *Franjes*, as the way was then in the East. *Couto*, III, 448-9, IV, 69.

345

When his term of office expired in Mozambique, the Governor, M. A. de Sousa, took him to India and made him a *veedor da fazenda* there. *Couto*, III, 196-7; IV, 233 and 238; IV, 69-70.

346

Rendiconti dell' Istituto Lombardo, Milan, 1905, pp. 873-910,
article by G. Capasso.

347

Almeida Portugal, II, 317; W. Heyd, *Commerce du Levant*, II, 546.

348

Corpo Diplomatico, II, 370.

349

Archivo Historico, vol. 7, p. 378, Lisbon, 1909.

350

An interesting, though somewhat defective, copy of these privileges in manuscript is found in the Grey Collection of Cape Town. It is dated 1644, and entitled *Priuilegio de Duarte Sonnemans Mercador Flamengo*. Sir George Grey received it from Senhor M. Dias de Vasconcellos, of Madeira, in 1860.

351

Some Letters From Livingstone, 1840-1873, p. 256, ed. by D. Chamberlin, Oxford University Press, 1940.

352

ib., p. 183.

353

Colonização, III, 345.

354

Letters Royal, pp. 3-4.

355

Foral was the name given to these charters. *Gama Barros*, I, 476-485; II, 110 sqq.

356

C. de Lannoy, *Histoire de l'Expansion des Peuples Européens: Portugal et Espagne*, p. 109, Brussels, 1907.

357

Gama Barros, I, 606. England came into this heritage much later with the Anglo-Norman *curia regis*. Cfr. *The King's Council in England*, by J. F. Baldwin, pp. 3-15, Oxford, 1913.

358

The names of this inner cabinet are given in *Annaes*, pp. 11-12.
359

Annaes, p. 13; Andrada, I, 16-17.
360

Letters of the Court, pp. 3-39.
361

Seia or Ceia, whence his letter (p. 33) of the 4th Sept., 1548, is dated, lies amid the picturesque lakes of these mountains. Also cfr. pp. 36-38.

362

Letters of the Court, pp. 69-122.

363

Biocos is the word he uses: p. 106.

364

Disraeli in *Coningsby* is much more scathing about the methods by which grades of nobility were attained up to his day.

365

Schurhammer, No. 4761.

366

This seems the drift of the enigmatic sentence: "E os vassalos a mema estima tem senão . . .", p. 81, *Letters Royal*.

367

Letters Royal, p. 9.

368

Gladstone and Britain's Imperial Policy, pp. 27-8, London, 1927, by P. Knaplund.

369

Letters Royal, 99 and 145.

370

Letters of the Court, p. 151. This is the paraphrase of a very diffuse statement.

371

Letters of the Right Hon. Sir George Cornwallis West, London, 1870, p. 90. This letter was addressed to Edmund Head, afterwards Governor-General of Canada.

372

Couto, II, 46-69.

373

Lives of the Chancellors, by Lord Campbell, VI, 339-400.

374

Letters Royal, p. 270.

375

"Os viso-reys da India não tem outro Presidente que lhes tome suas residencias senão o Cabo de Boa Esperança." *Couto*, XIV, 73.

377

The King's Council, p. 454, by J. F. Baldwin.

378

Padre Antonio Vieira, Sermões, p. 299, Rio de Janeiro, 1889.

379

Letters Royal, p. 381.

380

J. Morley, *Life of W. E. Gladstone*, I, 132-144, London, 1903. Gladstone himself was so narrow in outlook at that time that he denounced the Canadian claim for responsible government as "the first manifestation of the spirit of insurrection". Cfr. his speech in Hansard, 31st Dec., 1837.

381

The Economics of Ancient Greece, p. 225, by W. Michell, Cambridge University Press.

382

Letters Despatched From the Cape, 1652-62, II, 96, ed. by H. C. V Leibbrandt, Cape Town, 1900.

383

Hansard, where in a speech of the tenth of June he shows that in 1893 he had no intention of exporting to the Colonies even the limited amount of democracy that then existed in England.

384

The Negro in the New World, p. 345, by Sir H. H. Johnston, London, 1910.

385

C. H. Hering describes the system in *Trade and Navigation Between Spain and the Indies*, pp. 81-201, Cambridge, U.S.A., 1918.

386

A typical sample of this procedure is Sir A. R. Marriot's *The English in India*, p. 37 (London, 1932), where he contrasts the cruelties of the Portuguese with "our scrupulous regard for our subjects in India". Sufficient reply to this kind of blindness is found in the work of a British subject in India, as cultured as Marriot. In R. Tagore's *Letters to a Friend* (London, 1920), this Indian gentleman writes: "No outrage, however monstrous, committed against us by the agents of the British Government, can arouse feelings of indignation amongst those from whom our governors are chosen" (p. 87). Anglo-Americans are even more self-righteous. See ex. gr. N. M. Butler, *The Family of Nations*, pp. 52-3, New York, 1938. Portuguese writers are quite free from this sad species of cant.

387

Nunes Cronica, p. 7. This interesting chronicle was first published in 1936 after lying four hundred years in manuscript.

388

L. Caetani, *Studi di Storia Orientale*, III, 335, Milan, 1914.

389

For England cfr. *Trade in the Eastern Seas*, by C. N. Parkinson, Cambridge, 1937; for the Netherlands, *Das Wirtschaftliche System der Niederländischen Ostindischen Kompanie*, by A. L. Geyer, Munich, 1923.

390

Nunes Cronica, pp. 11-12. Tells also how peace was restored.

391

A Carta de Marca de João Ango, p. 34, Lisbon, 1882.

392

"Power to do good."

393

Letters Royal, pp. 7-16. This is a summary of the first part of an instruction to the ambassador in France, dated 23rd April, 1531.

394

S. Domingos, II, bk. 6, ch. 11.

395

Luiz Figueira, *Africa Bantu*, p. 311, Lisbon, 1938.

•

396
Annaes, pp. 158-171.

397
Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas, p. 292, Brussels, 1677.

398
This is only one of many reforms in favour of the people that he introduced. Cfr. *Subsidios*, I, 306-406.

399
The arrogance of writers like R. S. Whiteway (*Rise of the Portuguese, etc.*, pp. 12-3) must be read to be believed. "Owing to certain moral defects, the Portuguese race had no power of combined action, and consequently no administrative ability. . . . There is no machinery of government."

400
Government of the Ottoman Empire, by A. H. Lybyer, Harvard University Press, 1913.

401
Archivo Historico, VI, 132-3, Lisbon, 1908.

402
Herculano was grievously affected with the epidemic of Liberal fever that swept away the judgment of so many good men at that period. Cfr. his *Historia da Origem e do Estabelecimento da Inquisição em Portugal*, I, 182, where he puts himself out of court by distorting a long passage of *Annaes*, pp. 7-8.

403
A. B. Freire (*Archivo Historico*, II, 204-224, Lisbon, 1904) is emphatic and gives important documents, but is not quite convincing.

404
This was not the Peter Mascarenhas who became viceroy in 1554.

405
Couto, dec. 4, bk. 2, ch. 5; *Corrêa*, III, 225.

406
Letters Royal, p. 27.

407
Realities of Naval History, pp. 24-6, by B. Tunstall, London, 1936.

408
Archivo Historico, articles by P. A. de Azevedo, II, 241-253; VI, 161 sqq.

409
Annaes, pp. 230-233.

410
Annaes, pp. 413-5.

411
Nunes Cronica, p. 96.

412
Two examples will suffice: the views of Thomas Jefferson in *Democracy*, p. 30, ed. by S. K. Padover (New York, 1939); and N. B. Butler, *The Family of Nations*, p. 84 (New York, 1938).

413

One flagrant sample out of many is E. Benes (*Democracy To-day and Yesterday*, London, 1939), who applies the term democracy to a regime in which a nation of Slovaks was dragooned by the Czechs in a union that the Slovaks detested.

414

Nunes Cronica, pp. 234-5.

415

Doc. Arab., letter of Binefram in Arabic with translation in Portuguese.

416

Navigations, II, 297-303. The language is modernised.

417

This tower was unfortunately demolished in 1785. Cfr. *Monomentos e Lendas de Santarem*, by Zeferino Brandão, pp. 502-3.

418

Annaes, pp. 98-9. Later investigations show that, though St. Thomas preached in India, the earliest historical evidence gives his resting-place as Edessa. (A. Fortescue, *The Lesser Eastern Churches*, p. 355, London, 1913.)

419

The exact meaning of the inscription is still contested. Cfr. A. C. Burnell, *On Some Pahlavi Inscriptions in S. India*, Mongalore, 1873.

420

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1843 A.D., VII, 343-4.

421

These errors are enumerated in A. de Gouvêa's *Jornado do Arcebispo*, bk. 1, ch. 18, Coimbra, 1606. Cfr. *Barros*, dec. 1, bk. 6, ch. 6.

422

L. E. Browne, *The Eclipse of Christianity in Asia*, pp. 105-8, Cambridge, 1933; A. Fortescue, *The Lesser Eastern Churches*, pp. 92-4; G. le Strange, *Baghdad During the Abbasid Caliphate*, pp. 205-214, Oxford, 1924.

423

Colonização, II, 363; *Almeida Ingreja*, III, pt. 2, pp. 965-6; *Letters Royal*, p. 380, where the King states in February, 1551, that he had just nominated Peter Fernandez bishop of Brazil.

424

R. de Pina, *Chronica de El Rei de João II*, ch. 57 sqq.; *Barros*, dec. 1, bk. 3, ch. 3; *Bullarium*, I, 120.

425

Viscount de Paiva Manso, *História do Congo*, pp. 1 and 50 sqq.

426

Vida de João de Barros, by M. S. de Faria, prefixed to the Index of the 1778 edition of *Da Ásia*. This primer by Barros was for long attributed to Bishop John Soares, of Coimbra. *Annaes*, p. 336.

427

Corpo Diplomático, II, 393.

428

Historia do Congo, by V. de Paiva Manso, p. 77. Letter of the Congo King, 17th Dec., 1540; but his letter needs much discount, because he had been very properly rebuked for his evil life by some of the missionaries.

429

Corpo Diplomatico, III, 113; *Historia do Congo*, pp. 81-2.

430

His book was entitled *Il Cortegiano*, and gives a charming picture of the court of the Duke of Urbino.

431

Annaes, pp. 323-326, which contains the best and most human account of these events. Here Alexander Herculano and Theophilo Braga show what aberrations able historians can fall into, when they set up living men as incarnations of theories that they hate.

432

The King's brother, Cardinal Henry, continued to regard them with some suspicion even after they entered Portugal. Later he, too, became their friend. Cfr. *Franco*, pp. 4 and 16.

433

Quoted in the Lisbon periodical *Broteria*, II, 270.

434

Monumenta Ignatiana, vol. 1, series 1, p. 132.

435

Corpo Diplomatico, IV, 104-5; IV, 291-2. He calls the Jesuits "os clérigos reformados".

436

Henry VIII had just installed the pliable Thomas Cromwell as his Vicar-General in religious matters; and some of the Scottish nobility, not noted for any kind of religious zeal, were beginning to see a chance of profit in supporting the new religion of the English King against their own Catholic sovereign.

437

On account of the opposition of some of the cardinals, the Pope delayed the approval until the 27th Sept., 1540, when he issued the bull *Regimini Militantis Ecclesiae*.

438

Coleridge, I, 77-87, where Xavier himself describes fully this attitude of the King.

439

From 1534 to 1539: *Couto*, dec. 5, bk. 5, ch. 5, and bk. 6, ch. 7; *Annaes*, states that he returned home in Jan., 1540 (pp. 306 and 312).

440

Clerigos de São Pedro is the King's phrase (*Letters Royal*, pp. 362-3). Ignatius was elected General of the Order a week after the fleet left Lisbon. Xavier had left a warmly worded vote in his favour.

441

In 1529 he was commandant of Rio da Prata (*Machado*, III, 435), and in 1533 admiral of India (*Annaes*, pp. 319-22; *Corrêa*, III, pt. 2, p. 580.).

442

Coleridge, I, pp. 113-130.

443

This cross, part of a padrão 18½ feet high, is still standing. It was erected by Vasco da Gama in 1498 at the end of April, just before he began the last lap of his memorable voyage to India. The pillar was dedicated to Saint Gabriel. Cfr. *Gama's Roteiro*.

444

Coleridge, I, 266; *Couto, IV*, 82-3; *Colloquios*, p. 139.

445

The Portuguese called it Baroa. *Annaes*, p. 351.

446

Coleridge, I, 194-5. This letter is dated from Munapand, 24th March, 1544.

447

Luthers Tischreden in der Mathesischen Sammlung, ed. by E. Kröker, p. 209, Leipzig, 1903.

448

H. Grisar, Luther, VI, 515 (English trans., London, 1913-7).

449

Franco (p. 3) thinks that the appellation originated from the King; but it was given them before they reached Portugal.

450

All this is narrated in a letter of the King to his ambassador in Rome, dated 27th Aug., 1546. *Corpo Diplomatico*, VI, 69 sqq.

451

Franco, pp. 22-3, 37-8. A sign of the progress was the erection of a new diocese of S. Thomé, separate from Madeira in 1534. It included the island of St. Helena, Congo, Angola as far as the Cape of Good Hope (*Arquivos de Angola*, July, 1944, p. 39).

452

Historia do Congo, pp. 93 sqq., by V. de Paiva Manso.

453

I Gesuiti dalle Origini ai Nostri Giorni, by Enrico Rosa, S.J., p. 166, Rome, 1930. For Voltaire's view, cf. *Essai sur les Moeurs et l'Esprit des Nations*, vol. 1, p. 15, Paris, 1813. *Congo, Manso*, 91-3.

454

Corpo Diplomatico, III, 368-370. Letter of Peter de Sousa de Távora to the King, dated Rome the 12th April, 1537. *Bullarium*, I, 279.

455

Annaes, pp. 312-3. "Pera criação das plantas teneras que juntava pera Christo" is the picturesque description of Galvão's aim in regard to the Malays.

456

" *Gospel of Saint Luke*, V, 7.

457

Ethiopia Or., II, 92-5, 160; *Analecta Sacra Ordinis Praedicatorum*, vol. 13, ed. by Fr. Theissling, Rome.

458

Coleridge, I, 510-530, takes the side of Xavier. Ferdinand Mendes Pinto, who was in Malacca then, blames the Governor for his treatment of so good a man (*Voyages and Adventures of F.M.P.*, trans. by H. Cogan, III, 435). The Vicar of Malacca was not so sure of the legal position; but brought the documents to the Governor's notice, as it was his duty to do.

459

Tratado Que Compõe O Nobre e Notavel Capitão Antonio Galvão, p. 85, ed. of 1731, Lisbon). An archaic English translation of the year 1601 was republished by the Hakluyt Society in 1862, under the title *Discoveries of the World*.

460

Malaya, p. 135, by R. D. Winstedt, London, 1923.

461

Annaes, pp. 318-19. The hospitals of Portugal then had an annexe like the modern hostel for the aged. Here Galvão wrote his famous book.

462

Avisi Particolari delle Indie di Portogallo. This very rare book is in the Reading Room of the British Museum of London (North Library, q. 27). It was printed at the expense of a wealthy citizen of Genoa, and its editors were Valerio Dorico and Luigi Fratelli Brassani.

463

Barros, II, 377-381. For Madagascar, *Andrada*, IV, 509-513; 280-284; 410-411.

464

This remarkable letter is printed in *D. João III*, pp. 233-8, by A. Pimenta, Oporto, 1936.

465

Couto, I, 75-9; *Barros*, VI, 457-462. They left Arkiko on 1st May, 1526, wintering at Ormuz, where they were well cared for by the new Governor Sampaio.

466

Barros, VI, 205-212; *Annaes*, pp. 120-122. But the most detailed account of this part of the journey is given by *Andrada* (I, 121-2, 130, 134-7) from documents in the Lisbon Archives.

467

C. Ansaldi, *Il Yemen Nella Storia e Nella Legenda*, pp. 147-149, Rome, 1933; *Annaes*, p. 155. *Andrada* (I, 171-7) tells of Silveira's first call at Massawa.

468

Annaes, pp. 193-5, 200, 205; *Barros*, VI, 506-510, 457, 461. Lima's letter was smuggled to Ormuz by a Portuguese named Baltazar Pessoa, who knew Arabic perfectly, and was able to pose as a Mohammedan, travelling in an Arab ship (*Andrada*, I, 238).

469

L. Pastor, *History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages*, vol. 9, pp. 388-423, ed. by R. F. Kerr, London, 1910.

470

Diarii, vol. 45, p. 503; T. Rymer, *Foedera, Conventiones, Literae, etc.*, VI, II, 80.

471

Corpo Diplomatico, II, 289. Bull *Cum Nobis Hodie*, dated 12th July, 1527; the ships arrived from India on the 24th. Cfr. II, 242, 252.

472

G. Clemenceau, *Grandeur and Misery of Victory*, p. 379, London, 1930.

473

L. Pastor, *History of the Popes, etc.*, vol. 10, pp. 1-105. London.

474

Couto, I, 78. But he makes the slip of writing that Alvares went to Rome in 1538.

475

Bullarium, I, 302-303.

476

L. Pastor, *History of the Popes, etc.*, vol. 10, pp. 166, 189-203, 273-281.

477

Bullarium, I, 279 sqq., where translations of these letters are given in Latin, made by the humanist Paul Giovio. For the tenets of the written works of Abyssinia, cf. P. Coulbeaux, *Histoire Politique et Religieuse de l'Abyssinie*, vol. 1, p. 215, Paris, 1929.

478

Called also Constantine I. He reigned from June, 1433, to 26th Aug., 1468; cfr. *L'Abyssinia*, by C. Conti-Rossini, p. 158, Rome, 1929.

479

Bullarium, I, 298. The diffuse sentences of the oriental original have been condensed in this version.

480

Acta Authentica Concilii Tridentini, I, 59, ed. by A. Theiner, Zagabria, 1874.

481

Raynaldus, vol. 9, p. 365.

482

Bullarium, I, 300; *Alvares*, ch. 114.

483

In the original edition the title was (in the year 1540) *Ho Preste Joam das Indias, Verdadeira Informacam*, etc. But it is generally quoted by the last two words, which in English mean *True Report*. See A. J. Anselmo, *Bibliografia das Obras Impressas no Seculo XVI*, No. 1015, Lisbon, 1926.

484

Ficalho, pp. 291-2.

485

Corpo Diplomatico, II, 412; *Bullarium*, I, 304.

486

A German pamphlet was published in 1533 at Dresden giving an account of this *Bottshaft* of Abyssinia. Cfr. *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, No. 177, ed. by H. Harisse, New York, 1866.

487

D. de Goes, *Opuscula Quae in Hispania Illustrata Continentur*, p. 227, Coimbra, 1791.

488

"Sermonem satis brevem cum bona substancia." (MS. from Barberini Library, Rome, in *Annales*, vol. 13, pp. 290-6.)

489

Bullarium, I, 146-7; *Corpo Diplomatico*, II, 416-410.

490

An echo of this is found in a MS. romance of the State Library of Munich. Cfr. *Unpublished Documents, etc.*, pp. 44-8, ed. by S. R. Welch, Pretoria, 1930. This manuscript is dated 1578.

491

Corpo Diplomatico, III, 243, 216; VI, 69.

492

Some details omitted by them are found in the 1550 edition, published by J. B. Ramusio in the first volume of his *Navigationi et Viaggi*.

493

Ficalho, p. 305.

494

This was Fernão d'Alvares; *Letters Royal*, p. 149.

495

That he was actually there is related by the English ambassador in a letter to Thomas Cromwell. *Letters Foreign and Domestic*, 1533, p. 71, No. 156, ed. by J. Gairdner, London; *Letters Royal*, p. 307.

496

R. Basset, *Deux Lettres Ethiopiennes du XVI Siècle*, in the "Giornale della Società Asiatica Italiana", 1889, III, 58-79, Rome; Schurhammer, No. 148.

497

Estudios Sobre Damião de Goes, by F. M. de Sousa Viterbo, 1897, Oporto; *Ineditos Goesianos*, by G. J. C. Henriques, Coimbra, 1896-8.

498

He writes of Zaab as "viri et episcopali dignitate venerabilis et fide, doctrina ac eloquentia Chaldaicæ et Arabicæ linguae admirabilis."

499

The chief ideologies so suppressed in our day are Capitalist Democracy, Communism, Fascism and National Socialism.

500

Acts of the Lisbon Inquisition, quoted by Schurhammer, No. 869.

501

He first went to India in 1515, as physician of the fleet of Lopo Soares d'Albergaria.

502

Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, VI, 65, ed. of 1868, London.

503

Couto, who was no lenient judge and knew Bermudes personally, believed in him. "Morreo com mostras de muito grande Catholico, e ainda de santidade." (VII, 7.)

504

Chronique Ethiopienne, pp. 103-9, by R. Bassett, Paris, 1882.

505

Bullarium, I, 108. "Eum (i.e., Mark) nostrum et Apostolicae Sedis legatum deputamus . . . quae necessario ad fidem pertinent pro animarum salute praestare et exercere possit."

506

The Jesuit Simon Rodrigues, in a letter of the 18th March, 1546, calls him "clerigo muy ignepto y ignorante" (*Schurhammer*, No. 2064). Whiteway joins the chorus (Introd. p. XCII), but gives no good reasons.

507

This date he himself gives: *Bermudes*, Whiteway's ed., p. 129; my translation of this sentence differs verbally from Whiteway's.

508

He left Valladolid on the 12th March, 1537 (*Schurhammer*, No. 195).

509

Leonessa (p. 191) prints a Vatican MS. to this effect.

510

Epistolae XIII Divi Pauli, published at Rome in 1549. Here he calls himself also Malezo, son of Tecla Haimanot (*Schurhammer*, No. 5087); *Leonessa*, p. 329, calls him Malbazo, as Salmeron does.

511

Monumenta S.J., *Epistolae Salmeronis*, I, 33; *Leonessa*, p. 228.

512

Whiteway (p. 257) finds a contradiction between this and the statement that he had lost (p. 180) his papers previously. The latter statement refers to his papers from King David, not to those from the Pope.

513

His credentials were dated Rome, the 17th Febr., 1537; *Corpo Diplomatico*, III, 360. *Bermudes*, ed. of Whiteway, p. 131.

514

Corrêa, IV, 178; *Annaes*, p. 349; *Couto*, IV, 157; *Bullarium*, II, 306.

515

Whiteway (pp. 130-4), in his edition of *Bermudes*, doubts these honours, though he gives no valid reason for doing so. The errors of detail, which he detects, are such as any honest man might make in recording experiences of twenty years ago.

516

Couto, IV, 58. 61 and 81.

517

Corrêa, IV, 138 (translated by Stanley in *Three Voyages, etc.*, pp. 107-8), writes that Ferdinand Farto got back to Goa with this letter on the 22nd May, 1540.

518

Couto, IV, 113-118.

519

Corrêa, IV, 178-182.

520

Couto, IV, 149-150. *Bermudes* calls the Abyssinian governor Tigremaquão.

521

Castro's Roteiro, p. 246. *Couto* writes: "alguns dias ja andados de Junho". In such matters of detail Castro is the more reliable.

522

Her Abyssinian name, Sabla Wangel (corn spike of the Evangel), sounded like Isabel of the Gospel to the Portuguese. But they sometimes called her Sabani. *Couto*, IV, 156-7; *Bermudes*, translation of Whiteway, p. 14.

523

"Anda vestido cõ duas lobas brancas detradas até o chão e hum sinto de couro cuberto de seta cõ huns tachões douro que de qua levou da India e huma touca na cabeca." This description has been preserved by Gaspar Baertz S.J., who in 1551 received it from eyewitnesses. *Missões dos Jesuitas no Oriente nos Séculos XVI e XVII*, pp. 103-4, by J.A.P.C.

524

Whiteway (p. 44 of his Introduction) misreads *Bermudes* in writing that he paints Christopher as "young, irresolute and incompetent with no attribute but personal courage". Except for the youth, this is a description that *Bermudes* would have deeply resented.

525

Couto (IV, 153) calls it Dama. *Castanhoso* gives it no name, but the description fits this hill.

526

Castanhoso, ch. 3-4; *Corrêa*, IV, 358; *Bermudes*, ch. 12, tells us that the Queen brought only the youngest of her three daughters with her.

527

Castanhoso devotes a whole chapter (ch. 5) to these picturesque details.

528

Corrêa, IV, 351; *Couto*, IV, 212, who says that they advanced in October; but *Castanhoso*, who was present, writes (ch. 7) that it was in December.

529

Castanhoso says that they were fast-trotting mules (ch. 7), but Corrêa (IV) that they were horses.

530

It is curious that the soldier Castanhoso dilates on these ecclesiastical celebrations, whilst the Patriarch omits even the name of the hill where they took place.

531

Couto also, IV, 214, refuses to clear up the mystery for want of data: "mas escrivemo-lo pera que haja memoria de huma cousa tao notavel".

532

Corrêa, IV, 356-8; *Castanhoso*, ch. 9.

533

Couto, IV, 215-220. *Castanhoso* devotes his tenth and eleventh chapters to the military aspect of this assault.

534

This seems to be the place that *Castanhoso* (ch. 12) and *Corrêa* (IV, 361) call Jarte. *Bermudes* (ch. 20) calls it Farte, but this may be a slip of the quill for Jarte.

535

Bermudes (ch. 15) calls him a "hurrah-for-the-victor" man, but says that he arrived after the first brush with the Moors.

536

B. Tellez, *The Travels of the Jesuits in Ethiopia*, bk. 2, ch. 10, transl. London, 1710; *Bermudes*, ch. 17.

537

Castanhoso, ch. 14; *Corrêa*, IV, 367; *Bermudes* claims to have pointed out the Sultan to John de Sá, ch. 14.

538

At this moment the Queen was so terrified that she turned to the Patriarch and exclaimed: "Oh, my Father, what was the use of bringing me here? Why did you not let me go my own way?" *Bermudes*, ch. 14.

539

Basset, pp. 107-110.

540

We are reminded of the Angels of Mons during the British retreat in 1915. But the Patriarch makes it plain that he did not see this vision himself.

541

Castanhoso, ch. 15 in fine. For the Abyssinian chroniclers, see *Basset*, p. 111.

542

"A cidade de Offar", according to *Couto*, IV, 276. For the Abyssinians it was Afia, and Ofala for Castanhoso.

543

This word means emigrants, and is a translation of the Hebrew term *bene hagôla*, which the Jews gave themselves after the fall of Jerusalem. (*Conti-Rossini*, p. 131.)

544

Couto calls this hill Caloa, IV, 319; but the present site is identified by G. Massaia, *I Miei Trenta-Cinque Anni di Missione nell'Alta Etiopia*, Rome, 1885-1889.

545

Corrêa mentions 4300, IV, 473; but these figures are Castanhoso's, who devotes his whole seventeenth chapter to this event. Cfr. *Couto*, IV, 279-280.

546

Among the chroniclers there is confusion as between the 28th and 31st of August; but Castanhoso remembers that it was the feast of the martyrdom of Saint John the Baptist, the 29th August.

547

We have two records of this at first hand: *Castanhoso*, ch. 19, and *Bermudes*, ch. 21 and 23.

548

The Patriarch, supported by Whiteway (p. 169), thought this command unintelligible. It was very human, after all that this noble youth had endured. Exhausted in mind and body, he had strength of mind left to prevent his friends from perishing with him.

549

Two of the most authoritative will suffice: S. McKenna, *Whilst I Remember*, London, 1915; E. F. Benson, *As We Are*, London, 1932.

550

Bermudes, ch. 22; *Castanhoso*, ch. 20. The Negus Claudius in a letter, translated by Whiteway (p. 117), says that there were 130, but he also asserts that "all the Franks were satisfied with Ayres Dias as their captain", which he knew was not true.

551

Whiteway notes, p. 171, that this happened more probably after the second battle, p. 53. It appears most likely that it happened twice.

552

In five chapters (25-29) *Bermudes* gives a straightforward account of all these negotiations.

553

Bermudes (Whiteway's ed., p. 117) gives the letter of Claudius.

554

So I translate Castanhoso's laconic use of the word *lingua*. The pun is recorded by *Bermudes*, ch. 39.

555

The divided counsels are seen in the differences between the narrative of *Bermudes* (chs. 31-33) and that of *Castanhoso* (22-3), though in the main facts they agree.

556

Whiteway calls this a fanciful story of Bermudes, p. 185. Why? Claudius had just returned from a long exile after defeat, he had joined the Portuguese army after its first defeat, and he knew that the Portuguese were not in harmony.

557

Bermudes devotes the whole of ch. 35 to the tale of this revolt. *Castanhoso*, ch. 27.

558

Couto, IV, 401-2. Both these mulattoes added to their Portuguese family names the surname of *do Prestes*, which may be freely translated of *Abyssinia*.

559

Corrêa, IV, 343. *Couto*, 401-6.

560

Esteves-Pereira gives the letter in the original; but a translation is found in Whiteway (p. 109): ed. of *Bermudes*.

561

History, bk. 9 (Calliope), c. 122.

562

The reference is to the *Book of Esther*, where the first verse relates how "Ahasuerus reigned from India even unto Ethiopia", as the Portuguese kings then did. *Annaes*, p. 102, of course cites the Vulgate edition of the Bible.

563

Basset, p. 113. The lack of gratitude on the part of the Abyssinians is seen in this Chronicle of theirs, where the Portuguese are not even mentioned.

564

Whiteway's ed. of *Bermudes*, p. 203.

565

A. Lang, *History of Scotland*, vol. 2, pp. 85-92.

566

Basset, p. 113; Whiteway's ed. of *Bermudes*, pp. 212-4.

567

Probably the province of Gabat, whose chief place is Entalo in the region of Waliega.

568

Beccari, V, 474; *Chronique de Galaweevos*, p. 141, ed. of Cunzelman, Paris, 1895; Whiteway's *Bermudes*, p. 218.

569

Bermudes, ch. 44.

570

Bermudes, ch. 46.

571

Almeida Igreja, p. 66, where the relevant parts of the letter of Gaspar Baertz S.J. are reproduced.

572

Adugue is the title he gives him, and he translates it for us.

573

Whiteway in a long note (*Bermudes*, pp. 227-8) throws doubt upon this part of the Patriarch's narrative. But Bermudes is a more reliable witness than the native chroniclers, who deliberately omit the honourable deeds of the Portuguese.

574

E. Cerulli, *Studi Etiopici*, vol. 2, pp. 28-34, Rome, 1938. The cruelties of these tribes were seen and recorded by John dos Santos (*Ethiopia Or.*, bk. 2, ch. 21) fifty years later, and by Andrew Battell in *The Strange Adventures of Andrew Battell*, p. 150, published London, 1901, Hakluyt Society.

575

Report of Gaspar Baertz, S.J., who was in India in 1551: *Missões dos Jesuitas no Oriente nos Séculos XVI e XVII*, pp. 102-3, by J. A. P. da Camara Manuel, Lisbon, 1894.

576

The Lisbon editor of the Portuguese edition of 1855 said in his haste that these chapters (49-52) were fantastic. That prosaic generation naturally thought so, but we have all travelled since then.

577

Fifty years later Shakespeare re-echoed this noble fancy of earlier ages in his *Merchant of Venice*, act 5, scene 1:

"There's not the smallest orb which thou behold'st
But in his motion like an angel sings."

578

This seems indicated by the Patriarch's description: "south-east of Gojam" (ch. 53 *in fine*).

579

Cuncar is the form he uses, ch. 55.

580

"Apalpasso o animo com que aquelle Imperador estava na mudanca dos costumes e recebimento do Patriarcha Catholico." *Couto*, VII, 61.

581

Monumenta S.J., Chronicon, IV, 380.

582

Couto, VII, 82.

583

Peixoto had been commissioned to pilot this mission to Abyssinia by the Governor of India at the request of the Jesuits of Goa. He was waiting to bring them back. *Couto*, VII, 188-9, 200-202.

584

"Que elle ficava prestes para receber o Patriarcha como elle merecia, mas não se penhorou em palavras na mudança dos costumes." *Couto*, VII, 202.

585

J. H. van Linschoten, Hakluyt edition of 1884, II, 257.

586

The historian Diogo de Couto used to visit him in his retirement at the church of St. Sebastian da Pedreira outside Lisbon, and Couto declares that people reckoned him a saint. *Couto*, VII, 7.

587

Vida de D. Frei Bartholomew dos Martyres, I, 409, Braga, 1890.

588

Leonessa, p. 228.

589

Beccari, VIII, 87.

590

Vida de D. João de Castro, p. 442, by J. F. de Andrada, pub. by the Lisbon Academy.

591

Corpo Diplomatico, VI, 69 sqq.: letter of the King to Balthasar de Faria, dated 27th Aug., 1546.

592

He died in Rome on 1st August, just when he had been nominated a papal theologian to the Council of Trent.

593

D. João e Os Francezes, p. 126, by M. E. G. de Carvalho, Lisbon, 1909; *Corpo Diplomatico*, VI, 282-3, 286.

594

Letter of Simon Rodrigues S.J. to Xavier, dated from Almeirim the 24th March, 1547. *Pombal Collection*, National Library, Lisbon, 745, 140.

595

Letter to M. da Santa Cruz from Lisbon, 15th Aug., 1548. *Epistolae Paschasi Broeti, etc.*, 600, Madrid, 1903.

596

Corpo Diplomatico, VI, 27. Letter of Balthasar de Faria, 25th March, 1546.

597

He died at Tivoli, as his tombstone in Rome testifies. *Schurhammer*, No. 5851.

598

Letter to the Rector of Coimbra, 17th Jan., 1549. *Monumenta Ignatiana, ad annum*.

599

Ceuta History, pp. 277-281, where a vivid account of the work of Nunes is found. "No se estrechava su gran charidad a los esclavos solos, antes se standia a los infieles."

600

Franco, p. 44.

601

Corpo Diplomatico, VI, 69; VII, 282, 554, 558-560; *Couto*, dec. 7, bk. 1, ch. 1; bk. 3, chs. 6-7; *Beccari*, I, 271 sqq.

602

Couto, dec. 7, bk. 1, ch. 9; bk. 3, ch. 7. A copy of this report is contained in a letter, dated 13th Sept., 1556, which Rodrigues wrote to his Order in Europe, published in *Beccari*, III, 2 sqq., and V, 358 sqq. It is translated into Latin by V. Ludolf in *Commentarius ad Historiam Aethiopicam*, pp. 474-9.

603

Bullarium, III, 289-290.

604

"Escrever elle que lhe mandassem o Patriarcha e Bispos, fora mais por comprimento que por vontade." *Couto*, VII, 61-2, 220-4.

605

Gonsalo Soares Cardim of Sintra, who was with the Bishop until his death, furnished Couto with all the data he used for his history. *Couto*, VII, 230, 304-9; Barreto's letter to the Negus is in a MS. of the Torre do Tombo, *Cartos dos Vice Reis da India e Outras Pessoas*, No. 93.

606

Ficalho, p. 338: letter of Manuel Fernandes S.J. to the General of the Jesuits.

607

Couto, VII, 309, 319-326. Describing the banquet given by Gonsalo Ferreira and the great military parade, he adds: "pareciam elles os senhores da terra".

608

Balthasar Telles, *Chronica da Companhia de Jesus*, pt. 2, bk. 6, chs. 1-2.

609

Bullarium, II, 305-6.

610

"In regno Ogge" evidently means this. *Bullarium*, II, 307.

611

Ficalho, p. 339.

612

Guidi, *La Prima Stampa del Nuovo Testamento in Etiopico Fatta in Roma nel 1548-9*, Rome, 1886, "Archivio di Storia Patria".

613

Reprinted in 1677 at Lyons in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, vol. 27, p. 626.

614

Beccari, I 287 sqq.

615

Monumenta S.J., Epistolae Mixtae, IV, 108; *Oriente Conquistato*, by F. de Sousa, I, 743 sqq.; *Monumenta Ignatiana*, series 1, tome 6, p. 204; tome 7, pp. 3 and 601.

616

Chapter 6, verse 6 of *Ecclesiasticus*, which is one of the books of the Catholic Bible. *Bullarium*, II, 306; *Couto*, VIII, 93-98.

617

"Nem o Emperador estava satisfeito do Bispo por sua liberdade, e assim pouco e pouco veio a tomar algun aborrecimento aos Portugueses, sem quem não podia um passo." *Conto*, VII, 7; VIII, 85-94.

618

This is gracefully acknowledged by the Jesuit historian of the eighteenth century, *Franco*, p. 43; as well as by the contemporary Jesuit, Gaspar Baertz.

619

Bartoli S.J., vol. 6, p. 221.

620

B. Telles, *Historia Geral de Ethiopia a Alta*, bk. 2, ch. 25; F. de Sousa, *Oriente Conquistado*, I, 819, Bombay, 1881-6.

621

Schurhammer, No. 3213.

622

Coleridge, II, 366. This was written in 1552, the year in which Xavier died.

623

Jesuit Archives of Goa, No. 10356; *Schurhammer*, No. 6095, has a précis of this letter; *Bartoli S.J.*, vol. 6, pp. 184-90; Xavier once felt obliged to urge him to use "a more gentle remedy, in so far as your conscience will allow". *Coleridge*, II, 422.

624

Schurhammer, No. 6085: letter of 6th Aug., 1555.

625

Coleridge, II, 484.

626

The historians usually call him Alvaro d'Ataide; but Xavier, in this last letter he ever wrote, calls him Da Gama. *Coleridge*, II, p. 566.

627

National Library of Lisbon, No. 745, 113 (*Schurhammer*, 4909).

628

The only first-hand account of his death is by this boy. *Schurhammer*, No. 6138.

629

Letter of Melchior Nunes S.J., dated from Bassain 7th December, 1552. *Schurhammer*, No. 4924.

630

Letter to Simon Rodrigues S.J. of the 20th Dec., 1548, in which he describes the Indian students as "fracos espíritos". *Bibliotheca Missionum*, by R. Streit, IV, 588, Aachen, 1931.

631

Bartoli S.J., III, 43-46.

632

Cfr. for example *The Occident and the Orient*, by V. Chirol, p. 5, Chicago University Press, 1924.

633

Dated from Cochin the 16th Jan., 1551. *Schurhammer*, No. 4591; *Coleridge*, pp. 434 and 468.

634

Coleridge, II, 397-8.

635

"A dar razon de si", as the Secretary of Ignatius writes on the 24th Dec., 1553. *Schurhammer*, No. 6031.

636

Schurhammer, 1272, 1300, 3099, 4010.

637

Letter of Viceroy from Cochin to the King, 16th Jan., 1551. *Schurhammer*, No. 4592. But the same Viceroy praised Gomes highly for the work he did after this in India (No. 4912).

638

Bartoli S.J., III, 230-233; *Schurhammer*, No. 4713.

639

The artist Hugo van der Goes (died 1482) was from the same town.

640

Franco, p. 24; *Bartoli S.J.*, IV, 19-26.

641

Schurhammer, Nos. 4077 and 4026, where the captain of the *Sphera* says that they remained from the 16th to the 24th. But *Bartoli* says three weeks (II, 252) before the 6th.

642

This has been fully done by N. Trigault, *Vita Gasparis Barzaet Belgae*, Antwerp, 1610.

643

MS. of the Royal Library of Brussels, cfr. Trigault, p. 8.

644

Schurhammer, Nos. 4256 and 4390, letter of Cabral to the King.

645

Letter of L. G. de Camara S.J. to the Jesuits of Coimbra in *Schurhammer*, No. 4409; also Nos. 4567 and 4624.

646

Letter of D. Lainez to C. de' Medici, Pisa, June, 1551. *Monumenta S.J.*, Lainii Monumenta, No. 183.

647

Letter of A. Adriani to Ignatius of Loyola, 23rd June, 1551. *Schurhammer*, 4666.

648

M. Chaine, *Un Monastère Ethiopien à Rome au XVe et XVIe Siècle*, pp. 17-26, Beyrouth (Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale), 1911.

649

*S. Francisci Xaverii Epistolarum Libri Septem, VI, 2-4, ed. by P.
Possin, Rome, 1667.*

650

Beccari, X, 35.

651

Annaes, 429-432. Letter of Ignatius about Pope (Schurhammer).

652

Beccari, X, 37; Schurhammer, No. 4904.

653

B. M. Barreto in a letter from Goa, 9th Nov., 1551, *Schurhammer*, 4710.

654

Letter of Reimão Pereira from Goa, 8th Dec., 1552, *Schurhammer*, 4925; Baertz's own letter to Coimbra from Goa, 27th Dec., No. 4937.

655

Schurhammer, Nos. 4952a, 5999 and 6001.

656

J. A. P. da Camara Manuel, *Missões dos Jesuitas, etc.*, pp. 103-4.

657

National Library of Lisbon, *MSS. Pombal Collection*, 745, 29. The letter is dated 25th June, 1553. *Bartoli S.J.*, IV, 121. The second letter of Ignatius is dated from Rome the 24th Dec., 1553. *Schurhammer*, No. 6029.

658

Franco, p. 48.

659

*Sino-Portuguese Trade, 1514-1644, pp. 92-4, by T'ien-Tse Chang,
Leyden, 1934.*

660

Bullarium, I, 196-8. The bull is dated 4th Feb., 1557, yet addressed to King Sebastian, who only began to reign in June of that year. Evidently John III died whilst the bull was being expedited. *Couto*, dec. 7, bk. 8, ch. 2.

661

Da Asia, XIV, 272-3. The island of Ampaza is Fazi in the Lamu Archipelago: at present containing a population of mixed Arab, Somali and Portuguese blood.

662

Archives of the Foreign Missions of the Institute of Parma, Italy. *Schurhammer*, Nos. 4824 and 4713.

663

G. Soranzo, *Il Papato, L'Europa Cristiana e i Tartari*, p. 9, Milan, 1930; Marco Polo, *Il Milione*, ed. of Dante Olivieri, pp. 25-6, Bari in Italy, 1912.

664

His letter from Cochin to the Bishop of S. Thomé, who was the King's chaplain, blames the Bishop of Goa for allowing the Jesuits so many converts too easily. Dated 31st Dec., 1551. *Schurhammer*, 4719.

665

Purgatorio, XXXII, 102.

666

Fragments of a letter from Mozambique to Ignatius, *Beccari*, X, 52.

667

These were charity organisations conducted by Catholic laymen. Xavier has high praise for their work among the poor.

668

Corpo Diplomatico, III, 361-8; *Schurhammer*, No. 221. Andrada, III, 329-30, relates how Albuquerque took solemn possession of his new see on 25th March, 1539.

669

"E este he pessoa mui sufficiente, e ha de hyr resedir." *Corpo Diplomatico*, III, p. 369.

670

Schurhammer, No. 4123.

671

Schurhammer, Nos. 4072 and 4719.

672

Summa Theologica, Secunda Secundae, q. 10. "Non sunt infidelium pueri invitatis parentibus baptizandi, quia id Ecclesiae Dei consuetudo in omnibus sequenda, nunquam probavit: quod et justitiae naturali repugnaret, et inde fides in periculio venire posset." He goes on to say that even if passages of Augustine, Jerome or other doctors of the Church, could be produced to justify these baptisms, such passages are of no value because they contradict the clear practice of the Church.

673

Lisbon Archives, *Cartas dos Vice Reys da India*, MS. No. 152 (*Schurhammer*, 2691).

674

There were vicars of the Bishop in Mozambique, Sofala, Diu, Malacca and Ormuz. *Coleridge*, I, 265-271.

675

Schurhammer, Nos. 161, 1044, 1316. The last is a letter of the Goa Chapter, dated the third of December, 1544.

676

Coleridge, I, 266; *Schurhammer*, Nos. 1768, 2000-1.

677

"Pera esta musica da conversão dos infieis a mister muita constância e prudencia, da qual carecemos alguns." *Schurhammer*, 4071.

678

Bartoli S.J., I, 117-9.

679

Schurhammer, No. 2735.

680

Monumenta S.J., VII, 314-6, has a letter to him from Ignatius, dated from Rome the 26th July, 1554, congratulating him on his solemn profession. On that occasion Francis Borgia preached the sermon, and Silveira was appointed the first superior of the house of S. Roque in Lisbon.

681

G. M. Theal (*Records*, II, 95) makes a gallant attempt to render this difficult passage. I hope that the translation in the text is fuller.

682

The Portuguese in South Africa (Cape Town, 1896), p. 95, by G. M. Theal, who thought that Antonio do Campo was the discoverer; but he could not have reached Lisbon before 1503. *Lagoa* means a great lake.

683

This passage is translated in *Records Theal*, VI, 265.

684

Schurhammer, No. 1685, who saw the letter in the Torre do Tombo; it is dated the 15th Nov.

685

Esmraldo, p. 16.

686

The English Protestant Authorised Version of the Bible calls this the First Book of Kings. But Pacheco wrote a hundred years before this English translation was made. He uses the old Vulgate edition.

687

"Cum venabere, licebit autore me ut panarium et lagunculam, sic etiam pugillares feras." Edition of H. Keil, I, 6, Leipzig, 1870..

688

Colloquios, p. 88.

689

Perestrelo's Roteiro, pp. 87-9.

690

J. F. de Andrade, *Vida de D. João de Castro*, Lisbon, 1835, ed. by F. de S. Luiz, p. 427, where the letter is given in full.

691

Letters Royal, p. 346.

692

Six thousand *quintals*: *Colloquios*, p. 86. A *bar* contained three *quintals* according to Orta, p. 45; but later it was taken to hold four. *Perestrelo's Roteiro*.

693

Subsidios Para A Historia Portugueza, by Antonio Nunes, pp. 29-33, Lisbon, 1868.

694

In the Latin dedication of the first edition of *Colloquios*.

695

The reference is to the good-natured, but slow-witted, slave in Terence's play of *Andria*. But this was unjust to Gerard of Cremona, who, like all pioneers, made many mistakes, but he first translated into Latin Avicenna's *Canon of Medicine*, and many other Arabic works.

696

Colloquios, p. 196. Orta was the first writer to give an exact description of the cholera epidemic.

697

Marco Polo, Il Milione, pp. 206-8, ed. by L. F. Benedetto Florence, 1928.

698

Colloquios, pp. 88-89 and 52.

699

Realgar is the English for the Portuguese *rosalgar*, which Orta uses. *Colloquios*, pp. 128-9 38, 41.

700

Records Theal, I, 283 and 138.

701

Gama's Roteiro, p. 147. Even to-day there is a village on this river called Aguada da Boa Paz.

702

Perestrelo's Roteiro, p. 56.

703

F. W. T. Posselt, *Survey of the Native Tribes of S. Rhodesia*, p. 12, Salisbury, Rhodesia, 1927; T. Bent, *The Ruined Cities of Mashonaland*, p. 32, London, 1896.

704

Couto, II, 351. He does not blame the original Italian travellers, but their translators.

705

John I, the founder of this dynasty, began to reign in 1385.

706

Records, VII, 458, has an excellent line-map showing the respective areas of Bantu, Bushman and Hottentot, at this period.

707

D. de Goes, *Cronica de El Rei D. Manuel*, pt. 1, ch. 36; *Gama's Roteiro*, p. 146; *Castanheda*, bk. 1, ch. 4; *Records*, I, 269.

708

D. Bryant, *Olden Days in Zululand*, pp. 3-4, London, 1921; *The South-Eastern Bantu*, by J. A. Soga, pp. 395-400, Johannesburg, 1930. Soga says that Ama-Laba means "skilled workers".

709

The Yellow and Dark-Skinned People of South Africa, p. 175.

710

S. Hernia, *Vita del P. Consalvo Silveira*, p. 58, Bologna, 1652.

711

Couto, II, 314-320; *Records*, VII, 490.

712

Stanley, pp. 33-4 of the Introduction.

713

South African Journal of Science, Cape Town, 1913, pp. 137-161.

714

H. A. Junod, *The Life of a South African Tribe*, vol. 1, pp. 21-23, London.

715

"Tutti quasi ad un fine tiravano assai crudele: ciò era di schivare e di fuggire gli inferni e lor cose." Preface to the *Decameron*; S. R. Welch, *Europe's Discovery of South Africa*, pp. 69 and 294, Cape Town, 1935.

716

J. L. Döhne, *A Zulu-Kafir Dictionary*, p. XIV, Cape Town, 1857.

717

H. A. Junod, *The Life of a South African Tribe*, vol. 2, p. 525.

718

The South-Eastern Bantu, pp. 69 and 398; L. Frobenius, 40 and 222-44.

719

Frobenius, pp. 27-8 and 279-285.

720

A full account of these pictures with artistic reproductions is found in *Frobenius*, pp. 295-314.

721

L. Cipriani, *Le Antiche Rovine e Miniere della Rhodesia*, pp. 31-3, 96 and 101, Florence, 1932.

722

Wooley, *The Sumerians*, p. 33.

723

G. Caton-Thompson, *The Zimbabwe Culture*, p. 197, Oxford, 1931; Barros, II, 377-381.

724

His diary was first published in the *Abhandlungen* of the Munich Academy for 1856 and 1860, ed. by Friedrich Kunstmann; *Book of Duarte Barbosa*, pp. 3-4, Hakluyt Society Publications; *Corrêa*, I, 414.

724a

Tonibo do Estado da India, reproduced in *Subsidios Para a Historia da India Portugueza*, pp. 8-9 and 13, ed. by J. A. Felner; J. dos Santos, *Ethiopia Oriental*, part 1, bk. 2, ch. 70.

725

* The phrase he used was: "sem nenhum temor de Deus e do Mundo", *Archivo Historico*, V, 222, article by Jordão de Freitas on the Inquisition of Goa.

726

Practica Inquisitionis, pp. 231-233, sixth ed., Paris, 1886. The author, Bernard Gui, died in 1323. *Couto*, dec. 7, bk. 9, ch. 5; *Oriente Conquistado*, by F. de Sousa, I, 136.

727

The Golden Century of Spain, pp. 13-16, by R. Trevor Davies (London, 1937), shows how popular tradition has falsified its facts about the Spanish Inquisition. E. Vacandard, *The Inquisition*, trans. London, 1908.

728

Out of many a recent example is G. H. T. Kimble, *Geography in the Middle Ages*, p. 240, London, 1938. He states that nautical science began to decline in Portugal in 1537 with the introduction of the Inquisition. If it could be admitted that there was a decline at this time, there is no proof whatever of any connection between the two.

728a

In May, 1946, by order of the joint Inquisition established in Germany by North America, Great Britain, Russia and France, pulp was then made of "all undemocratic, militaristic and Nazi" literature, museum and literary material, newspapers, films and war memorials. Tombstones were excepted. (*Time*, New York, 27th May, 1946.)

729

L. Pastor, *History of the Popes*, vol. II, p. 501.

730

Couto, II, 453.

731

Historia Diplomatica Frederici II, by Huillard-Bréholles, II, 462.

732

Decline of Empire and Papacy, p. 316, Cambridge Medieval History, vol. 7, 1932.

733

His Portuguese title was *Condestabre Mor*. His letter to the King is given in *Cartografia*, II, 20.

734

Lendas da India: these passages have been translated by Theal in *Records*, II, 257.

735

Cartografia, II, 21.

736

Letters Royal, pp. 163-4. L. A. Muratori (*Annali d'Italia*, IV, 551, Milan, 1838) writes that G. was sentenced "a sofferire una specie di piacevole prigionia in Rome e possia in Firenze".

737

He is remarkable as the only Jew of those days in Portugal who produced a work of real literary merit. The sentence occurs in his *Tribulacōe de Israel*, third dialogue, ch. 28 (Coimbra, 1906), which was first published in 1553 at Ferrara.

738

The phrase was coined by a Jewish writer, W. Sombart, in his *Die Juden und das Wirtschaftsleben*, p. 199, Leipzig, 1911. For their Lutheran connections see Goris, pp. 557-564. For the Turkish link see C. Roth, *History of the Jews in England*, p. 135, Oxford, 1941. This is made even clearer by a German Jew, who was once editor of the *Berliner Tageblatt* (H. Sinsheimer, *Shylock*, pp. 54-8, London, 1947).

739

Historia de S. Domingos, pt. 3, bk. 1, ch. 2, Lisbon, 1866. Andrada, III, 398-400, gives an instance of the provocative conduct of a doctor in Goa who was a New Christian.

740

These undated instructions to D. Martinho de Portugal are probably of the year 1532. They are given in full in *Historia dos Christãos Novos Portugueses*, pp. 443-6, by J. L. d'Azevedo, Lisbon, 1922.

741

Selected Letters of Pliny, p. 109, ed. by C. E. Prichard, Oxford, 1880. "Conquirendi non sunt; si deferantur et arguantur, puniendi sunt." Death was the legal penalty of the crime of being a Christian.

742

Acenheiro, pp. 350-351: Jas. Parkes, *The Jew in the Medieval Community*, p. 237, London, 1938.

743

Calendar of S.P., Venetian, 1520-6, p. 358, No. 810, ed. by R. Brown, London, 1869; *Bullarium*, I, 138, where the Pope's whole letter to John appears.

744

Ramusio's long and interesting report to the Signoria is contained in *Diarii*, vol. 54, pp. 145-149, Venice, 1899. He advised the Doge and Senate to give no credence to the wonderful secrets which Rubeni offered to reveal. For Ramusio's career see *Della Vita e degli Studi di G. B. Ramusio*, by A. del Piero, Venice, 1902.

745

This man was an Augustinian friar, a converted Jew of Spain, who was now a confidential agent of the Cardinal of Ancona. *Calendar of S.P., Venetian*, 1527-33, p. 96, No. 176, London, 1871.

746

This event is narrated by G. G. Coulton, *Inquisition and Liberty*, pp. 321-4, London, 1938.

747

Corpo Diplomatico, III, 232.

748

Calendar of S.P., Venetian, 1534-1554, p. 88, No. 229, ed. by R. Brown, London, 1873. For the law in England, *Essays in Law and History*, pp. 65-6, by Sir W. S. Holdsworth, Oxford University Press, 1946.

749

Many examples of these are given by Baião, *Archivo Historico*, VI, 81-117, 168-185.

Corpo Diplomatico, II, 324.

750

751

Silva refused to accept the position, and the papal letters were never published in Portugal. *Historia dos Christãos Novos Portugueses*, p. 73, by J. L. d'Azevedo.

Corpo Diplomatico. IV, 175.

752

753

Goris, p. 564. She was known in Antwerp as Beatrice de Luna, and was the aunt of the great enemy of the Christian nations, the Duke of Naxos. Cfr. Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, IX, 366.

Letters of the Court, p. 103.

754

755

Corpo Diplomatico, II, 420. In a letter to the Cardinal Pucci the King writes indignantly that if he had wished to punish Duarte, he would have chosen some other method rather than assassination. *Corpo Diplomatico*, III, 332.

756

Historia dos Christãos Novos Portugueses, pp. 79-82.

757

Machado, II, 27, who states that he saw a manuscript list of these refugees with their assets.

758

This bull was published on the 7th April, 1533, and was entitled *Sempiterno Regi*. It is given entire in *Corpo Diplomatico*, II, 430-440.

759

There is no understanding this story unless we grasp the fact that both men were in deadly earnest, and anxious to set right a tangled situation which they had not created. Nearly all the standard historians are violently hostile either to John or the Pope, some to both. Too often the documents suffer by an interpretation which shows the heat of their feelings. *Corpo Diplomatico*, II, 452-459.

760

The only part of the breve published is that quoted by Manuel de S. Damaso in his *Verdade Eluicidada*, argum. 9, which is dated the 18th Dec., 1553, and suspends the execution of the papal instructions for two months.

761

Spain was not unique in this. Even readers of Dickens will have some idea how the Court of Chancery in England, during a period of two centuries, caused more sorrow and misery than the Inquisition in Spain. As late as 1903 elderly people in England still shuddered at the word "Chancery". Cfr. the weekly *Spectator*, 24th Oct., 1903, p. 642.

762

Antonio Baião, *A Inquisição em Portugal e no Brasil*, pp. 64-105.

763

Almeida Igreja, tome 3, pt. 2, pp. 266-273.

764

Corpo Diplomatico, vol. 4, Introduction, pp. 7-8.

765

Raynaldus, XIV, p. 121; *Corpo Diplomatico Portuguez*, V, 138-139.

766

The whole of this important bull is given in *Corpo Diplomatico*, VI, 166 sqq.; cfr. also VI, 210.

767

Subsidios, I, 345-6. "E que não sahissem (i.e., the New Christians) nem fossem por mar nem por terra para fora destes Reinos e Senhorios . . . sem ligencia sua."

768

J. Denucé, *Afrika in de XVI Eeuw en de Handel van Antwerpen*, pp. 5-12, Antwerp, 1937.

769

Almeida Portugal, III, 646. The best account of this humanist is that of Cardinal Cerejeira, *Clenardo*, Coimbra, 1918.

770

Letters Royal, pp. 308-9; 770, *Subsidios*, pp. 345-6, 148-9.

771

Vol. 3, pp. 334-364, Hamburg, 1850. A full account of the London *auto-dafe* is given in *The Trial of Mrs. Duncan*, ed. by C. E. B. Roberts, London, 1945.

772

Almeida Igreja, tome 3, pt. 2, pp. 145-289; J. F. d'Azevedo, *Historia dos Christãos Novos Portugueses*, Lisbon, 1922.

773

Ineditos Goesianos, ed. by G. C. L. Hemriques, II, 70, Lisbon, 1896-8, 2 vols.

774

Leo XIII began the publication of the records of the Avignon popes in 1885. But the fullest use yet made of them for this missionary history is G. Soranzo's *Il Papato, l'Europa Cristiana e i Tartari*, pp. 498-562, Milan, 1930.

775

B. Altaner, *Die Dominikanermissionen des 13 Jahrhunderts*, pp. 122-131, Breslau, 1921.

776

G. Soranzo, pp. 72-4. Couto thought that there were only two friars, dec. 4, bk. 7, ch. 13.

777

Raynaldus, ad annum 1245, No. 18.

778

De Origine et Progressu Officii Sanctae Inquisitionis, by Ludovicus a Paramo, p. 237, Madrid, 1598. The narrative of this sober writer is confirmed by the Abbreviated Chronicle of the Abyssinians. An embellished account is in Serafino Raggi's *Vite dei Santi e Beati del Ordine*

de' Frati Predicatori, I, 307 sqq., Florence, which is evidently based on accounts of Abyssinian pilgrims, as all the names are in Ethiopic forms. Santos (*Ethiopia Oriental*, II, bk. 1, chs. 8-15) has put Razzi into classical Portuguese. The most detailed account is that of the Spanish Dominican Luys de Urreta, "based on Abyssinian documents" as he tells us, published in 1611 at Valencia, and entitled *Historia de la Sagrada Orden de Predicadores*. But it needs much checking.

779

Bullarium Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum, IV, 190, Rome, 1729.

780

The Rise of Modern Physics, by H. Crew, p. 70, London, 1935.

782

A Marinharia dos Descobrimentos, by A. Fantoura da Costa, Lisbon, 1933-4; *Europe's Discovery of South Africa*, pp. 93-98, by S. R. Welch, Cape Town, 1935; Sousa Viterbo, *Trabalhos Nauticos dos Portugueses*.

781

Les Origines de la Statique, by P. Duhem, I, 192, Paris, 1906.

783

Alguns Doc.; letter of Charles V to John III, 12th Dec., 1522.

784

J. Bensaude, *Histoire de la Science Nautique Portuguaise*, p. 19, Geneva, 1917.

785

J. P. Maffei, *Historiarum Indicarum Libri XIII*, fol. 272, Florence, 1588.

786

Castro's Roteiro, p. 11 of Introduction.

787

Cartografia, II, pp. 177-192.

788

Libro das Principaes Linages de Portugal, fol. 24, by Xisto Tavares, MS. of the Royal Library of Paris, No. 10,257; *Almeida Portugal*, II, 246.

789

Couto, dec. 5, ch. 8.

790

Tradition says that he brought the sweet orange to Europe, whence the Italians call it *il portogallo*. Cfr. *Voyage de Portugal*, by Jas. Murphy, Paris, 1797; *Vida de D. João de Castro*, by J. F. de Andrade pp. 3-12, Rio de Janeiro, 1818.

791

This view was propounded in writing in 1522 by Anthony Pigafetta. "La bussola può soministrare un metodo ancor più facile per trovar la longitudine." *Il Primo Viaggio Intorno al Mondo di A. Pigafetta*, by C. Manfroni, Rome, 1928.

792

Castro's Roteiro, pp. 275-8. Nordenskiöld considers him the best scientific navigator until the end of the sixteenth century. *Periplus*, p. 148, Stockholm, 1897.

793

"Materia que tem langado a perder mais Portuguezes ignorantes do que são ganhados os doutos por ella, pois ainda não vimos algum que o posesse em effeito." *Barros*, dec. 3, bk. 5, ch. 8.

794

"Mandando vir alguas agulhas pera as cotejar com o estormento, acheyas tão desconcertadas, que foy cousa espantosa." *Castro's Roteiro*, p. 308.

795

Breve Compendio de la Sphera e de la Arte de Navigar, III, ch. 4, Seville, 1551.

796

Roteiro da Costa da India, de Goa a Diu, p. 92, ed. by D. Kopke, Oporto, 1835.

797

This was in 1628: MS. of Coimbra University *Arte de Navigar*; cfr. note of editor in *Castro's Roteiro*, p. 156.

798

Castro's Roteiro, p. 250: a paraphrase of his long statement. Cfr. also pp. 181-5.

799

Prologue (p. 4) of another work of Castro's, *Roteiro da Viagem Que Fizeram os Portuguezes ao Mar Roxo em 1541*, Paris, 1833.

800

This sound advice is repeated in the most modern manual of navigation published by the British Admiralty, the *Africa Pilot*, pt. 3, p. 46, ninth edition, 1929. *Castro's Roteiro*, pp. 297-300.

801

Tratado em Defensam da Carta de Marear, published at Lisbon in 1537; but the description of his new invention is transcribed in a note of the editor of *Castro's Roteiro*, pp. 42-6.

802

Castro's Roteiro, pp. 27, 167-9, 176, 202, 210 and 243.

803

The quotation occurs in his work, *De Triangulis Planis et Sphericis*.

804

The word Castro uses is *fijo*, the mark aimed at in a Portuguese game. *Castro's Roteiro*, pp. 77-78.

805

It was the 30th Aug., after they had left Mozambique; but the wind and the currents had driven them out of their course. *Castro's Roteiro*, pp. 354-356.

806

Tratado da Sphera com Theorica do Sol e da Lua, which is a translation of the first book of Ptolemy's Geography, published at Lisbon in 1537.

807

"Ate qui mais se pode dizer ser profiada (porfiada) que sabida." *Castro's Roteiro*, pp. 226-229.

808

Castro's Roteiro, p. 242; the *Africa Pilot*, pt. 3, section about Agulhas, ninth edition, London, 1929.

809

Pacecho in the Prologue of his *Esmeraldo de Situ Orbis* writes that King Manuel intended sending him to survey the whole coast from the Cape of Good Hope, up north; and that this unfinished work was a beginning of the task (p. 11 of the edition of A. E. da Silva Dias, Lisbon, 1905). *Castro's Roteiro* sets out to fill this gap in "the knowledge and practice of the pilots, who know little or nothing about it" (p. 256).

810

The verbal description is confirmed by the photographic views of this part of the coast in the *Africa Pilot*, ninth ed., pp. 156-7.

811

"O que nos fez crer que descobriamos muito e tornaramos atras." *Castro's Roteiro*, pp. 262-3.

812

Its central point is $30^{\circ} 30'$ S. Long., while Mainhuyami is about 29° . *Castro's Roteiro*, p. 242.

813

Castro's Roteiro, pp. 186, 193, 203, 205-6, 226 and 243.

814

From wing-tip to wing-tip it usually measures eleven feet. *Castro* (pp. 205-6) calls it a big *gaivota*, that is, sea-mew.

815

Tromba (elephant's proboscis) is the name the sailors gave it. *Castro's Roteiro*, pp. 283-5.

816

Lusiadas, V, 21-2. Lucretius (c. 95-55 B.C.) also described it, but less accurately. *T. Lucretii Cari De Rerum Natura*, VI, 423-449.

817

This is the elder Pliny, who perished in the eruption of Vesuvius in 79 A.D. He refuses to accept Aristotle's statement that he saw a lunar rainbow. *C. Plinii Secundi Naturalis Historia*, bk. 2, ch. 59.

818

He is the most eminent of the writers of the Julian period, and died in 65 A.D. *L. Annaei Senecae Questionum Naturalium Libri VII*, bk. 1, pt. 3, chs. 1-14.

819

Castro's Roteiro, p. 212; "supinamente deu em nos hum pé de vento muy grande", pp. 215-6.

820

He calls them *trombas*; and in a previous note explained the meaning which he attaches to this word: "trombas que são umas hervas como canna frechas". *Castro's Roteiro*, p. 222.

821

I have condensed these quotations in translating them. These notes of the log-book were added, when Castro was Governor of India, and have not the value of his immediate observations. *Castro's Roteiro*, pp. 268-272.

822

Cama de bretao is the sailors' expression. *Castro's Roteiro*, p. 217. For Ophir, pp. 335-6.

823

A talent was about 135 pounds troy; cfr. W. M. Flinders Petrie in the *Hastings Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. 3, p. 227.

824

Of course he calls this book of the Old Testament *Paralipomenon*, VIII, 17-8, as he used the ancient Vulgate translation of the Bible.

825

These reflections are recorded in two volumes that he published later: *Roteiro da Viagem no Anno de 1541*, pp. 196-211, ed. by A. N. de Carvalho, Paris, 1833; *Itinerarium Maris Rubri* (same volume), pp. 316-9. For the coat of arms, *Annaes*, pp. 344-5.

826

Couto, III, 115-116.

827

W. H. Flinders Petrie, *Hastings Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. 2, p. 225. For statement of Negus, cfr. *Alvares*.

828

C. J. Uys in the weekly *Die Huisgenoot*, Cape Town, 28th July, 1939, where he gives a summary of the researches of C. Scholtz during fifty years' residence in Egypt and Uganda.

829

Finally ratified on the 20th June, 1530; *Alguns Doc.*, pp. 406-13, where the whole text is given.

830

Castro's Roteiro, p. 86; Sousa Viterbo, *Trabalhos Nauticos dos Portuguezes*, I, 69.

831

Castro's Roteiro, pp. 305-6. Facing p. 306 there is a good sketch of Mozambique, showing the old fortress, the chapel, the warehouse and the hospital.

832

G. M. Theal (*The Portuguese in South Africa*, p. 188, Cape Town, 1896) thought they would have been better employed in strengthening

the fortresses in India. But J. J. T. Botelho (*História Militar e Política dos Portugueses em Moçambique a 1833*, pp. 240-242, Lisbon, 1934) indicates the vital importance of this strategic position.

833

Castro's Roteiro, p. 134. The Leça mentioned at pp. 10-14 must be Leça da Palmeira on the Port of Leixões.

834

Cosmografia, II, 185.

835

Les Voyageurs Arabes au Moyen Age, p. 89, by B. Trapier, Paris, 1937.

836

Couto, VI, 379-403. The historian had evidently not seen Perestrelo's account of the wreck of the *Saint Benedict*: p. 509 of this work.

837

T. Braga, *Camões Epoca e Vida*, p. 517, Oporto, 1907; *Lusiadas*, V, 46-8.

838

Couto, V, 383, says the 18th, but the boatswain, Alvaro Fernandes, makes it the eighth, *Records Theal*, I, 132.

839

In India this word meant a single-masted ship of from ten to forty tons. *Dalgado*, II, 19.

840

It is supplemented by the independent account of *Couto*, VI, 379-403, which he gathered from intelligent survivors whom he met in India. The boatswain's data are the basis of the first of the sea tragedies in *Trágico-Marítima*.

841

G. M. Theal has omitted this Preface in reproducing the narrative in his *Records*, I, 108-149.

842

Roy Campbell, *Adamastor*, p. 16, London, 1930.

843

History of South Africa, 1795-1829, by G. M. Theal, p. 397, London, 1903.

844

"Frechas metidas." *Records Theal*, I, 115, translates this phrase literally and misses some of its force.

845

J. J. T. Botelho, *História Militar e Política dos Portugueses em Moçambique*, I, 98, Lisbon, 1934. The Umfuzi runs due north into the southernmost point of Delagoa Bay.

846

The revolt of Gungunyana in 1896 was not due to the Bantu alone, but was prompted and supported by some of Portugal's European rivals.

847

H. A. Junod, *Natives of South Africa in the Sixteenth Century* (South African Journal of Science, 1913 A.D., p. 149).

848

Couto calls their chief Ofumo, VI, 391.

849

H. A. Junod, l.c., pp. 147, 150 and 152.

850

Couto, VI, 392; *Junod*, p. 148, misinterprets *Couto* here.

851

The other arms are the Umbeluzi and Matola. *Couto*, VI, 392, has preserved the three Bantu names: Anzate, Ofumo, Manhica.

852

"Sem embargo de verem alli humagota vermelha que era sinal devirem ja alli Portuguezes." *Theal Records*, in his translation (p. 140), misses the meaning of *gota* (or *gotta*) *vermelha*.

853

Les Ba-Ronga, p. 159, by H. A. Junod, Neuchatel, 1898.

854

Here *Couto* calls it the Rio de Manheca, VI, 398.

855

H. A. Junod, *South African Journal of Science*, p. 140 of the year 1913, Cape Town; in the *Vida de D. Paulo de Lima Pereira*, p. 163 (Lisbon, 1903), *Couto* says that he met men to whom the Kafir chief showed the rings, discovered when they cleared a wood.

856

Both these editions, bound in one volume, are found in the Mendelssohn Collection of the Parliament Library in Cape Town. Cfr. also *Couto*, VI, 402.

857

Dalgado, II, 157.

858

Lusiadas, V, 48.

859

Couto, VI, 79-80, 108-110.

860

Memorandum of the Viceroy, dated from Cochin, 8th Jan., 1551. *Schurhammer*, No. 4575; *Couto*, VI, 201-206.

861

Minutes of the meeting of the Council of India, 31st Jan., 1551. *Schurhammer*, No. 4885.

862

Letter from Cochin, 31st Jan., 1552: *Schurhammer*, No. 4758.

863

Schurhammer, No. 4761.

864

Letter from Sepúlveda to the King, 15th Jan., 1546, *Schurhammer*, No. 1851.

865

Couto, VI, 494-5. The date 1552 is probably a misprint for 1553.

866

Only one copy has survived of the first printed edition of 1564, which was owned by the last King of Portugal, Manuel II. From the 1735 edition of *Tragico-Maritima*, I, 41-168, *Theal Records*, I, 150-285, has reprinted and translated all but the initial pages, 41-55.

867

This is how Perestrelo describes it in a later work of his, *Roteiro da África do Sul*, p. 39, ed. by A. Fantoura da Costa, Lisbon, 1939.

868

His astrolabe told him that it was in $32^{\circ} 20'$ south, which his later *Roteiro* (cfr. table facing p. 95) would place somewhere between the Keiskama River and the Great Fish River.

869

Theal Records, I, 222, misses the point of Perestrelo when he translates: "I will cut short the thread of my discourse in the Catholic style."

870

Meirinho da não: an important officer responsible for law and order at sea.

871

Literally "from some burdocks": *de certas lapas*.

872

Theal Records, I, 227, translates: "a picture of Mercy". But *retabulo da Piedade* means a Pietà, namely, a picture of Christ in the arms of the Virgin after He was taken down from the cross.

873

Perestrelo gives no name to this river, but the data of the narrative indicate it.

874

Schurhammer, Nos. 318 and 4051.

875

In Perestrelo's *Roteiro*, p. 85, he seems to give this name to the Keiskama River; but there seems little doubt about the river that he refers to here.

876

He places it in S. Lat. $28^{\circ} 30'$. The railway bridge which now crosses the Tugela nine miles from its mouth is one of the longest bridges in South Africa.

877

Theal Records, I, 179.

878

The Portuguese text of *Tragico-Maritima* says that this ship was the *Saint John*; but this must be an error of the printer, since Perestrello knew that Lopo's ship was the *Saint Jerome*. Moreover, the whole length of the Natal coast lies between the sites of these two wrecks.

879

A. Delagorgue, *Voyage dans l'Afrique Australe*, I, 439, Paris, 1847.

880

The merits of this stone are expounded by the contemporary physician, Garcia de Orta, in *Colloquios*, pp. 169-171.

881

Voyage dans l'Afrique Australe, I, 440.

882

Inferno, XXX, 1-75. Ugolino's four sons offered themselves as food to their starving father, but there is no historical evidence to show that he accepted their offer.

883

Voyage dans l'Afrique Australe, I, 102-6.

884

At p. 213 of the Portuguese text in *Theal Records*, it is stated to be five months; but this is a clear slip of the copyist, as the terminal dates are given: the 7th July and 3rd November.

885

The early Portuguese called it the River of Lourenco Marques, but later Portuguese restored its Bantu name. *Historia Militar e Politica dos Portugueses em Moçambique*, vol. 1, p. 92, by J. J. T. Botelho, Lisbon, 1934.

886

"Nem outras necessidades a incitem a pôr industria." *Theal Records*, I, 205.

887

This can be tested by comparing the ideals persuasively set forth by W. Jaeger in *Paideia the Ideals of Greek Culture* (Oxford, 1939) with the spirit of the Portuguese literature of the days of John III.

888

Couto, VI, 520-528.

889

Couto, VI, 160, 206-9, 230-1, 240-1.

890

Relation de Voyages, ed. by M. Reinaud, Paris, 1845. This is the best edition and translation of the *Salsalat al Tawarikh*.

891

Baghdad During the Abbasid Caliphate, pp. 5, 6, 345, by G. le Strange, Oxford, 1924.

892

Couto calls him Moradabeque, VI, 243-246. The name of the Turkish captain is given by the Turkish editor of *Travels and Adventures of Sidi Ali Reis*, Introduction, p. 13, translated by A. Vambery, London, 1899.

893

It was this news that delayed the departure of Pantaleon de Sá for a year, and ended in his taking the ill-fated *Saint John*. *Schurhammer*, No. 4598.

894

Couto, VI, 236-8, 325-332.

895

Dalgado, II, 368-9.

896

A précis of the royal patent is in *Schurhammer*, No. 4670.

897

Couto, VI, 333-338, 404-410.

898

Schurhammer, Nos. 4652 and 4659.

899

Couto does not give the year, but says that it was the year after the return of Anthony de Noronha to Goa. *Schurhammer*, 4889.

900

The Portuguese called him Pirbec. *Couto*, VI, 341-2, mentions only 25 ships, but the Turkish account 30. *Sidi Ali*, p. 3.

901

Letter to the King from Cochin of the 27th January, 1552. *Schurhammer*, No. 4746.

902

Letter of S. Rodrigues S.J. of 31st Aug., 1552. *Schurhammer*, 4870.

903

When the English came to the East, they Anglicised this word as *trankey* (*Dalgado*, II, 361). *Couto*, VI, 411, 427-9.

904

Vereadores em camara was their collective title. *Couto*, VI, 430-5.

905

Both letters were dated 31st Oct., 1552. *Schurhammer*, Nos. 4899, 4900.

906

Among the seven fidalgos who went were two brothers from Madeira. *Couto*, VI, 415.

907

Letter of Reis Nordim to King John III. *Schurhammer*, No. 4890.

908

Letter to his brother in Coimbra, dated from Ormuz the 31st Aug. *Schurhammer*, No. 4870.

909

It is the Portuguese translation of a Persian word (*Dalgado*, II, 447).

910

Cronica de D. João III, ch. 93, by J. de Andrade.

911

Couto, VI, 423-7, 465-471.

912

The Turkish account says nothing of this Portuguese report, but ascribes the sudden flight from Basra to fear of the new fleet of Dom Antão (*Sidi Ali*, p. 4). Both reports are probably true.

913

"Aquella soltura e encadarroamento de fallar . . . que he quasi natural nos mais dos Noronhas." *Couto*, III, 284-5.

914

Couto, VI, 520-521, 485-494.

915

Sidi Ali, p. 5.

916

Letters of the Masters of Goa, 25th Nov., 1552. *Schurhammer*, 4915.

917

Cfr. his letter to the King from Cochin, 25th January, 1551. *Schurhammer*, No. 4598; *Couto*, VI, 521-8.

918

Piri Bey calls this port Leima. Though the Portuguese account is fuller and more scientific than the Turkish, they do not differ in any important detail. Those were the days when soldiers fought without the aid of civilian propaganda. *Couto*, VI, 544; *Sidi Ali*, pp. 13-14.

919

See his striking letter to Ignatius of Loyola from Coimbra, the 13th Feb., 1553, in *Schurhammer*, No. 6008.

920

Schurhammer, Nos. 3471, 3844, 4398. The last is a letter to the King of the 25th Jan., 1551, in which he fears that the Viceroy is too confiding in his dealings with the Guazil of Ormuz.

921

Preface to *Colloquios*, pp. 17-18. The edition quoted here is the Portuguese edition of Varnhagen. In 1913 C. Markham translated the Portuguese edition of the Conde de Ficalho for the Hakluyt Society of London.

922

In 1601 he published all his works in a single folio under the title, *Rariorum Plantarum Historia*.

923

His work eclipses all that Aristotle and Theophrastes had to say, and is the beginning of comparative morphology; cfr. *History of Botany*, by Julius von Sachs, pp. 37-58, trans. by H. E. F. Garnsey, Oxford, 1906.

924

Revista da Universidade de Coimbra, III, No. 4, pp. 777-818, art. by J. M. T. de Carvalho of the year 1914; *Garcia de Orta e Seu Tempo*, chs. 1-3, by the Conde de Ficalho, Lisbon, 1886.

925

Colloquios, 143v-145.

926

Couto, dec. 4, bk. 9, ch. 1; *Corrêa*, III, pt. 2, pp. 579-580.

927

Colloquios, p. 51. In South Africa to-day we have preserved this Malay form in our Afrikaans word *piesang*.

928

A Franciscan of the fourteenth century has recorded this tradition (*Dalgado*, I, 395). Cfr. *Colloquios*, pp. 94-95v.

929

"A pouca curiosidade da gente faz que não pareça." pp. 55-56v.

930

These quotations are from *Colloquios*, pp. 57-60, 230v, 214-5.

931

This is evidently what he means by *Encuama*, p. 119v.

932

"I should not be surprised if this were the black wood of Sofala and Mozambique," he adds (p. 121).

933

He does not mention him by name, but describes him as "um governador que era muito curioso de saber dos mézinhos" (p. 175v). This fits what *Couto* (VI, 71) writes about John de Castro.

934

This was said in discussing the views of Nizam Shah, p. 37h.

935

Colloquios, pp. 29 and 60v.

936

The passages cited here and in the following pages are from *Colloquios*, pp. 207, 123, 224 and 86-88.

937

He calls him Matheolo Senense. His *Herbal* went through sixty editions. As he died in 1577, he was alive when Orta wrote. In 1637

the English ambassador, Sir Henry Wotton, bequeathed a copy of Mattioli's chief work to the Queen of England, "as one of my most valuable possessions".

938

The quotations that follow are from *Colloquios*, pp. 10v-14, 33v. 41-2, 110-110v.

939

"Se Deos me der dias de vida", pp. 228v-230.

940

In referring to one apothecary who appropriated a certain discovery of his, he charitably withholds his name. "He is dead now, and may God forgive him. Otherwise he was a most excellent man." *Colloquios*, pp. 52 and 65-65v.

941

He inveighs against the Spanish habit of speaking of the West Indies when they mean America. "There is only one India which has been so called from the days of Alexander the Great." *Colloquios*, p. 137v.

942

The simile halts a bit, as the calyx of the clove has only four sepals: but he takes the ball of petals in the centre as the fifth *quina*. *Colloquios*, p. 102.

943

Colloquios, p. 62. About Coelho see *Machado*, III, 713.

944

"Natural de huma das nossas Colonias de Africa." *Vida de João de Barros*, by Serafim de Faria, p. 50.

945

Colloquios, pp. 7-8, 18v, 10 and 37.

946

Our phrase *checkmate* adds the word *mata*, meaning "is dead", i.e., the king is dead.

947

Calendar of S.P., East Indies, 1515-1616, p. 2; *Navigations*, I, 237-245.

948

Tudor Docs., II, 42-3. "I am appointed to go into the land of Guinea, being a long and dangerous journey" (spelling modernised). The testator George Ward was on one of Towerson's ships, the *Tiger*, which foundered on the way home. For many useful documents about these English voyages, cfr. J. A. Williamson, *The Voyages of the Cabots*, pp. 94-116, London, 1929.

948a

Lidio Cipriani, *Il Congo* (Florence, 1932), p. 93.

949

Tudor England Through Venetian Eyes, by E. G. Salter, p. 129, London, 1930; also Pollard, p. 2.

950

The Age of Drake, by Jas. A. Williamson, pp. 3-6, London, 1938.

951

J. F. Bright, *English History from Henry VII to James II*, pp. 441-489, London, 1876. That Pintead was a Jew is stated by Wyndam, cfr. Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations*, vol. 6, pp. 141-177. But Astley (next note) denies it.

952

Voyages and Travels, I, 141, London, 1745, by T. Astley, who notes that Hakluyt published the views of Eden as if they were Hakluyt's own. *The Age of Drake*, p. 30, by Jas. A. Williamson; same writer, *The Voyages of the Cabots*, p. 100, London, 1929.

953

A. F. Pollard, *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 65, p. 249. *Navigations*, VI, 145-152.

954

Navigations, VI, 231-252; *Voyages and Travels*, I, 138-176, London, 1745, ed. by John Green and printed by T. Astley, gives an excellent summary of the enterprise of Queen Mary's reign.

955

De Justo Imperio Lusitanorum Asiatico, centenary edition of the University of Valladolid, 1925.

956

Calendar of S.P., East Indies, 1515-1616: report of F. Badoer to the Doge and Senate, No. 376. For Eden Nos. 173 and 186.

957

The whole memorandum is given in *Tudor Docs.*, pp. 45-7. For the privateers, cfr. *Sir John Hawkins*, pp. 26-30, by J. A. Williamson, Oxford, 1927.

958

Polydore Vergil, St. Bede and others wrote the history of England in Latin. Dr. G. P. Gooch believes that the serious study of English history in literary form only began in 1799. Of course, there were abundant chronicles, controversial tracts, diaries and state papers. *History and Historians of the Nineteenth Century*, p. 282. London, 1913. But the *Cambridge History of English Literature* takes a view that will win wider approval: holding that Sir Thomas More, George Cavendish and Sir John Hayward were the beginners of the art of history in English. More's *History of Richard III* (1543) and Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey* (written in 1558, but not fully published till 1667) were masterpieces, but they were biographies. The first name that can be placed alongside that of Barros is Sir John Hayward, whose ample and artistic works were published between 1559 and 1636, the last after his death. (Cfr. *Concise Cambridge History of English Literature*, p. 160, Cambridge, 1941.)

959

"Affogam e cativam todo liberal engenho." Cfr. *Vida de João de Barros*, by M. S. de Faria, appendix to the 1778 edition of *Da Asia*, p. 11.

960

So called because it was housed in the tower of the old Castle of Lisbon. *Archivo Historico*, III, 287 sqq. and IV, 499 sqq., articles by José Passanha.

961

He was godfather to one of the children of Goes. Cfr. *Registo da Freguesia de Santa Cruz do Castello*, ed. by E. Prestage and P. d'Azevedo, Coimbra, 1913.

962

O Archivio da Torre do Tombo, p. 13, by P. d'Azevedo and A. Baião, Lisbon, 1905.

963

History and Historians, etc., p. 13.

964

As a sample read the Preface of *Greek Memories*, by Compton Mackenzie, London, 1939.

965

Prologo to the Third Decade: "mais vituperem a quem os diz que por quem se dizem".

966

The reference is to the *Confessions* (bk. 5, ch. 3). "Multi tamen ab eis (i.e., the Manichaeans) ex ipsa creatura vere dicta retinebam."

967

This statement would seem to be a clear and full expansion of a few phrases in Plato's *Timaeus*.

968

Selected Essays of J. B. Bury, p. 31, ed. by H. Temperley.

969

Rádl, *History of Biological Theories*, pp. 384-5; Horace ends the sixth *carmen* of his third book thus: "Aetas parentum, pejor avis, tulit nos nequiores, mox daturos Progeniem vitiösiorēm."

970

"Porque a Natureza nunca pode tanto degenerar, que fique um monstro fóra de sua especie."

971

Da Ásia, II, 393-396.

972

Colonização, III, 203-210, article by Pedro Azevedo.

973

He was a canon of Evora Cathedral, born in 1583, as Barros died in 1570. *Dicionário Bibliográfico*, VI, 106 sqq., ed. by J. F. da Silva.

974

He coins the fine phrase *feitos vivos*. The general reader is appropriately called *o curioso*.

975

"De nenhuma cousa muito, que satisfazer ao requerimento de muitos." *Prologo* of the First Decade, in fine.

976

Barros, IV, 14.

977

Prologo to the Second Decade, in fine.

978

Barros, VI, 254-259. The *Geography* of which he writes is one of his works that has been lost.

979

Prologo of the Second Decade. Here Barros takes the opportunity of acknowledging his indebtedness to Gomez Eannez de Zurara, the first historian of the Portuguese discoveries.

980

The word *Decade* is used by Barros not to mean periods of ten years, but in the sense of Livy: a volume containing ten books.

981

It was translated by Alfonso di Ulhoa, and dedicated to the Duke of Mantua.

982

This is the date of Lavanha's dedicatory Preface, written at Madrid the 24th June, 1615.

983

Before commissioning Lavanha to edit Barros, the Spanish kings had suggested the task to the Jesuit Christopher Clavio, to Edward Nunes de Leño and to Diogo de Couto. But none of them could undertake it. The last preferred to write a history of his own, beginning where the already printed volumes of Barros left off.

984

Acts of the Apostles, XIII, 46.

985

This was the Provincial John Alvares. *Vida de João de Barros*, p. 57, by M. S. de Faria.

986

Erasmus, VI, 306-7. The letter is written from Basle and dated the 11th April, 1526. The second quotation is from a letter of the 31st Aug., 1523, in the fifth volume of Allen's edition.

987

In the first Eclogue, Virgil is not using a figure of speech when he sings: "namque erit ille mihi semper deus".

988

Lavanha's Introduction to the seventh volume of the edition of 1778. A *quaderno* may be a copybook or a loose collection of leaves.

989

Preface to *Ho Livro Primeiro dos Dez da Historia do Descobrimento e Conquista da India pelos Portuguezes*, printed by J. de Barreira and João Alvares, Coimbra, 1551.

990

Corpo Diplomatico, V, 348-350; VI, 92, 103-5, 134, 225-227. About Gil de Coimbra cfr. *La Faculté de Théologie de Paris*, II, 503, by P. Feret, Paris, 1895.

991

They were published in 1919 at The Hague by C. Wessels S.J. under the title, *Lopes de Castanheda*.

992

A fine copy of this work is in the Grey Collection of the South African Public Library in Cape Town: *The First Booke of the Historie of the Discouerie and Conquest of the East Indies, Enterprised by the Portingales*.

993

d'Indiaensche Historie der Portugueezzen, door F. v. H., Rotterdam, 1670. The proper names of the Portuguese suffer greatly in this compilation.

994

A Expedição de Pedro Álvares Cabral, pp. 41-50, Lisbon, 1922.

995

"Neque enim ulli patientius reprehenduntur quam qui maxime laudari merentur. Nunc a te librum meum cum adnotationibus tuis expecto." *Letters*, VII, 20.

996

Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, ch. 27.

997

Works of Samuel Johnson, vol. 5, p. 329, London, 1816.

998

"Passa de cincuenta annos que ando neste rodizio deste serviço." *Lendas da India*, III, 437.

999

Nunes, p. 3; *Corrêa*, IV, 586; II, 594-6.

1000

Corrêa, II, 857; IV, 355, where he defines *lendas* as *lembranças dos antigos*.

1001

Camões, *Epoca e Vida*, pp. 684-7. But cfr. *Gaspar Corrêa*, by A. F. G. Bell, pp. 23-4, Oxford, 1924. *Lusiadas*, V, 99-100.

1002

Summary of a passage literally translated in *Stanley*, p. 70.

1003

The Portuguese in India and Arabia, in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Oct., 1921, and Jan., 1922.

1004

"Hoc illud est praecipue in cognitione rerum salubre ac frugiferum, omnis te exempli documenta in illustri posita documento

intueri." Preface to Livy's *Historiarum Libri*. In the *Acts of the Apostles* St. Luke reviews human history from Adam to Christ, and forecasts its future sweep to the end of the world, embracing all nations.

1005

Lectures on Arabic Historians, p. 158, by D. S. Margoliouth, Calcutta, 1930.

1006

The worst offender is R. Flint, *History of the Philosophy of History*, pp. 157-175, Edinburgh, 1893. A partial corrective of this will be found in *Les Siècles Obscurs du Maghreb*, pp. 65-85, by Gautier, Paris; the best corrective is to read Ibn Khaldun's *Prolegomena*.

1006a

Although Osorio wrote one of the classical accounts of King Manuel's reign, his philosophy of history is found mostly in others of his voluminous works, especially in *De Gloria*, *De Nobilitate Civilis* and *De Justitia Coelesti*: all in his *Opera Omnia*, published in Rome, 1592, edited by his nephew of the same name.

1007

W. Storck, *Vida e Obras de Luis de Camões*, ch. 6, trans. by Dona C. de Vasconcellos, Lisbon, 1897.

1008

Obras de Camões, II, 17, by the Viscount de Juromenha, Lisbon, 1860-69.

1009

Second Timothy, II, 5; *Ars Poetica*, 464-6: "sit jus liceatque perire poetis".

1010

Sonnet 35, trans. by S. R. Welch in "Catholic Magazine for South Africa", pp. 179-180 of the year 1909.

1011

His *Auto dos Enfatriões* gives a new shape to a disreputable fable about Jupiter and Alcmena in the *Amphitruo* of Plautus, a theme which Dryden and Molière did not disdain to adorn later.

1012

"Cá vivem os homens na mão do mundo", the poet wrote in his first ecstasy. *Camões Epoca e Vida*, p. 258, by T. Braga, Lisbon, 1907.

1013

Annaes, pp. 17-8, give the foundation of perfectly honourable fact, upon which these rumours were embroidered.

1014

The phrase occurs in a letter of King John to Francis Lobo: *Annaes das Sciencias e Lettras*, I, 663-4. Cfr. *Historia de Arzila*, pp. 402-3, by D. Lopes, Lisbon, 1925; *Lusiadas*, IV, 101.

1015

Historia de la Ciudad de Ceuta, pp. 277-281, by J. de Mascarenhas, Lisbon, 1918.

1016

Letter of King John, 23rd Oct., 1549, in *Historia de Arzila*, pp. 418-9; *Annaes*, pp. 422-426.

1017

T. Braga, *Camões, etc.*, pp. 429-439, upholds the traditional view against W. Storck, *Vida, etc.*, pp. 127-133.

1018

Machado, I, 353-357.

1019

This sonnet was first published in 1880, and is given in T. Braga's *Camões, etc.*, p. 467.

1020

Bibliografia das Obras Impressas em Portugal no Seculo XVI Nos. 130 and 645, by A. J. Anselmo. The second Decade of Barros appeared on the very day that the Poet sailed. Braga (p. 469) confuses this with the first Decade.

1021

Craesbeck's edition (1624) of *Los Siete Libros de la Diana*, Preface, by G. de Montemor. The *Lusiadas*, IV, 50, speaks of "inlyta geração, altos Infantes".

1022

Paradise Lost, IV, 159-163.

1023

The two most notable of these are *Disparates na India (Follies in India)* and the *Satyra do Torneio*.

1024

Os Lusiadas, III, 137.

1025

All this is clearly set forth by a Muslim writer, *Zinadim*, p. 72.

1026

Couto, VII, 66-67. Camoens also took part in a larger expedition to the Straits of Babelmandeb in 1554. *Couto*, VI, bk. 10, ch. 18.

1027

Canção 10, which begins: "Junto de um seco, duro, esteril monte."

1028

This is no mere idle fancy of an admiring biographer. Faria e Sousa heard it from one of the Poet's intimate friends, John Pinto Ribeiro, to whom Camoens related it. T. Braga, *Camoens*, p. 562.

1029

It is the language of every imperial poet in every imperial tongue:
 "Que nunca tirerá alheia inveja
 O bem que outrem merece e o Ceo deseja." (I, 39.)

1030

Chronica do Felicissimo Rei D. Emanuel, I, 108, Lisbon, 1749.

1031

A pointless attempt to find an Arabic origin for this name was made in 1898 by José Benoliel in *Episodio do Gigante Adamastor*, Lisbon.

1032

"Dís te minorem quod geris imperas."

1033

Lusiads, IX, 93-4.

1034

Adamastor Poems, p. 38, London, 1930.

1035

Theal Records, VII, 482.

1036

Ethiopia Or., I, 202.

1037

"Em ouro de pó, lascas e pastas." *Ethiopia Or.*, pt. 2, bk. 3, ch. 12; bk. 2, ch. 13.

1038

Both Santos and Antonio Bocarro (*Theal Records*, III, 354) give this figure.

1039

Europe's Discovery of South Africa, p. 285, by S. R. Welch, Cape Town, 1935.

1040

Theal Records, VII, 96.

1041

In English she is usually called the Queen of Sheba, on account of the form used in the Protestant Authorised Version of London, made in 1611. But Santos uses the more correct form of the Latin Vulgate. For its correctness cfr. D. S. Margoliouth, *Hastings Dict. of the Bible*, IV, 479.

1042

These are XXVII, 22-44; XXXIV, 15.

1043

These traditions have been collected by Cesare Ansaldi in *Il Yemen*, pp. 67-76, Rome, 1933.

1044

1 Kings, ch. 10; *2 Chronicles*, ch. 9. Also *Matthew*, XII, 42.

1045

Matthew, XIII, 42, where she is called the Queen of the South.

1046

He quotes the title of this work in Portuguese, *Livro das Antiguidades Judaicas*, bk. 8, ch. 2; but he must refer to the edition in Latin, as there is no trace of a Portuguese translation at that period.

1047

This happened as a result of the battle of Pelusium: *History of Persia*, I, 158, by P. Sykes, third ed., London, 1930.

1048

Fr. Hommel, *Süd-Arabische Chrestomathia*, Munich, 1893.

1049

There were four local Semitic languages. *Il Yemen*, pp. 45-6, by C. Ansaldi, Rome, 1933.

1050

Isaiah, ch. 60, vv. 5-6; *Job*, ch. 1, v. 15.

1051

Nielsen's *Handbuch der Alterarabischen Altertumskunde*, Copenhagen, 1929; *Ezekiel*, ch. 27, vv. 21-3.

1052

Both quoted by Strabo. Cfr. his *Geography*, bk. 16, par. 23-24, ed. of A. Firmin Didot, Paris, 1858.

1053

L. Caetani, *Studi di Storia Orientale*, I, 250-9, Milan, 1911; C. C. Rossini, *Storia d'Etiopia*, Milan, 1928; C. Ansaldi, *Il Yemen*, pp. 77-84.

1054

W. H. Ingrams, *Zanzibar, Its History and Its People*.

1055

E. Cerulli, *Studi Etiopici*, II, 5-7, Rome, 1938, who quotes an unpublished MS. of the National Library of Florence for Zorzi's statement; Beccari, VI, 255 and 403.

1056

Could this mean the Sabacan River?

1057

L. Caetani, *Studi di Storia Orientale*, I, 236.

1058

Joshua, ch. 19, v. 29; *2 Kings* (*2 Samuel* in Authorised Version of London), V, 11; *I Paralipomena* (*1 Chronicles* in A.V.), ch. 14, v. 1.

1059

L. Caetani, *Studi di Storia Orientale*, I, 149-151.

1060

Third Book of Kings (*First Kings* in A.V.), ch. 9, vv. 20-3.

1061

C. Ansaldi, *Il Yemen*, pp. 37, 45 and 57.

1062

C. L. Woolley, *The Sumerians*, pp. 115-116, Oxford, 1929.

1063

W. H. Ingrams, *Zanzibar, etc.*, p. 46; P. Sykes, *History of Persia*, I, 132 and 150. This king was the son of a rich trader.

1064

Europe's Discovery of South Africa, pp. 66-69.

1065

The oldest coin in existence is the Lydian stater of about 700 B.C.
 Cf. *Guide to the Coins of the Ancients*, published by the British Museum.

1066

P. S. Nazaroff, *What Are the Zimbabwe Ruins?*, in *Blackwood's Magazine* for June, 1931, pp. 765-792.

1067

See the illustrations in *Media, Babylon and Persia*, by Z. A. Ragozin, London.

1068

P. Sykes, History of Persia, I, 367-370, 397-8.

1069

Europe's Discovery of South Africa, p. 67.

1070

D. S. Margoliouth, *Lectures on Arabic Historians*, p. 41, Calcutta, 1930.

1071

Genesis, ch. 10, vv. 29-31; *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 23, p. 922.

1072

Cornelius a Lapide, Commentaria, III, 602-3, Paris, 1859.

1073

A True Report of the Late Discoveries, written in 1583, *Navigationes*, vol. 8, p. 128; Gothard Arthus, *Historia Indiae Orientalis*, pp. 160-161, Köln, 1609.

1074

Annaes, p. 37.

1075

British Museum, *Lansdowne MSS.* No. 255, fol. 391, quoted by A. Pimenta, *D. João III*, p. 333, Oporto, 1936. The spelling is modernised.

1076

Annaes, pp. 96-7. There is no trace of that system of two measures so common in modern histories: one for the foreigner and another for the homeland.

1077

A. F. Pollard writes that throughout the sixteenth century the political game was the real game. *Factors in Modern History*, pp. 156-9, London, 1917.

1078

Erasmi Epistolae, vol. 9, pp. 455-7, ed. by P. S. Allen, Oxford, 1938.

1079

J. Le Plat, *Monumenta ad Historiam Concilii Tridentini*, vol. I, session of the 29th Nov., 1545, Louvain, 1794. Soto concludes an eloquent oration with the fine prayer from *Daniel*, ch. 3, vv. 29-39.

1080

Raynaldus, vol. 13 *passim*; J. Le Plat, *Monumenta*, vol. 3, 294.

1081

J. Le Plat, *Monumenta, etc.*, vol. 4, pp. 538-9.

1082

Ferdinand Duro, *Armada Espanola*, vol. 1, p. 432; C. de la Roncière, *Histoire de la Marine Francaise*, vol. 3, pp. 579-584.

1083

Letter to the King, Dec., 1540, *Schurhammer*, No. 626.

1084

Grandidier, *Collection des Ouvrages Anciens Concernant Madagascar*, vol. 1, Paris, 1903.

1085

Cambridge History of India, vol. 5, p. 18, London.

1086

Theal Records, III, 148; *Cartas de Simão Botelho*, p. 35.

1087

Theal Records, IV, 211.

1088

Inquisition, pp. 181-185.

1089

"Isto era tirar-lhes todo o refugio pera quando algum erro fizessem." *Annaes*, p. 137.

1090

Theal Records, VI, 305-6; *Annaes*, p. 151.

1091

Calendar of S.P., Letters Foreign and Domestic, vol. 8, Preface; where the editor, Jas. Gairdner, writes of Henry VIII in the year 1535: "The seven months of which this volume contains a record beheld a series of appalling executions which completely subdued in England all spirit of resistance" to the King's new religion.

1092

Barros, VII, 3.

1093

T. Rymer, *Foedera*, XII, 37, The Hague, 1739-45.

1094

The real meaning of the Levitical Code is a question of great obscurity: cfr. Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. 3, pp. 267-8. But the text only deals with popular interpretations then and now.

1095

Couto, V, 1-11 and 287.

1096

The same attitude was taken by the French ambassador in London during the years of the first World War. M. de Cambon knew English well, but would never speak it.

- *Barros*, VIII, 381-388. 1097
- Couto*, II, 246. 1098
- 1099
- Nunes Cronica*, p. 10; *Couto*, VI, 452-5. 1100
- J. B. Priestly, *Rain on Gadshill*, London, 1940. 1101
- In *The Rise of Portuguese Power in India*, R. S. Whiteway acknowledges the existence of King John III by mentioning him once. In his book the puppets of Portuguese history emerge with nobody in Portugal to guide their policy. 1102
- In a set of Latin verses in the second volume (p. 168) of *Georgii Buchananii Opera Omnia*, Leyden, 1725. 1103
- Letters Royal*, pp. 305 and 331. 1104
- "*Dobras da terra dos Xarifas*" is what he calls them in a letter of 1st February, 1541; *Letters Royal*, pp. 358-9. 1105
- "Questa città tanto grande, ricca e famosa, cominciò . . . (quando) i Portoghesi cominciarono a condurre le spetiere e drogherie d'India in Portogallo, e di là alle fiere di questa terra." *Descrittione di M. L. Lodovico Guicciardini . . . di Tutti i Paesi Bassi*, p. 84, Antwerp, 1569. 1106
- Two books by Paul Einzig give the facts about this: *The Economic Crisis*, London, 1931; and *The Sterling-Dollar-Franc Tangle*, London, 1939. 1107
- Letters of the Court*, p. 73. 1108
- The Diary of Henry Machyn*, pp. 76, 82, 83 and 401, ed. by J. G. Nichols, Camden Society, 1848. 1109
- Ancient Greek Historians*, p. 249, London, 1903; *Mein Kampf*, p. 27, trans. by Jas. Murphy, London, 1939. But E. R. Bentley (*The Cult of the Superman*, pp. 263-4, London, 1947) exposes the shallow hero-worship of Carlyle and Nietzsche, and ends with the paradox that "aristocracy is one of the goals of democracy". 1110
- British Museum, Additional MSS. No. 15188, *Memorias Antigas*, vol. 1, fol. 231. Albert Schweitzer (*Civilization and Ethics*, p. 61, third ed., London, 1946) is one of many modern writers whose political philosophy rests on such flimsy foundations as the following unhistorical statement: "The modern world-view breaks through in the Renaissance at the end of the fourteenth century, and it arises as a protest against the medieval enslavement of the human spirit."

1111

Barros, II, 3-15: "Se seria conveniente e proveitoso a este Reyno, por razão de commercio das cousas da India emprender querellas haver por força d'armas.

1112

The World of Nations, a Study of the National Implications in the Work of Karl Marx, pp. 48-9, by S. F. Bloom, New York, 1941.

1113

Relação da Viagem Q Fizerão Os Pes da Companhia de Jesus Com Fran. Barreto, National Library of Paris, MSS. Portugais 8, folio 241: published and translated by G. M. Theal, *Records of South-Eastern Africa*, III, 168.

1114

All these facts are given by Luiz de Sousa in his *Annaes de Elrei Dom João Terceiro*, pp. 358-9 (ed. of Herculano, Lisbon, 1844), who had access to many documents since lost. About Chios cfr. *Chius Vincta*, Preface pp. 70-5, text pp. 88-90, ed. by P. P. Argenti, Cambridge, 1941. For Andrada, IV, 540.

1115

For the account of Unesco, see *The Political Quarterly*, April-June, pp. 123-136, London, 1947. The perpetrator of this stroke of unseemly, though unconscious humour, was Prof. Julian Huxley. John III waged peace successfully for 36 years on Christian principles. Even the Geneva League of Nations, a few weeks before the outbreak of the most savage war in history, had wasted enough paper to print 4,568 treatises and judicial instruments of its principles (*Report on the Work of the League of Nations*, p. 162, Geneva, in November, 1939).

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